Hiroshima Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Research Project

Learning from Hiroshima's Reconstruction Experience:

Reborn from the Ashes

March 2014

"Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan Joint Project Executive Committee
(Hiroshima Prefecture and The City of Hiroshima)

About this Publication

This book is a compilation, presented in a report format, of the results of the "Hiroshima Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Research Project," a two-year project spanning from 2012 to 2013. The project was undertaken by the "'Hiroshima for Global Peace' Plan Joint Project Executive Committee," organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima.

On August 6, 1945, at 8:15 in the morning, Hiroshima was destroyed by a single atomic bomb. Many precious lives were taken by the bomb, and the city was completely annihilated. The bomb also literally wiped out the region's entire history, culture, and memories of families, which had been established over the years, along with the lives of the people living there.

For sixty-nine years after the explosion, the survivors of the bombing and other residents of Hiroshima have continued to call for a world free from nuclear weapons. We have done so with a conviction, based on our experiences, that such a disaster by nuclear weapons must never be repeated. We must never give up in our efforts to realize the abolition of nuclear weapons as soon as possible.

Even though it was once said, "Grass and trees won't grow for seventy-five years" in Hiroshima, the city has been reconstructed as a "City of Peace" thanks to the efforts of our predecessors. What Hiroshima is today fascinates many tourists visiting the city. Many people who walk through the city after visiting the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum are moved and surprised at the sight of locals living among the green and flower-filled streets.

As a city that has been successfully reconstructed from ruins, Hiroshima would like to contribute to the realization of a peaceful international community by utilizing its knowledge of reconstruction and peacebuilding to support post-conflict countries in the world.

Focusing on Hiroshima's process of overcoming various difficulties and its successful recovery, this research examines how modern Hiroshima has forged its identity as a city that succeeded in reconstruction and that seeks peace. The study also includes and relates both the mentality of Hiroshima's citizens, who themselves rose up from the ashes, and external factors that supported the city's reconstruction, including various kinds of assistance extended to Hiroshima from within Japan and abroad.

We hope this report will help readers reflect on the history of Hiroshima's reconstruction and understand the enormous losses caused by the atomic bombing and the new values born afterward. We also hope that this report will support reconstruction efforts and peacebuilding in post-conflict countries and contribute to the realization of a peaceful and stable international community.

Finally, we would like to express our deepest gratitude first to Professor Kazumi Mizumoto, Vice President of the Hiroshima Peace Institute of Hiroshima City University, who has worked painstakingly as the chair of the editorial committee for this research project, and to all members of the editorial committee, those who have contributed articles and columns in their fields of expertise, and all others who have offered invaluable advice and resources.

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Hidehiko Yuzaki, Governor of Hiroshima Prefecture
Kazumi Matsui, Mayor of the City of Hiroshima

Hiroshima Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Research Project

Authors and Contributing Writers

Authors (Titles omitted. In order of chapters)

Name	Affiliation		Authorship
Kazumi Mizumoto	Vice President of the Hiroshima Peace Institute of Hiroshima City University [Professor]	Head of the Editorial Committee (Supervisor)	Prologue Epilogue Column (Ch. 9)
Fukuhei Ando	Former Deputy Director of Hiroshima Prefectural Archives		Chs. 1, 2 Column (Ch. 2)
Norioki Ishimaru	Representative and Researcher of Co. Ltd. Institute of Researching Hiroshima and/of Severals AND Area Reliving	Editorial Committee Member	Chs. 3-5
Toshiyasu Ito	Director of the Center for Research on Regional Economic Systems of Hiroshima University [Professor]		Ch. 6
Takeshi Chida	Former Professor at Hiroshima International University and Advisor to Kure City (in charge of historiography of the city)		Ch. 7
Seiichi Koike	Professor at the Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation of Hiroshima University	Editorial Committee Member	Ch. 8, I
Masami Nishimoto	Senior Staff Writer at the Chugoku Shimbun		Ch. 8, II, III
Satoru Ubuki	Former Professor at Hiroshima Jogakuin University	Editorial Committee Member (Supervisor)	Ch. 9, I, II
Masashi Urabe	Associate Professor at the Faculty of International Studies of Hiroshima City University		Ch. 9, III
Noriyuki Kawano	Professor at the Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University	Editorial Committee Member (Supervisor)	Ch.9, IV
Hitoshi Nagai	Associate Professor at the Hiroshima Peace Institute of Hiroshima City University	Editorial Committee Member (Supervisor)	Columns (Ch.1,3,4,5,7,8)

Contributing Writers

Shinobu Kikuraku	Outreach Division of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum	Column (Ch.1)
Shoji Oseto	Chief Supervisor of Curatorial Division of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum	Column (Ch.4)
Kazuhiko Takano	Director of Culture and Science Department of the Hiroshima City of the Future Foundation	Column (Ch.5)
Kazutaka Kato	Former Director of Hiroshima Children's Museum	Column (Ch.6)

Explanatory Notes
- "..." indicates sections of the source material that have been omitted in quotations.
- There are expressions in parts of the original source material that may not be considered appropriate today. However, since resource materials are historical documents that reflect the attitudes of society at the time, these expressions have been left uncensored.
- As a rule, honorifics have been omitted.

List of Abbreviations
ABCC: Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission
CBS: Columbia Broadcasting System
CCD: Civil Censorship Detachment
CIE: Civil Information and Education Section
GHQ: General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
HICARE: Hiroshima International Council for Health Care of the Radiation-Exposed
IEA: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross
INS: International News Service
IPPNW: International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
MIS: Military Intelligence Service
MP: Military Police
MRA: Moral Re-Armament
NGO: non-governmental organizations
NHK: Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)
RCC: Radio Chugoku Company, RCC Broadcasting Co. Ltd
SCAP: Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
SIPRI: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSD: Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP: United Press

Contents

Prologue

What the "Reconstruction of Hiroshima" Means

Introduction

This report, *Learning from Hiroshima's Reconstruction Experience: Reborn from the Ashes,* came about through a proposal made by the "Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan, announced in 2011 by Hiroshima Prefecture. Based on this proposal, Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima jointly conducted a two-year project from 2012 to 2013, called "Hiroshima Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Research Project," and its findings are summarized in this report.

The goal of this project is to study and analyze Hiroshima's reconstruction process from different perspectives to shed light on the formation of Hiroshima's modern identity, recognized in Japan and in the world as a city successfully reconstructed and a "city striving for peace."

The authors have taken into consideration the following points:

First, they describe the process through which Hiroshima, which experienced unprecedented destruction in humanity's first atomic bombing, overcame countless difficulties and rose up from the ashes, highlighting not only the citizens' efforts but also the various support and assistance extended to Hiroshima from within Japan and from abroad.

Next, this study's timeframe essentially begins from the time of the atomic bombing in 1945 and ends in the first half of the 1980s. However, some articles date back to before the bombing and others deal with more recent years.

The aim of this book is to make a joint effort in Hiroshima to look back on our history and detail how Hiroshima gained its reputation as a "City of Peace" and a "Reconstructed City" in the international community.

I Why People Are Interested in the Reconstruction of Hiroshima

The Japanese word for reconstruction – *fukko* – is both new and old. The greatest shared experience of reconstruction for the Japanese people is the reconstruction following the destruction left behind in the wake of the Second World War. Over 200 municipalities in Japan were burned down in air raids, and war damage reconstruction projects were carried out in 115 cities by the War Damage Reconstruction Agency during the postwar period. In more recent years, the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, coupled with the severe damage caused by the resulting Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant accident, has brought back the use of the word *fukko* (reconstruction), which is a serious, ongoing task not only for the victims of this disaster but also for every citizen of Japan.

Under the war damage reconstruction projects, Hiroshima, an A-bombed city, was at first treated in the same way as other cities that were destroyed in air raids carried out with conventional weapons.[1)] For many years, no special attention was paid to the reconstruction of Hiroshima. However, in more recent years, after the Great East Japan Earthquake occurred on March 11, 2011, coupled with the severe damage caused by the resulting Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant accident, Fukushima and Hiroshima began to be discussed together, and more attention was directed towards the reconstruction of Hiroshima. This is mainly because both

Hiroshima and Fukushima have experienced radiation disasters, but is this the only reason Hiroshima's reconstruction is receiving attention recently?

Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts and civil wars stemming from ethnic, religious and cultural differences have occurred in various parts of the world, such as in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, East Timor and Sudan, as well as in Iraq and Afghanistan, where wars erupted after the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001. In all these cases, reconstruction itself has become a big issue for peacebuilding. When people engaged in the reconstruction projects of these war-stricken countries visit Hiroshima, they are always impressed at the feat of the reconstruction of Hiroshima.

Of course, their words may simply be compliments, and, as stated before, Hiroshima is not the only city which was reconstructed from a field of burnt-out ruins. But many people who visit Hiroshima and walk through the city, after visiting Peace Memorial Park and Peace Memorial Museum, say they want to learn more about the reconstruction of Hiroshima. What about Hiroshima, during their visit, causes them to view it as an example of reconstruction, and what do they want to learn from Hiroshima?

However, before trying to answer these questions, we must first ask ourselves, "What is the reconstruction of Hiroshima?" This report is the compilation of Hiroshima's own efforts in answering these questions.

II The Reconstruction of Hiroshima

A total of 115 war-ravaged cities in Japan, including Hiroshima, were designated as cities to be reconstructed under the national government reconstruction project. However, the damage and destruction caused by the A-bomb in Hiroshima had different features from those of cities that suffered air raids by conventional weapons.

On August 6, 1945, the city of Hiroshima suffered a catastrophic damage as an American bomber dropped an atomic bomb over its skies. It is said that around 140,000 people (roughly 40% of the population) died within the year of the bombing.[2)] Just before the bombing, there were 76,317 buildings in Hiroshima City. Of those, 70,147, roughly 92% of all the buildings, were destroyed, burnt or deemed unusable.[3)] Also, the overall land area of the city at the time was 72,700,000 square meters, of which about 18% or 13,250,000 square meters was burnt. Excluding mountains, forests and unused fields, the usable land area of the city was 33,000,000 square meters, of which around 40% was reduced to ashes.[4)]

In this way, the mortality rate and scale of destruction experienced in Hiroshima, overwhelmingly greater than that of other cities, proved to be unique. There are also other distinctive characteristics of the damages incurred in Hiroshima.

First, as a result of the near precision of the American bomber in hitting the target area, Hiroshima, which historically developed as a castle town, and its central military, administrative, and commercial facilities located around the castle area were almost completely obliterated. Next, many residents became the victims of radiation exposure from the nuclear weapon. So, the postwar administration faced a major issue of addressing the radiation damages unique to the atomic bombing. Furthermore, as the Fifth Division of the Army had been located in Hiroshima since the Meiji period, Hiroshima had developed as a military city, assuming important military functions from the time of the First Sino-Japanese War until the end of World War II. After the defeat in the war and the dismantling of the Imperial Japanese Army, Hiroshima found itself in need of building a new identity under the "Peace Constitution."

These characteristics of the damage Hiroshima suffered in the war are closely related

to the challenges Hiroshima faced in the process of reconstruction. In regards to Hiroshima's reconstruction, there are different aspects of the process to be considered. The entire local community, including the government administration, economic circles, and citizens, worked together for the sake of reconstruction, and various projects involving the political, economic, and cultural sectors were undertaken. As a result, the Hiroshima of today which is defined by "peace" gradually began to take shape. In order to shed light on that complex process, it is necessary to look back and see what was lost in Hiroshima in the war and in the atomic bombing, and what was gained.

III Structure of this Report

Bearing in mind the concepts of the report as explained above, Part 1 of this report, titled "War and Destruction," traces Hiroshima's development before the war, starting with Chapter 1, the "Modernization of Hiroshima." In Chapter 2, "War and Hiroshima, the Devastating Impact of the Atomic Bombing" analyzes what Hiroshima lost during the war, and what was destroyed by the atomic bombing.

Part 2 of the report, "Reconstruction of the City," reviews the government's war damage reconstruction planning and the reconstruction planning of Hiroshima in Chapter 3, "Reconstruction Planning." Chapter 4, "The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law," takes up the subject of reconstruction projects implemented with bigger financial assistance from the national government, compared with that of other war-damaged cities under this law, set up through special legislation. Chapter 5, "Various Problems Surrounding Redevelopment," deals with issues specific to the regional communities born at reconstruction sites and with the unique characteristics of the reconstruction of Hiroshima.

In Part 3, "Hiroshima's Reconstruction and Citizens' Lives," Hiroshima's economic recovery from shortly after the war until the period of high economic growth is studied in Chapter 6, "Rebuilding of Industrial Economy." The development of Hiroshima's healthcare system and the medical support of the A-bomb survivors, which has been a great issue in Hiroshima, are analyzed in Chapter 7, "Realizing Adequate Healthcare and Medical Care, and Support for A-bomb Survivors." Chapter 8, "Media and Reconstruction," describes the actual reconstruction process in terms of citizens' daily lives and the problems the citizens of Hiroshima faced preconstruction by studying media reports.

In Part 4, "Searching for a New Identity," Chapter 9, "A City in Search of Peace," examines how the new identity of Hiroshima symbolizing "peace" was formed from the viewpoints of the peace administration, peace movements, peace education, and the survivors.

We have also included columns on easy-to-understand themes in each chapter. These columns were written by experts on Hiroshima, including researchers, practitioners and journalists, all specialized in these themes.

IV Conclusion

Numerous articles and papers have been written on the postwar history of Hiroshima and its recovery from the atomic bombing.[5)] Most of them were written by administrators, researchers, practitioners and journalists and edited by committees organized by local governments such as Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima. However, there is not much literature that has been written on the theme of reconstruction of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima*

Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko (Reconstruction of HIROSHIMA: Pictorial History of Forty Years Since Atomic Bombing, 1985), and *Sensai Fukko Jigyoshi* (Record of the War Damage Reconstruction Project, 1995), compiled by the City of Hiroshima, are two such examples. There are documents that contain analyses of the damage caused by the atomic bombing and descriptions of the rebuilding of people's lives after the war. However, except for these few examples, little else has been written on these themes that details Hiroshima's reconstruction.

In comparison to the existing literature, this report is unique in that it attempts to focus on the reconstruction of Hiroshima, despite limitations on the time allotted for the survey and the volume of materials gathered. A digest and an English version of this report, for use in human resource development, and as educational materials for those visiting Hiroshima to study reconstruction, will be made available. We hope this report can make a contribution, even if it is in a small way, to Hiroshima's further growth from an A-bombed city to a city that contributes to global peacebuilding.

(Kazumi Mizumoto)

Notes

1. In May 1949, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, a special law drafted by House members, was adopted in order to secure a special budget for Hiroshima. Based on this law, the national government provided more assistance to Hiroshima than to the other cities being reconstructed on general war damage reconstruction projects.
2. Atomic Bomb Survivors Relief Department, the City of Hiroshima (Ed.). *Genbaku Hibakusha Taisaku Jigyo Gaiyo,* Heisei Nijuyo Nen Ban (Overview of the Atomic Bomb Survivors Measures Project 2012). p. 15.
3. City of Hiroshima (Ed.). *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi:* Daiikkan (Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb War Disaster, Vol. 1). pp. 194-195.
4. City of Hiroshima (Ed.). *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Keizai Hen (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Economy). p. 9.
5. The following works are often used as references. This list only includes the most referenced works:

   Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Casualty Council. *Hiroshima Genbaku Iryoshi* (History of Medical Care for A-bomb Survivors in Hiroshima). 1961.
   City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Shiyakusho Genbakushi* (Record of the Atomic Bomb Disaster of the Hiroshima City Hall). 1966.
   City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi* (Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb War Disaster). 1971-72: Total in 5 volumes.
   Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshima Kenshi:* Genbaku Shiryo Hen (History of Hiroshima Prefecture: Resource Materials on the Atomic Bombing). 1972.
   Hiroshima Prefecture. *Genbaku Sanju Nen* (30 Years after the Atomic Bombing). 1976.
   Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshima Kencho Genbaku Hisaishi* (Record of Atomic Bomb Disaster of Hiroshima Prefectural Office). 1976.
   Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshima Shinshi* (History of Postwar Hiroshima). 1981-86, Total in 13 volumes.
   City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Reconstrction of HIROSHIMA, Pictorial History of Forty Years since Atomic Bombing). 1985.
   Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshimaken Sensaishi* (History of War Damage in Hiroshima Prefecture). 1988.
   City of Hiroshima. *Sensai Fukko Jigyoshi* (Record of War Damage Reconstruction Projects) 1995.
   City of Hiroshima. *Toshi Hiroshima 1945-1995 & the Future* (HIROSHIMA--The City 1945-1995 & The Future: Fifty Years of Postwar Urban Design and the Creation of a New Landscape). 1996. (in Japanese)
   City of Hiroshima. *Hibaku Goju Shunen Zusetsu Sengo Hiroshima Shishi: Machi to Kurashi no Goju Nen* (An Illustrated History of Postwar Hiroshima: Fifty Years of Life after the Atomic Bomb). 1996.
   City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshimashi Genbaku Hibakusha Engo Gyoseishi* (History of the Hiroshima City A-bomb Survivors Support Administration). 1996.
   City of Hiroshima. *Genbaku Dome Sekai Isan Toroku Kirokushi* (Record of Registration of the Atomic Bomb Dome as an World Heritage). 1997. and many others were also referenced.

Part 1
War and Destruction

Chapter 1
Modernization of Hiroshima

Introduction

The history of Hiroshima city begins with the construction of a castle located on the delta of the Ota River in 1589 by Terumoto Mori. Since that time, Hiroshima has served as the political center of its region and also as a military base city until the atomic bombing.

With the Meiji Restoration, Hiroshima drastically transformed from a castle town into a modern city. Hiroshima had a huge number of former samurai, who became poor after the dismantling of the samurai class at the time of the Meiji Restoration. Then a new administrative and military structure was created and drastically changed the economy and society of Hiroshima.

Many factors led the Hiroshima's transformation into a modern city. Some of these include the construction of Ujina Port, which was a mega project in the early Meiji period, railway projects including the Sanyo Railroad and the streetcar system, the construction of new bridges and development of road networks, which traversed the delta, changes in the layout of the downtown area, the establishment of modern large-scale factories, and moreover, Hiroshima's part as a center of administration, a military capital, and a center of learning.

I From Castle Town to a Modern City

1 Hiroshima, the Castle Town

During the Warring States period, the head of the Mori clan set up his base at Yoshida Koriyamajo Castle and became the greatest daimyo of western Japan, ruling over most of the Chugoku region. After choosing the Hiroshima bay area as the capital of his domain, Terumoto Mori built Hiroshima Castle. He modeled his castle after Jurakudai in Kyoto and Osaka Castle, which were built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Mori was defeated at the battle of Sekigahara and forced into the two provinces of Suo and Nagato. After that, the head of the Fukushima clan became the lord of Hiroshima Castle and ruled over Aki and Bingo Provinces, today's Hiroshima Prefecture. Fukushima was subsequently demoted and the head of the Asano clan entered Hiroshima. The southern part of the Bingo area was cut off, and the head of the Mizuno clan then entered the Fukuyama area. During the Edo period, Hiroshima developed as the castle town of the Asano family, who governed the provinces of Aki and Bingo, in which 430,000 *koku* of rice was harvested. At the time, Edo, Osaka and Kyoto were the biggest cities in Japan, but Hiroshima also became a big city, on the same scale as Kumamoto, although smaller than Nagoya and Kanazawa.

The town area of Hiroshima Castle consisted of the castle, the samurai residential area, the tradesmen and artisans' district, the temple district, and the newly reclaimed Shinkai area.

The samurai residences occupied a wide area surrounding the castle and other strategic locations. The tradesmen and artisans' district developed around the periphery of this area and along the roads. It was comprised of five communities: Shin-machi, Nakadori, Shirakami, Nakajima, and Hirose. Toward the sea, continuous land reclamation was undertaken south of the tradesmen and artisans' district. At the time Hiroshima Castle was constructed, the seashore was around the area of today's Peace Boulevard. Land reclamation was carried out vigorously by the feudal government of the Hiroshima Domain and wealthy townspeople, and the islands of Niho and Eba were connected to the mainland.

The population of the *machi-gumi* (communities in the tradesmen and artisans' district) grew with the development of the castle town but began to decline in the late 18th century. In contrast to this decline, the population of Shinkai, the newly reclaimed land continuously grew; and in the early 19th century, the population of Shinkai was nearly the same as that of the five communities in the tradesmen and artisans' district. The combined population of Shinkai and the five communities was around 50,000 at that time. On the other hand, during the middle of the Edo period, the estimated population of the samurai class was around 19,000.

2 Changes in the Administration System

After the tumultuous closing days of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the newly established Meiji government aimed to become a centralized government body, replacing the old system. In July 1871, the abolishment of the feudal provinces and the establishment of prefectures were decisively implemented. Through this, Hiroshima Han (or domain), under the rule of the Asano family, was abolished and Hiroshima Prefecture was born. In 1876, the six regions of Bingo were merged with Hiroshima Prefecture, and the prefecture reached the same total area as that of today. Initially, the prefectural government office was set up in Honmaru (main compound) of the Hiroshima Castle, but as the First Outpost of the Chinzei (Kyushu) Garrison was established in Honmaru, the government office was relocated to Sannomaru (third compound) of the castle in October 1871. Then, as military barracks were built at Sannomaru, the prefectural office was subsequently relocated to a temporary office at the Kokutaiji Temple in Ko-machi. As an accidental fire broke out and burned the office to the ground in December of 1876, the temporary prefectural office was yet again moved to Butsugoji Temple in Tera-machi. In April 1878, a new building was constructed and the prefectural office was moved to Kako-machi. While the military facilities occupied the castle area in the northern part of the town, the prefectural office was located in the south, near the southernmost of the delta of the Ota River. With the establishment of the prefectural office, the town of Hiroshima became the capital of the prefecture; and with the garrison, Hiroshima maintained its position as the regional center of politics and military.

The local administrative division underwent many changes as the prefecture was being established. In October 1871, the Hiroshima Prefectural Government drew up 158 wards within the prefecture to start a family registry system. At this time, the castle town of Hiroshima was divided into four wards. The following year, in order to set up administrative wards and organize the family registry system, a "daiku-shoku system" (large and small ward system) was adopted. The castle town of Hiroshima, as well as regional *gun* (counties) became large wards, and these large wards were then divided into small wards. The castle town of Hiroshima became the "First Large Ward," which was made up of 12 (initially 24) small wards.

In November 1878, a "county, ward, town, and village" system was implemented,

marking the revival of the old system of counties, towns and villages in Hiroshima Prefecture. Wards were only set up in urban areas. As a result, Hiroshima Prefecture came to consist of Hiroshima Ward and 22 counties, and public offices were established in all towns and villages. The Hiroshima Ward Office was set up at Otesuji 1-Chome, and was later moved first to Shinkawaba-cho and then to Nakajima Shin-machi.

In April 1889, a "city, town and village" system was implemented and the City of Hiroshima became one of the nation's 32 cities. Outside the City of Hiroshima, old towns and villages merged, and new towns and villages were established. The ward office, formerly a rice granary of the previous Hiroshima Domain in Nakajima Shin-machi, was converted into the city hall. This building was used for a long time, and in 1928, new city hall was finally constructed in Kokutaiji-machi. The City of Hiroshima then expanded as the urbanization of the area progressed. In 1904, Moto-Ujina, which belonged to Nihojima Village in Aki County, was added to the city, and in 1929, the city merged seven surrounding towns and villages: Niho Village, Yaga Village and Ushita Village in Aki County; Misasa Town in Asa County; and Koi Town, Furuta Village and Kusatsu Town in Saeki County.

3 The Construction of Ujina Port

Hiroshima developed on the delta of a river, which made it easy for small boats to enter the central part of the city. However, the issue of constructing a port to allow larger vessels to access the city had been up in the air since the closing days of the Tokugawa Shogunate. This idea finally came to fruition with the construction of Ujina Port, which was originally carried out along with other job-creating policies intended to provide work for former samurai. In the first half of the Meiji period, poverty among the former samurai class became a problem, and sheltered work programs for former samurai sprung up throughout Japan. It was under these circumstances that the reclamation of Ujina Bay and the construction of the port were planned. After Sadaaki Senda took office as Governor of Hiroshima Prefecture in 1880, he quickly became engaged in this project.

Even before this time, there had been a history of land reclamation dating back to the Edo period, and in 1868, needy people were employed to newly reclaim and develop land at Kogo. However, the scale of this new construction project was too massive. Construction costs soared, and there was strong opposition from the fishermen in the Oko district, who were to lose their fishing grounds. But through the strong leadership of Governor Senda, construction began anew in September of 1884 and the arduous undertaking was completed in November 1889. A total of 620,000 *tsubo* (approximately 2,046,000 square meters) of land was created through this project, enabling large ships to enter the port.

Of this newly created land, 510,000 *tsubo* (approximately 1,686,000 square meters) was handed over to the vocational center for former samurai in Hiroshima, but as the land was not suitable for cultivation due to its high salinity, the sheltered work programs did not succeed. The usefulness of Ujina Port was not recognized, either. There was criticism against the construction of the port, saying the construction was not necessary or urgent. However, with the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War, the port became a military transport hub five years after it was completed, and rather than being used for commercial purposes as was first intended, it developed into a military post.

4 Development of Transportation Networks and Changes in the Layout of the City

Located on a delta, and intersected by seven rivers, Hiroshima enjoyed easy water transport, but was lacking in terms of land transport. Other than the bridges on the Saigoku Kaido Road, there were only two bridges: Yokogawa Bridge on the Izumo Kaido Road, and Ushita Bridge (also called Kanda Bridge) upstream of the Kyobashi River during the Edo period; and ferries were used where there were no bridges. After the Meiji Restoration, the ban on bridge building was lifted, and many bridges were built. For example, on the Motoyasu River alone, there were five bridges from upstream: Higashi-Aioi Bridge (1878), Motoyasu Bridge (during the Mori period in the 16th century), Shimbashi Bridge (present-day Heiwa-Ohashi Bridge, 1874), Yorozuyo Bridge (1878), and Meiji Bridge (1886). Four of these bridges were newly built in the early Meiji period. However, crossing fees were collected at each bridge, and ferry crossings remained at many places in the city. By the early Showa period, ferries disappeared almost entirely through modernization of the road system.

The Sanyo Railroad, which was eventually to connect Kobe and Shimonoseki, opened to Itozaki in July of 1892; and in June of 1894, it reached Hiroshima (it was later extended to Tokuyama in 1897 and to the terminal of Shimonoseki in 1901). The railways avoided the center of the city and ran along the outer edge of the delta, but with Hiroshima Station in the east, Yokogawa Station in the north, and Koi Station in the west, the urban area of the city expanded. After that, a railway from Yokogawa to Kabe (later named the National Railway Kabe Line) and a railway connecting Hiroshima to Shobara (later the National Railway Geibi Line) opened, strengthening the links between the suburban villages, the northern part of the prefecture, and the city of Hiroshima. Also, in 1912, the streetcar network opened and gradually extended its lines to connect Hiroshima Station, Hatchobori, Kamiya-cho, Koi Station, Yokogawa Station, Ujina, and other important locations by streetcar.

Hiroshima continued to develop along the Saigoku Kaido Road, in the area from Kyobashi to Sakai-machi, during the Edo period. In the early Meiji period (in the 19th century) development expanded in Sakai-machi and Nakajima, along the Honkawa and the Motoyasu Rivers, due to their easy access by water transport. During the Taisho period in the early 20th century, Hatchobori, in the east, became the busiest downtown area as the streetcars opened. The Shintenchi and Higashi-Shintenchi areas were newly developed, and Hondori Street, connecting Nakajima to the eastern part of the city, also prospered. In 1929, the first department store in Hiroshima opened in the northern part of Hatchobori. The opening of the streetcar network stimulated the development of Takanobashi, the area in front of Hiroshima Station, and the coastal area of Ujina.

II Becoming a Regional Core City

1 Becoming an Industrial City

There were no large-scale factories in Hiroshima during the Meiji period, other than those of the cotton-spinning industry, and industrial production was generally sluggish. The main products manufactured in Hiroshima were matches, canned food, and sewing needles. As an export industry, match production peaked during World War I, but production quickly declined due to international competition and Japan falling behind other nations in the technological innovation. Sewing needle production also peaked during World War I. With improvements in the production process, manufacturing of sewing needles remained a major local industry. The production of canned food, primarily for the navy, flourished during the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War; and numerous small-scale factories were established. In fact, statistical data from 1923 shows that Hiroshima accounted for 82% of the canned beef production in Japan. The production of canned food was strongly connected to the military and war and increased greatly with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The Hiroshima Bosekisho (the Hiroshima Spinning Plant), established as a government-run factory in Kamiseno Village in Aki County, was one of the first modern factories in Hiroshima. When the factory was completed in 1882, it was sold off to the Hiroshima Menshi Bosekigaisha (the Hiroshima Cotton Spinning Company), a sheltered work company for former samurai, and began to operate. In 1885, it was relocated to Kawara-machi and was the biggest factory in Hiroshima. The spinning industry remained a key industry in Hiroshima.

After World War I, Teikoku Rayon set up a factory in Minamisenda-machi, Hiroshima. This factory closed after about 10 years. Then, Kinka Rayon set up a factory of its own in Ujina. The production of rubber products and paper manufacturing increased greatly around this time. The metal and machinery industry also began to emerge; and in 1920, Japan Steel Works launched a factory in Hiroshima to manufacture weapons. In the same year, Toyo Cork Kogyo was established. The company's name was changed to Toyo Kogyo in 1927, and began subcontracted production for the navy. In 1931, Toyo Kogyo relocated to Fuchu Town in Aki County and started production of three-wheeled trucks. During the war, the Hiroshima Industrial Port Construction Project was carried out and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries built the Hiroshima Shipyard in the waterfront of the Eba area and the Hiroshima Machinery Works in the waterfront of the Kannon area. Large factories were built in this way from World War I to World War II. Heavy and chemical industries became Hiroshima's major industries, which were driven by military demand during the wars. Small and medium-sized companies sprung up as suppliers to these large companies and to the Kure Naval Arsenal. The postwar industrialization of Hiroshima can be seen in these enterprises.

2 Hiroshima as a Center of Learning

Hiroshima was also a center of learning. This started from the establishment of Hiroshima Higher Normal School. Enhancement of secondary education was sought after as a part of state planning after the First Sino-Japanese War, and the second higher normal school was to be established to ensure that enough teachers were educated. Governor Kazuyuki Egi negotiated with the Ministry of Education to invite the second higher normal school to the

City of Hiroshima. The prefectural assembly passed a resolution that would provide a site and funding for the school. Through these actions, Hiroshima was chosen as the location of the second higher normal school, which opened in 1902. Hiroshima Higher Normal School in the west and Tokyo Higher Normal School in the east became known as the top two schools in the field of education in the country. In 1929, a department of Hiroshima Higher Normal School was reorganized, and Hiroshima University of Literature and Science established.

In 1920, Hiroshima High Institute of Technology was established. Hiroshima Prefecture invited the construction of this school, when there was a plan to build two new high institutes of technology in Japan. As for high schools, after the Sixth High School was established in Okayama in 1900, it had become an earnest desire of Hiroshima to have a high school in Hiroshima. When the central government planned to drastically increase the number of high schools in the nation in 1918, a large movement began involving Hiroshima Prefecture, the City of Hiroshima, and the private sector. With this, Hiroshima High School was established in 1923. Hiroshima Kenritsu Joshi Senmon Gakko (a women's school for higher education established by Hiroshima Prefecture) and Hiroshima Jogakuin Senmon Gakko (Hiroshima Jogakuin College) were also established, and the number of schools of higher education increased in Hiroshima. Together with the development of public and private secondary and vocational schools, Hiroshima grew into an academic city – a center of learning.

3 Regional Core City Hiroshima

Hiroshima was a regional core city that boasted a large population after the six big cities in Japan. Many national government offices overseeing the Chugoku region or both the Chugoku and the Shikoku regions were established in Hiroshima. Similarly, many nationwide businesses also chose to set up branch offices in Hiroshima. Branch offices of government and businesses were located in Hiroshima, including the Chugoku District Marine Transport Bureau of the Ministry of Transport; the Hiroshima Appellate Court; the Hiroshima Management Department of Japanese National Railways; the Hiroshima Communications Bureau of the Ministry of Communications; the Hiroshima Regional Finance Bureau of the Ministry of Finance; as well as branch offices of the Hiroshima Central Broadcasting Bureau, the Bank of Japan, the Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank and Nippon Express.

Also, the headquarters of prefectural-wide companies chose Hiroshima City as the location for their central offices. Power companies and banks had been established in each region of the prefecture during the Meiji period, but after repeated join-ups and large-scale growth, mergers were carried out under regulations on businesses enacted during the war (the Asia-Pacific War). Later, Geibi Bank, formed as a result of the merging of seven banks in 1920, merged with other banks one after another from both within and outside the prefecture. As a result, there were five banks left, and in April 1945, they were merged into Geibi Bank, making it the only regional bank in Hiroshima. As for power companies, small companies that were set up at various places were absorbed by Hiroshima Dento (Hiroshima Electric Light Company) and Hiroshima Kure Denryoku (Hiroshima Kure Electric Power), and in 1921, these two companies merged to form Hiroshima Denki (Hiroshima Electric). During the war, national management of the power companies was pushed forward, and Chugoku Haiden (the Chugoku Electric Power Distribution Company) was established to distribute electricity to the entire Chugoku region. In this way, people, money, and goods of this region concentrated in the City of Hiroshima.

(Fukuhei Ando)

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Column

The Genbaku Dome: a Symbol of Hiroshima

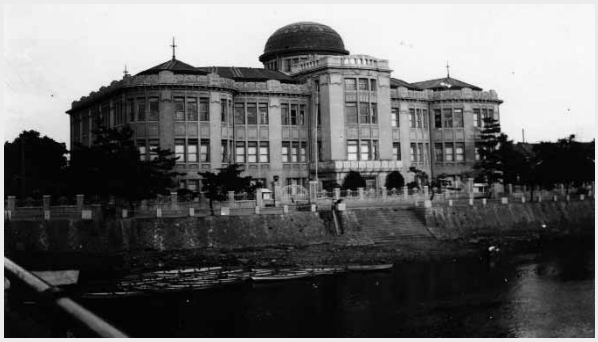
Introduction

In December 1996, an architectural structure from Hiroshima became a World Heritage Site. This building was officially recorded as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome). It is also known as the A-bomb Dome.

When Japan joined the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1992, people began to raise their voices in support of making the A-bomb Dome a World Heritage Site, because it is "a living witness that tells the story of the terrors of nuclear weapons." A national campaign to collect signatures conducted by the citizens of Hiroshima was a success, and it was designated as a national historical site in June 1995 and registered on the list of World Heritage Sites in 1996 as a symbol calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons and for world peace.[1)]

1 The Work of a Czech Architect

The A-bomb Dome was formerly an exhibition hall that displayed local products from Hiroshima. During the Meiji period, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce facilitated various kinds of exhibition halls to raise public awareness to modernize the nation. Exhibition halls that showed the modernization of industry were set up at various places and in 1917, there were 26 public halls.[2)] Hiroshima also adopted a four-year plan beginning in 1911 to establish an exhibition hall, but the plan was delayed due to criticism saying public investment should favor the rural areas. Under this backdrop, in February 1913, Governor Sukeyuki Terada, who was transferred from Miyagi Prefecture, aggressively pushed for the project in the hope that the exhibition hall would become central to regional growth by acting as a base for improving the quality of local products and expanding sales.



The A-bomb Dome before the bombing, a base for Hiroshima's industry and culture: Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall (Photo in the early Showa period. Personal collection.)

While governor of Miyagi, Terada had set up a new prefectural hotel in Matsushima, one of the famed three most scenic places in Japan, a measure to attract foreign tourists. This hotel, the Miyagi Prefectural Matsushima Park Hotel, was designed by Jan Letzel, a Czech architect. Terada once again called on Jan Letzel's skills in Hiroshima. Letzel had come to Japan in 1907, upon learning modern Czech architecture from Jan Kotera. It was Letzel who introduced Japan to the authentic secession style, the fore-runner to modern architecture.

The City of Hiroshima prepared a site for the exhibition hall covering 974 *tsubo* of land (3,214.2 square meters) comprised of the site of a former rice granary from the Edo period that once belonged to the Asano Domain, a reclamation site on the bank of the Motoyasu River, and additional land. The site sat across from what was then a bustling

shopping district, and the 310 *tsubo* (1,023 square meters) exhibition hall was constructed by Hiroshima Prefecture at the cost of about 120,000 yen.

In April of 1915, a white-walled multi-storied building, topped with a cylindrical tower approximately 25 meters tall, was completed on the bank of the Motoyasu River. On August 15 of the same year, Governor Terada proclaimed that the building would serve to further promote and improve the prefecture's products and contribute to the development of related industries. With this, the Hiroshima Prefectural Commercial Exhibition Hall was opened.[3] Not only were prefectural products displayed in the hall, but there was also a place where people could receive advice on topics such as improving the quality of local products, conducting transactions, and enhancing sales methods. In May 1916, one year after the hall opened, the First Hiroshima Prefectural Art Exhibition was held. Afterwards, the Hiroshima Prefecture Art Association, led by Hisanobu Yoshida, who was also the first director of the hall, held prefectural art exhibitions every year.[4] The exhibition was used for a wide range of events, including concerts and lectures. It is also notable that the German treat, *Baumkuchen*, was first introduced to Japan at this exhibition hall.[5]

In January of 1921, the hall's name was changed to the Hiroshima Prefectural Products Exhibition Hall, and then in November 1933 it was changed again to the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall.

2 The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Promotion Hall, and the Fateful Day

In 1934, the Industrial Promotion Hall established branches in Dalian and Xinjing in eastern China and Harbin in northeastern; and from 1938 it set up offices in Mukden, Tianjin, Shanghai, and in Kobe. After this, offices such as the Hiroshima Prefectural Central Commerce Consultation Office were established inside the hall ushering in the busiest period of activity for the hall during the prewar Showa period.

Even the Industrial Promotion Hall fell under the dark shadow of war. The Hiroshima branch of the Japan Lumber Regulation Company moved into the hall in June of 1941. Around this time, the metal gates designed by Letzel were sent to the government per order of the Metal Collection Act. Exhibits in the exhibition rooms also took on a deep overtone of war. The last exhibit, entitled "Masterpieces of the Holy War," was held in December of 1943, and all of the exhibit rooms were converted into offices for the wartime administration, including those for prefectural and national agencies as well as regulating agencies. On March 31, 1944, all functions as the Industrial Promotion Hall came to a halt and the hall would meet its destiny in less than a year.

On August 6, 1945, the Enola Gay, an American bomber, dropped an atomic bomb that exploded 600 meters above the ground, approximately 160 meters southeast of the Industrial Promotion Hall. The Hall received the full force of the blast, heat waves and the radiation as it was almost directly below the explosion. According to Eizo Nomura, who was exposed to the Atomic bomb at the Fuel Hall (now the Rest House in the Peace Memorial Park) across the river from the hall and miraculously survived, fire began billowing out the windows of the hall some time between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m.[6] At the time of the bombing, the 30 people inside, all staff of the regulations agencies and prefectural offices, died instantly.[7] The central structure was an oblong column shape with relatively thick walls, and since the pressure from the blast came from almost directly above the building, it narrowly escaped collapse.

3 What to Do with the Atomic Bomb Dome

"I won't look. I won't remember. I can't stand remembering. Even if I don't want to look at the remains of the exhibition hall, I have to see them. What should I do about these

ruins?" [8] These are the words of Iri Maruki, an artist who, together with his wife, Toshi Maruki, painted "The Hiroshima Panels," five years after the atomic bombing.

For many citizens of Hiroshima, the remains of the Industrial Promotional Hall were a terrible reminder of the atomic bombing, but the imposing ruin became a landmark that brought in tourists from Japan and abroad to "Atomic City, Hiroshima." In 1946, a British soldier visited Hiroshima and received a pamphlet, which had been created by the occupying forces (British Commonwealth Occupation Force and U.S. Eighth Army) for military visitors to Hiroshima. It includes a dramatic illustration of the site, which was introduced as the "Dome" Building Commercial Museum.[9] When the City of Hiroshima put together a list of 10 A-bombed sites in August of 1947, perhaps the A-bomb Dome was not included out of consideration of the feelings of survivors. However, when the Hiroshima City Tourist Association selected 13 A-bomb memorial preservation sites (13 Famous Atomic Bomb Locations) in July 1948, the dome was the first location listed.

Around this time, a photograph of the atomic bomb ruins with the caption, "How long will you stay there like that?" appeared in the Yukan Hiroshima. The accompanying article argued for reconstruction over preservation and urged for the demolition of all reminders of the past.[10] During this time, in the spring of 1949, it was almost certain that the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law would be enacted, and a design competition for the "Peace Memorial Park and Museum" was held. It was an expansive competition that sought designs not only for the buildings but also for the entire public park space. A group led by Kenzo Tange, an associate professor at the University of Tokyo, came in first. Tange believed that the A-bomb Dome should be maintained as a symbol and used it as the centerpiece of his design.[11]

In October of 1949, the City of Hiroshima conducted a survey of 500 A-bomb survivors to determine whether or not the dome should be demolished. 428 people responded, and according to the results, 62% were in favor of the dome's preservation while 35% were in favor of its demolition.[12] The Mainichi Newspaper Company also conducted a survey in which 63% were for the dome's preservation and 23% were for its demolition. Of the group that supported preserving the dome, 64% described it as "a famous building symbolizing the A-bombed city of Hiroshima."[13] It seems that few citizens desired a hasty demolition of the dome during the early postwar period.

The name "A-bomb Dome" was first used in an editorial from the Chugoku Shimbun dated June 23, 1950 entitled "Discussion on Tourism." A haiku by Yoshinori Fujii appeared in the September 1950 edition of the haiku magazine, *Yoru* (Night). It read, "Kanatokogumo, Genbaku Dome ni, Ari Kuruu (Anvil Cloud, at the A-bomb Dome, Ants Running Wild)." In the summer of 1951, the name "A-bomb Dome" came to be used more frequently in newspapers and magazines, and by 1952, when the peace treaty went into effect and sovereignty was restored to Japan, it was in common use.[14]

4 Tug-of-war over Preservation

In November 1953, Hiroshima Prefecture announced that management of the A-bomb Dome would be handed over to the City of Hiroshima.[15] Even under city management, the dome was left as it was for a time. At a Hiroshima City Council meeting on March 15, 1956, the mayor of Hiroshima, Tadao Watanabe, responded to the question of what to do with the dome by saying, "We will leave it as it is."[16]

While the matter remained unresolved, the phrase "the A-bomb Dome" continued to take root, and people argued that it would be a symbol of peace unlike any other A-bombed structure. For example, Robert Jungk, a Jewish journalist from Germany, argued for the dome's preservation, writing that it is a worldwide symbol that holds special significance as

"a warning of our possible future destiny."[17)]

"I just wonder if the painful reminder that is the Industrial Promotion Hall (A-bomb Dome) will always be there to tell the world how fearsome atomic bombs are." (paraphrased) This sentiment appeared in a diary entry dated August 6, 1959, written by Hiroko Kajiyama, a girl who died at age 16 to leukemia, even though she survived the bombing at age 1. Her parents entrusted her diary to Ichiro Kawamoto, an advocate of the Hiroshima Paper Crane Club, and a close friend of Jungk. On May 5, 1960, members of the organization gathered at the Children's Peace Monument where they read the diary aloud and on August they started collecting donations and signatures to support the preservation of the A-bomb Dome.[18)] Meanwhile, opposition to preserving the dome remained strong. In fact, in October of 1963, when the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry (located just north of the dome) asked Hiroshima University's Faculty of Engineering to conduct a survey of the dome before the renovation of the chamber building, the mayor of Hiroshima, Shinzo Hamai, shared his point of view, stating, "I believe there is no value in reinforcing the dome for preservation."[19)]

5 The Dome to Be Permanently Preserved

In March of 1964, the National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons (Kakkin) announced a plan to construct a "Flame of Peace" north of the Memorial Cenotaph in the Peace Memorial Park. The Flame of Peace Construction Committee was organized by 40 representatives from Hiroshima Prefecture, the City of Hiroshima, political and business circles, labor unions, religious circles, academia, and other groups. Kenzo Tange was commissioned to design the Flame of Peace, and it was completed on August 1 of the same year, upon which a lighting ceremony was held.[20)] The Flame of Peace was completed on the axis where the dome could be seen from the Memorial Cenotaph, making the A-bomb Dome a stronger symbol of the peace movement.

In December of the same year (1964), 11 organizations, including the Hiroshima Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Hiroshimaken Gensuikin), the Hiroshima Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Hiroshimaken Gensuikyo) and Kakkin sent out a joint proposal for the preservation of the A-bomb Dome. This proposal requested that the City of Hiroshima preserve the dome as it is as a "Memorial Tower of the Nuclear Age." In March of the following year (1965), eight individuals, including Hideki Yukawa, a professor at Kyoto University, submitted similar requests to the chairman of the Hiroshima City Council. Upon receiving requests from both home and abroad, the City of Hiroshima budgeted 1,000,000 yen, out of the 1965 fiscal budget, to conduct a survey on the strength of the A-bomb Dome exactly 20 years after the bombing. According to the results of a survey report they received from specialists, the dome could be preserved with reinforcements.[21)]

On July 11, 1966, the Hiroshima City Council unanimously passed a resolution to permanently preserve the A-bomb Dome. Donations for the dome's preservation came in from people throughout the entire country and by July 1967 approximately 66,200,000 yen had been collected. The structure underwent preservation work to reinforce key points of the structure with steel framing and inject adhesives into the building's brick walls, which solidified the entire wall structure. A completion ceremony was held on August 5, 1967. Since then, preservation work has been carried out several times. Today, in order to control the structure's decay due to aging, the City of Hiroshima conducts a strength testing survey every three years, as a rule.

(Shinobu Kikuraku and Hitoshi Nagai)

Notes

1. Flyer Call for 1,000,000 signatures made by "the Committee to Promote the A-bomb Dome as a World Heritage." City of Hiroshima. *Genbaku Dome Sekai Isan Toroku Kinenshi* (Record of Registration of the Atomic Bomb Dome as an World Heritage). 1997.
2. *Chugoku Shimbun*, Oct. 21, 1917 edition.
3. *Chugoku Shimbun*, Aug. 16, 1915 edition.
4. *Chugoku Shimbun*, Jun. 22, 1916 edition.
5. First introduced and sold at the "German Prisoners of War Technology and Crafts Exhibition" held in March 1919. On March 5 of the same year, the Chugoku Shimbun reported that "the biggest crowd in the hall was at the cake sales counter, and the three prisoners of war at the sales counter were extremely busy."
6. Drawing and text by Eizo Nomura, one of the drawings by A-bomb survivors, Collection of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (collection code: GE28-33).
7. City of Hiroshima (Ed.). *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi:* Dai Ni Kan (Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb War Disaster, Vol. 2). City of Hiroshima, 1971: p.73.
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17. Jungk, Robert. "Genbaku Dome" (The Atomic Bomb Dome). *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 5, 1954 edition.
18. Materials on Ichiro Kawamoto archived by Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
19. *Chugoku Shimbun*, Oct. 5 and Oct. 23, 1963 editions.
20. National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons. *Kakuheiki Haizetsu to Jinrui no Hanei wo Motomete – Kakkin Kaigi Goju Nenshi* (Pursuing the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons and the Prosperity of the Human Race – A 50-Year History of the National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons). 2011: p.41.
21. A survey conducted by the Department of Architecture of Hiroshima University's Faculty of Engineering began on July 28, 1965. Professor Shigeo Sato presented the City of Hiroshima with an interim report on November 15 of the same year.

Chapter 2
War and Hiroshima, the Devastating Impact of the Atomic Bombing

Introduction

Hiroshima was one of the most important military cities in Japan. During the turmoil of the Meiji Restoration, many castles in Japan were destroyed. Hiroshima Castle was one of those that remained, and it became a military base. With the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War, Hiroshima became a major base for troop dispatch and military logistics. Hiroshima's function as a military city was fully realized and many troops were shipped out to the battlefield from the city, each time a war broke out. During the final days of World War II, the Headquarters of the Second General Army, established to command troops in western Japan, was stationed in Hiroshima in preparation for decisive battles on the mainland.

It was not long before Hiroshima was chosen as a target of an atomic bombing and suffered an indescribable tragedy. Tens of thousands of lives were lost and masses of suffering people ran about in confusion. Rescue operations, the disposal of the dead and the removal of debris were carried out by the military under circumstances that were unimaginably worse than what they had been prepared for. The road to reconstruction would be fraught with difficulties.

I Hiroshima: the Path to Becoming a Military City

1 Hiroshima: the Military City

The start of Hiroshima's development as a military city can be traced back to the reform of the military system that took place during the Meiji Restoration. In 1871, four garrisons—Tokyo, Osaka, Chinzei (Kyushu), and Tohoku—were established, and the First Outpost of the Chinzei Garrison was set up in Hiroshima. In 1873, the distribution of garrisons was revised. The country was divided into six military districts, and the Hiroshima Garrison of the Fifth Military District was established (besides Hiroshima, other garrisons were set up in Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, and Kumamoto). After this, with an Imperial ordinance on division headquarters announced in 1888, the Hiroshima Garrison was disbanded, and the Fifth Division Headquarters was established. So, Hiroshima took its place as a military base with jurisdiction over the Chugoku and Shikoku regions. When the First Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, the city's importance as a base for dispatching troops and for military logistics suddenly came into focus.

The Fifth Division was ordered to mobilize in preparation for the First Sino-Japanese War. On June 9 1894, the First Battalion of the 11th Infantry Regiment departed from Ujina Port. This was the same year that the Sanyo Railroad opened a new route to Hiroshima. When the railroad was connected to Ujina Port in 1889, Hiroshima became the perfect location for dispatching troops to the Korean Peninsula and to Chinese mainland. The Ujina Line, which connected Hiroshima Station to Ujina Port, was completed just in time for the war in a rushed construction project that took slightly more than two weeks. With the start of the war, divisions, from Hiroshima eastward, gathered in the city in succession and departed from

Ujina Port. The officers and soldiers stayed in Hiroshima City and its suburbs before their departure. The number of men who passed through Hiroshima, including *gunpu* (laborers employed by military for transport and supply work), was 171,098. Sometimes these men stayed in the city for only a few days, and other times their stays lasted tens of days. On September 8, it was announced that the Imperial Headquarters would move to Hiroshima, and the Meiji Emperor arrived on September 15. The Imperial Diet was held in Hiroshima and many high officials also arrived, and the city took on the appearance of a provisional capital.

In response to the war, as a base for troop dispatch and military logistics, Hiroshima planned the expansion of military facilities. First, in preparation for the reception of returning units, the Ninoshima Temporary Army Quarantine Station was opened in June 1895. The following year, construction of Hiroshima's waterworks for military use began (completed in August 1898). Construction of waterworks for drinking water was not only for the provision of tap water to army ships, but it was also necessary as a countermeasure against the spread of infectious diseases. (Upon receiving returning units after the First Sino-Japanese War, Hiroshima became rife with cholera. In 1895, 1,302 people died of cholera in Hiroshima City.) The Ministry of the Army emphasized the importance of Hiroshima's waterworks for military use with the following statement:[1)]

> The importance of Hiroshima City in Hiroshima Prefecture, along with Ujina Port, as a strategic base for military activities is a matter that needs little discussion. However, the drinking water in this city is unhygienic and has become a vector for communicable diseases time and time again. The danger this has posed to our troops is not small. For this reason, even though the conditions of this area (together with the port) are extremely favorable, we will not be able to make full use of them unless water-piping is laid out to fix the lack of a hygienic water supply problem. It will be impossible to station entire units upon the dispatching and returning of troops… It is necessary to promptly begin construction of water-piping in the city and to complete it as soon as possible to make Hiroshima a safe strategic base. In addition, a long-term plan to make cluster of warehouses at Ujina Port is also necessary…

Waterworks construction was a pending issue for the City of Hiroshima, too, but provision of tap water to citizens was made possible by allowing them to tap into the military waterworks facilities.

Transportation functions of Ujina Port, put into full operation during the war, did not lose their significance, as military troops were placed in newly acquired colonies after the war. In March 1896, the Ujina branch of the Temporary Army Transport and Communications Department was established. This later became the Army Transport Department. Because of Ujina's role, a provisions depot, a clothing depot, and an ordnance supply depot were set up in Hiroshima. Also, a local military preparatory school was established (opened in 1897, closed in 1928, re-opened in 1936).

One characteristic of Hiroshima's role as the military capital is that it was highly visible during times of war due to its role in dispatching troops. Hiroshima became a staging point and was flooded with people and goods in anticipation of wartime economic activity, first during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, and then for the Russo-Japanese War from 1904 to 1905. The prosperity of Ujina area was especially astonishing with a pre-war population of 3,200 that swelled to 9,000 after the war started. Some estimates say that in addition to this, the number of laborers engaged in military transport work at the time reached 3,000. The area bustled, boasting over 100 eating and drinking places, around 30 restaurants, 80 inns and

guesthouses, more than 300 rickshaw operators, over 40 brothels, and over 200 prostitutes. Hiroshima's role continued to grow after the Manchurian Incident, and as the conflicts in the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War escalated.

2 From the Manchurian Incident to the Second Sino-Japanese War

In September 1931, after an explosion on the South Manchurian Railway (a plot by the Kwantung Army), the military ordered the invasion of Manchuria (Northeastern China) to begin (the Manchurian Incident). China brought the case before the League of Nations and the international community blamed Japan for the incident. However, having been persuaded by newspaper reports and military campaigns, the Japanese people, almost unanimously leaned toward supporting the war. On September 26, the Hiroshima City Branch of the Imperial Reserve Association and the Chugoku Shimbun (newspaper) Company sponsored a large lecture presentation on military activities. On November 3, representatives from neighborhood associations in the City of Hiroshima held the "Current Affairs Citizens Rally" at Hijiyama Gobenden Square. Hiroshima, which had just regained its role as a military capital, was bustling with activity as it sent reinforcements to the Chinese mainland from Ujina Port. On November 17, when the Eighth Division departed from Ujina Port, 100,000 people came to see the troops off. On December 21, a send-off ceremony, marking the deployment of the Fifth Division (Hiroshima's local division) reached a fever pitch—with over 130,000 people turning out in the Ujina area.

In July 1937, Japan rushed into full-scale war with China. The government decided on sending reinforcements by dispatching three divisions from Japan. The Fifth Division was also ordered to mobilize. With this large movement of troops, starting on August 1, draftees received a grand send-off and left in droves for the frontline in northern China from Ujina Port.

The Japanese military forces were overwhelmingly dominant in the early stages of the Second Sino-Japanese War. However, persistent resistance from the Chinese side caused the fighting to become unexpectedly bitter and a great number of soldiers lost their lives. As early as the end of August, newspapers came to be filled with articles beautifying and dramatizing the words of dead soldiers' bereaved families, including headlines such as: "he was summoned by the Emperor," "he was willing to die," "it was his dream," "they spoke calmly about it," and "we were prepared for his death." [2)]

> I'm sorry he had to die. But, I don't regret that he was summoned by the Emperor and died an honorable death in battle….
> I have already prepared for this possibility. It is a blessing that someone like my son was able to serve the Emperor….

On October 2, the first remains of soldiers of the Fifth Division arrived at Hiroshima Station, and from around this time until throughout the end of the year, official notices of the deaths in battle were delivered to families in nearly every town and village. When the remains of the war dead were returned to their hometowns, grand municipal funerals were held.

In answer for the increasing number of war dead, the Japanese military stormed major Chinese cities one after another. On December 13, Nanjing, the capital of the Chinese Nationalist Government, fell. In Hiroshima, 100,000 citizens celebrated this in a lantern parade, and the city was intoxicated with a sense of victory. Victory celebrations were held openly in anticipation of the end of the war, which nobody doubted after "the fall of Nanjing,

the enemy capital." However, Chinese resistance continued and the war did not come to an end. The Japanese military continued their attacks deep into the interior of the Chinese mainland and rushed into a lingering war.

In order to support a large-scale and long-lasting war, the establishment of a war regime economy was a necessity. In 1938, the National Mobilization Law was enacted and the government was given authority to control and mobilize all human and material resources in preparation for all-out war. Governmental control of the economy gradually strengthened by shifting industrial production towards military-driven demand, implementing new business regulations, rationing necessities, instituting price controls, and using labor controls (requisition). Necessities were strictly rationed and the people of Japan were forced to live in austerity.

3 Preparing for the Coming Decisive Battles on the Mainland

The Second Sino-Japanese War reached a state of quagmire. As opposition from the United States and Britain increased, the Japanese military started a war with the United States and Britain by landing on the Malay Peninsula and launching a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 8, 1941. With the start of the war, the prefecture, the city, and the Hiroshima prefectural branch of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association held a ceremony to pray for certain victory of the war against U.S. and Britain in front of Hiroshima Gokoku Shrine (a shrine dedicated to the homecoming of the war dead). At this ceremony, resolutions such as the following were decided: "We deeply trust in and give thanks to the loyal and brave Imperial Forces and together we will surely overcome every kind of difficulty and shortcoming so that our officers and soldiers will have no anxiety about us back in Japan."

Through a violent offensive, the Japanese military managed to occupy a wide territory from Southeast Asia to the Pacific Ocean in a little over six months after the beginning of the war. Shortly after this early period, the Allied Forces began their counter attack and Japanese troops stationed in islands across the Pacific began to fall one after another in battle. Finally, the Japanese mainland became the target of air raids by the United States military. The Japanese resistance became desperate, but war leaders were unwilling to accept any peace that was not beneficial to Japan and instead made preparations for a decisive battle on the mainland.

In April 1945, in preparation for a scenario where the Allied Forces were to invade and divide the land, the First General Army was established to control the units stationed in Eastern Japan (headquartered in Tokyo), and the Second General Army to control the units stationed in Western Japan (headquartered in Hiroshima). The Second General Army was in charge of the Fifteenth Area Army (headquartered in Osaka), and the Sixteenth Area Army (headquartered in Fukuoka). Its headquarters was established in Futabanosato in Hiroshima City (the site of the former Fifth Cavalry Regiment). In June, the Fifty-ninth Army (belonging to the Fifteenth Area Army) was founded and the Hiroshima Command Division Headquarters became the Chugoku Military District Headquarters. In keeping with the military district system, the Governments-General of districts were set up to take command of local agencies of the national government and prefectural offices. The Government-General of the Chugoku District was established in Hiroshima City.

There was an Army Marine Headquarters (also functioning as the Transport Department) in Ujina that oversaw the business of army shipping transport strategies. This headquarters was responsible for commanding a massive unit (the Akatsuki Corps) made up

of over 300,000 men and of 240 domestic and nondomestic units. As the war approached its final days, Hiroshima's strategic significance as an army base increased. Moreover, Kure City, close to Hiroshima City across the Hiroshima Bay, was a naval base where the Kure Naval Base and the Kure Naval Arsenal—the largest arsenal in East Asia—was located.

On the other hand, the Special District Guards were formed by mustering reservists by district to form a regional organization in preparation for the coming decisive battles on the mainland. A total of 26 units were formed in Hiroshima Prefecture (two in Hiroshima City). Volunteer citizen corps were also established throughout Japan. These groups were made up of all citizens with a primary school education, men up to age 65 and women up to 45. Organizations were two-tiered, with community and workplace organizations. The community volunteer citizen corps were organized in each municipality. In Hiroshima City, two community volunteer citizen corps (one in the east and the other in the west) were formed in addition to workplace volunteer corps formed at each military-managed factory. Besides these, students of secondary and vocational schools were organized into student corps.

Facing inevitable air raids on Japan, buildings were demolished in an effort to make space for air defense. In November 1944, notifications were sent out to clear 8,200 *tsubo* (27,110 square meters) at 133 locations in Hiroshima City. Within the year, 400 buildings were demolished in the first phase. In 1945, 5,901 buildings were demolished in the second through fifth phases. By August 6, the sixth phase was already underway, which was to demolish 2,500 buildings. In order to carry out demolitions, the Special District Guards, the volunteer citizen corps of Hiroshima City and its neighborhood municipalities as well as student corps [from secondary schools and the advanced course of National Schools (providing lower secondary education)] and other organizations were mobilized.

In preparation for air raids, the national government carried out mass evacuation of school children and this trend spread to Hiroshima City in March 1945. As a result, National School children from the third to sixth grades were evacuated en masse. As of July that year, 8,500 children had been evacuated and 15,000 sent to live with relatives in the countryside. The total number of children evacuated from Hiroshima reached 23,500. Of these, 1,095 children from Noboricho National School went to Mibu Town and Yae Town in Yamagata County, and 650 children from Takeya National School went to Kake Town, Yasuno Village, Togochi Town, Tsutsuga Village, and Tonoga Village in Yamagata County. Even though they escaped with their lives, a terrible fate awaited the children who had been evacuated to the countryside. On August 6, Hiroshima was A-bombed and many of these children's relatives lost their lives. Many of the children were left orphaned, without a home to return to.

4 August 6, Hiroshima

Shortly after the outbreak of the Pacific War in late 1941, Hiroshima City had a population of 413,889. However, the number of citizens living in the city declined gradually due to changes wrought by the war. In 1944, 16,208 people left for military service and 101,200 people evacuated the city. This together with the evacuation of school children caused the population of the City of Hiroshima to fall. According to rice-rationing registration data as of the end of June, 1945, the number of citizens at that time was 245,423.

Meanwhile, Hiroshima's importance as a central city in the Chugoku Region increased as other cities were burnt to the ground by air raids. Hiroshima was home to a number of units, such as the Second General Army Headquarters, which was central to the decisive battles in Western Japan; the Army Marine Headquarters, which was central to army shipping transport; and the Chugoku Military District, which was central to all army units of

the Chugoku Region. The number of army personnel present in Hiroshima on August 6 is estimated to have been around 40,000. The number of employees working in Hiroshima City and its suburban area was around 130,000. Among them, 83,671 employees were engaged in manufacturing at the 6,191 factories in Hiroshima. 53,361 of these people were employees of the 10 large factories which included the Japan Steel Works Hiroshima Plant; Toyo Kogyo; the Army Clothing Depot; Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Hiroshima Shipyard; and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Hiroshima Machinery Works. Towards the end of the war, students who were mobilized and Korean forced laborers made up a heavy proportion of these employees.

In Hiroshima on August 6, building demolition operations had been underway since early in that morning. These operations were carried out as an air defense measure, but as fate would have it, they only served to increase the damage caused on that day. The Special District Guards, volunteer citizen corps, and student corps were sent out to conduct the demolition work. On August 6, 22,500 local members of the volunteer citizen corps, 7,062 members of the volunteer citizen corps from outside the city and 9,111 mobilized students were deployed in the city. The four districts of Koami-cho, Tsurumi-cho, Zakoba-cho, and Kako-machi were the main locations of the demolition activities and around 18,000 people were deployed at these four districts (according to a postwar survey).

On August 6, at the time of the atomic bombing, it is estimated that there were about 350,000 people in the City of Hiroshima, including inhabitants, military personnel, and people who lived outside the city and commuted to the city for work.

II The Atomic Bombing

1 Lead up to the Atomic Bombing

The development of atomic bombs by the U.S. and the U.K. began with the pleas of scientists who feared that Nazi Germany may have already been in possession of one. The president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was informed that an atomic bomb could actually be built at talks in England and secretly began development plans for such a weapon in June 1942. In April 1943, the Los Alamos National Laboratory was set up in New Mexico, and a large number of scientists and engineers were mobilized to work with two billion dollars of funding on this enormous project. In September 1944, at a meeting between the leaders of the U.S. and the U.K., it was agreed that the atomic bomb would be used on Japan after due consideration, upon its completion. A unit to carry out the bombing (the 509th Composite Group) was formed and conducted top secret training for the bombing. On July 16, 1945, the first atomic bomb test in the world was carried out in the desert of Alamogordo, New Mexico.

In May 1945, four cities, including Hiroshima and Kyoto, were chosen as potential targets for the first two atomic bombs. The bombs were scheduled to be dropped in early August. The targets were changed a number of times after that and air raids on these cities were forbidden. This was because the United States wanted to demonstrate the full potential of the atomic bomb.

Scientists petitioned against using the atomic bomb and even some senior military officials believed that its use was not necessary. However, the United States decided to use the bomb, despite the ethical concerns, in order to secure supremacy in the postwar world and gain supremacy over the Soviet Union, which was planning to enter the war against Japan, and to justify the astronomical amount of money and resources that had gone into the

development of the weapon, among other reasons.

On July 25, President Harry S. Truman approved orders for the atomic bombing to move forward. At this time, either Hiroshima, Kokura, Niigata, or Nagasaki was to be bombed on a date around or after August 3. On July 26, the Potsdam Declaration, which demanded that Japan agree to an unconditional surrender, was issued. If the Japanese government had quickly accepted these terms, the atomic bombing could have been avoided. In other words, if the United States had already made the decision to use the atomic bomb in war, there was a need to hurry. The Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan was closing in. In that case, Japan would lose any hope for making peace and may have surrendered shortly after.

On August 2, the decision to use the atomic bomb on August 6 was reached. The first target was Hiroshima. (The target was to have been near the Aioi Bridge.) Kokura and Nagasaki were back-up targets. On August 6, a uranium-type atomic bomb, nicknamed "Little Boy," was dropped on the city of Hiroshima. Not long afterwards, on August 9, a plutonium-type atomic bomb, nicknamed "Fat Man," was dropped on the city of Nagasaki. On August 14, the Japanese government accepted the Potsdam Declaration, and on the next day, August 15, the Showa Emperor read an imperial edict ending the war and it was broadcasted over the radio. A third atomic bomb was being readied and training for the dropping of this bomb was being carried out until the day before Japan surrendered.

2 The Power of the Atomic Bomb and Its Damage

At 8:15 a.m. on August 6, the atomic bomb was dropped from the Enola Gay, a B-29 bomber that had taken off from Tinian Island. It fell towards its target, the Aioi Bridge. Approximately forty-three seconds after the bomb was released, it exploded mid-air in a nuclear eruption approximately 600 meters above the Shima Hospital, slightly southeast of the Aioi Bridge. A large number of neutrons were emitted through the process of nuclear fission. In the moment it exploded and a gigantic fireball appeared, intense heat rays were emitted, causing the ground temperature of the surrounding area reach to temperatures between 3000 to 4000 degrees centigrade. After the initial fireball, a mushroom cloud (atomic cloud) of approximately 16,000 meters in height formed. Also, the intensive bomb blast created maximum wind speeds of 440 meters per second at the hypocenter. The blast spread out radially, and swept the entire city in about 10 seconds.

Although the heat rays were only emitted for a short period of time, their extreme intensity caused anyone within a one-kilometer radius from the hypocenter to receive multiple severe burns. Even people over three kilometers away from the hypocenter were burned on the parts of their bodies that were not covered by clothing. Many were blown off of their feet by the blast and resulting in many deaths, injuries, or people losing consciousness. Wooden structures located within two kilometers of the hypocenter were completely destroyed, and there were people left trapped under the remains. Shortly after, fires broke out spontaneously from the heat rays, and the fires that started among the ruined buildings spread. Thirty minutes after the explosion, Hiroshima was covered in a disastrous firestorm. Anything flammable located within a two-kilometer radius of the hypocenter was engulfed in flames, and many people were burned to death. Radioactive waves emitted from the explosion caused severe damage to the human body. At a distance of one kilometer from the hypocenter, neutrons and gamma rays gave off four grays of radiation, estimated to be enough radiation to cause death of one out of two people. One after another, people showing no external injuries became sick after a couple of days and later died. People who were not directly exposed to the

atomic bombing were also exposed to radiation. This included those who lived on the outskirts of town, where people were not directly exposed to the bombing but radioactive black rain fell, and those who were exposed to residual radiation upon entering the city.

It is unknown exactly how many people died from the atomic bombing. On November 30, 1945, the Hiroshima Prefectural Police placed the number of dead at 78,150 and the number of missing at 13,983. They calculated these numbers after counting the victims one by one, excluding members of the military from the count. As for the military dead, a complete survey was taken of documents from all branches of the military, and in November 1947, the results showed that there were 9,242 deaths and 889 people whose lives were unaccounted for. In contrast, various estimates have been carried out to find the actual number of deaths. The resources that the City of Hiroshima handed over to the United Nations in 1976 estimated the number of deaths to have been 140,000 ± 10,000 at the end of 1945. In recent years, the "Statistical Survey of Atomic Bomb Victims" has been underway. This survey integrated various types of information related to atomic bomb victims on computers and used the results to make identifications. In one recent survey, the total number of victims was 557,478, including 384,743 who were directly exposed to the atomic bomb, and 118,861 who were exposed to residual radiation after entering the city, and others who were exposed by other means. Included in these figures are 53,644 people who died on August 6, and another 35,334 who had died by the end of 1945 (a total of 88,978 people). [3)]

Hiroshima in ruins. A photo taken from the Hiroshima Prefectural Commerce, Industry and Economic Association building (today's Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry), located at the east foot of the Aioi Bridge. Oct. 5, 1945.
(Photo by Shigeo Hayashi, Courtesy of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum)

3 The Rescue System and Mobilization

The blast of the atomic bomb caused far more damage than anyone could have imagined and the previous air raid preparations proved insufficient. The Prefectural Government Office was completely destroyed. Pre-designated provisional locations in the event of air raid disaster, such as City Hall, Honkawa National School, the Commerce, Industry and Economy Association Building, Aki Girls' High School, and Fukuya Department Store, were also eradicated or collapsed. The Prefectural Government, which was supposed to take command after an air raid disaster, temporarily ceased all functions, and the air defense headquarters of the prefecture had not been set up until nearly nine hours after the bombing. The governor of the Prefecture was away on business at the time of the bombing, so the chief of the prefectural police set up the headquarters at Tamon-in Temple at Hijiyama in his stead. He ordered each police department in the prefecture, through the police departments of Kabe and Kaitaichi, to provide food, and to send police officers, members of the civil

defense units, and members of their relief squads for support, based on predetermined plans.

The Army Marine Headquarters in Ujina (nicknamed the Akatsuki Corps) independently engaged in rescue operations almost immediately after the bombing. The Army Marine Headquarters was flooded with burn victims by 8:50 a.m. and the Marine Commander delivered the following address, "Today, August 6, at 8:15 a.m., Hiroshima was bombarded by enemy planes. There are fires throughout the city and there seem to be a large number of casualties as a result of the blast." Troops were ordered to focus on extinguishing fires in the city and to engage in rescue operations while burn victims were to be transported to the Ninoshima Quarantine Station. Moreover, by 11:30 a.m., all troops were ordered to cease their normal duties and to take part in the rescue operations. While the number of victims quickly increased, four relief stations were set up at 8:40 p.m., including Yokohama National School in Saka Village in Aki County, and 1000 people were transported by sea.[4)]

Around 2 p.m. on August 6, the Deputy Governor-General of the Chugoku District visited the Second General Army Headquarters. He reported the death of the Governor-General and the destruction of the Prefectural Government Office, City Hall, and police facilities. He entrusted the army to handle the situation and ordered them to rescue survivors of the disaster. Having been charged with this new mission, the Second General Army appointed the Army Marine Commander, who had already taken charge of rescue operations, as the Hiroshima Defense Commander. In this way spontaneous rescue operations were rapidly unified into one chain of command, under the control of the Army Marine Commander. It was now the decisive time they had prepared for, when battle reached the mainland. Orders were passed down and a large mobilization took place in an effort to conduct rescue operations and bring the situation under control in the midst of unprecedented chaos.

While it was the Ujina marine units that took center stage in the military-run rescue operations, marine units stationed outside the city of Hiroshima were also ordered by the Army Marine Commander to assist in the rescue operations. The number of soldiers of the marine units mobilized from Hiroshima City and the surrounding area reached 4,000. Upon hearing reports from people returning from Hiroshima, the Kure District Headquarters of the Navy ordered rescue units to prepare for dispatch at 11:20 a.m., and at 1:25 p.m., five units were sent to Hiroshima. Units under the direction of the Second General Army also came in in succession to aid in the rescue. Early in the morning on August 7, around 160 soldiers from the Sobu 321st Infantry, stationed in Hara Village (Hachihommatsu) in Kamo County, reached Hiroshima City. The Eba and Hesaka branches of the Hiroshima First Army Hospital began rescue operations shortly after the bombing and all army hospital facilities also conducted their own rescue activities.

Hiroshima City's preparations for air raids were all but wiped out in the blast but the prefecture-wide rescue system, which was prepared for air raids in Hiroshima City, began functioning right away. By 3 p.m. on the day of the bombing, 120,000 rations of dried bread were distributed. Later that day, a rescue squad from Toyota County arrived at Tamon-in Temple in Hijiyama and a rescue station was set up. On August 7, rescue squads from each police department, numbering 300 people, came to Hiroshima. Also, on the same day, 190 police officers and 2,159 members of civil defense units were deployed in Hiroshima. In total, over 20,000 members of civil defense units were deployed. The Special District Guards, set up in each county of Hiroshima Prefecture, were called together as soon as word was received that Hiroshima had been bombed. The deployment of rescue squads made up of doctors, nurses, and other rescue workers to Hiroshima continued under the War Disaster Protection Law while it was in effect through October 5. The total number of rescue staff deployed to Hiroshima City from all over the prefecture was 2,557 people for a total of 21,145 man-days.

The total number of rescue staff deployed from other prefectures rose to 715 people for a cumulative total of 5,397 man-days. Teachers and students from girls' high schools, and other civilians were also mobilized for rescue support.

Moreover, the military, specifically the Military Police, took great pains to preserve order after the air raids. On August 8, under an order of the Chugoku Military Police Headquarters, warnings against the spread of harmful rumors were issued as follows: [4)]

> Because the bomb, used in the latest enemy air raid, was much more powerful in force than those used in previous air raids, people are being driven to fear and anxiety and overexaggerating the capacity of this bomb, spreading word that it has caused great destruction and discussing the military's defensive strategy. It is predicted that should the matter get out of hand people will take a pessimistic view, speaking and behaving as if the war is lost and harmful rumors against the military, against the war, and for peace will spread. It is necessary to thoroughly enforce controls over such rumors.

4 Relief Stations

Hiroshima City had designated 32 locations as first-aid stations, including all National Schools in the city, and 18 other locations as first-aid hospitals. However, due to the devastating force of the atomic bomb, preplanned rescue operations were unable to be carried out. Whether inside of burnt out rubble or on a riverbank, any place where the critically injured were gathered in great numbers was designated as a relief station, and rescue squads were sent there to carry out spontaneous rescue operations. However, nothing could be done for those critically injured or patients who had received large amounts of radiation.

It is unclear exactly how many relief stations were set up. Relying only on information gathered from various references and diaries, it can be estimated that the total number of relief stations set up on August 6 was 99 in the city (16 of which were at hospitals) and 142 outside the city (38 of these were at hospitals); for a total of 241 relief stations.[5)]

Hospitals that escaped collapse or complete destruction by fire, such as the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital and the Hiroshima Communications Hospital, began conducting rescue operations immediately after the bombing. Rescue stations were set up at various locations and by August 7, the Army Medical Corps began treating survivors at the Honkawa National School. From August 8 until September 6, rescue teams from Hiroshima Sanatorium in Saijo Town, Miyoshi, Kake, Onomichi, Mihara, Takehara, and Innoshima gathered at this school to provide assistance.

The number of evacuees and the injured, who fled or were transported out of the city area of Hiroshima, reached well over 200,000. Many fled on foot and some were transported by trains, trucks, or by boats. Many people were provided accommodations in remote locations such as Shobara and Tojo on the Geibi Line, and Otake and Iwakuni to the west of the city. In the surrounding towns and villages, evacuees were sent not only to relief stations and schools, etc., but also to private residences.

5 Disposing of the Dead

In addition to providing aid to the injured, disposing of dead bodies was also a difficult problem. The impact that disposal of the deceased had on the general public was

great. It was the summer season of rot, and the disposal needed to be handled respectfully and quickly. Shinto priests and Buddhist monks were made available at onsite cremations and burials as often as was possible. It was impossible to know everyone's name, but a survey was organized to find out the exact number of victims. An order was also given for the first phase of the disposal of the bodies to be completed by August 9.

General body disposal operations carried out by the military, the police, and the civil defense units ended on August 11, but small scale body disposal operations, collecting bodies from the sea and from the burned ruins still continued. The number of bodies counted by the prefecture by August 20 includes the 17,865 bodies disposed of by the police, 12,054 by the military, and 3,040 other cases where people evacuated to other municipalities and died there. (It means that by this point less than half of all the bodies were disposed of). On site in the city area of Hiroshima, bodies were cremated and the remains were handed over to relatives or to the City of Hiroshima. Remains taken in by the city were handed over to bereaved family members via the Health Section of the Citizens' Affairs Department. As of October 31, the remains of 11,525 individuals had been received by the city, 4,805 handed over to family members, and 6,720 left unclaimed.[6)]

(Fukuhei Ando)

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Column

Genshin Takano's Letters: Thoughts of the Governor of Hiroshima Around the Time of the Atomic Bombing

Genshin Takano, the Governor of Hiroshima at the time of the atomic bombing sent four letters addressed to Kiyoshi Ikeda, who had held positions such as Governor of Osaka, member of the House of Peers, and member of the House of Representatives. He was also Takano's superior when Takano was Vice Governor of Osaka. Kiyoshi Ikeda's personal secretary saved the letters, which are now stored in the Hiroshima Prefectural Archives. Here, these letters that convey Takano's thoughts as Governor of Hiroshima Prefecture when he faced the atomic bombing will be introduced.

In June of 1945, as a part of the administrative reorganization in preparation for the decisive battles to be fought on the mainland, military district headquarters were set up. The Governor at the time, Isei Otsuka, was appointed Governor-General of the Chugoku District, and Genshin Takano, then Vice Governor of Osaka, became Governor of Hiroshima. The first letter from Takano, dated June 20, 1945, was sent shortly after he became governor. As he was responsible for civilian air defense when there were air raids in Osaka, it was natural for Takano to harbor fears concerning air raids. The letter shows that his greatest concern was establishing measures against potential air raids on Hiroshima.

> There have been relatively few air raids in this area until today, but I am convinced that there will be a major air raid coming very shortly. This area is small with many rivers, and almost all buildings are made of wood. I feel anxious at the thought of the unpreventable conditions that would occur should fires break out in this area.

There was no way for Governor Takano to know that air raids over Hiroshima had been prohibited because of the impending dropping of the atomic bomb. However, in a letter dated July 20, he wrote about the fact that Hiroshima had not been the target of air raids and said, "It is rather disquieting."

> Up until now, medium and small cities have all been reduced to ashes; but this city, Hiroshima, remains relatively untouched. It is rather disquieting. I am unsure whether or not we will finish in time, but at present, large-scale building demolition works are underway.

Atomic bombs with immense destructive power were being developed, and the creation of firebreaks by demolishing buildings would end up being meaningless. The bombing caused great losses among the students and members of the Volunteer Citizen Corps who were mobilized to conduct building demolition. The Prefectural Government Office in Kako-machi was completely destroyed; and almost all prefectural government employees, including those already in the office building and those on the way to work were killed. On August 6, Takano was in the Fukuyama area on a business trip and escaped the disaster; however, Governor-General Otsuka and the Mayor of Hiroshima, Senkichi Awaya, both died. As Takano was the only head of local government who had survived, he had no choice but to manage Hiroshima after the atomic bombing. A temporary prefectural government office was set up at Tamon-in Temple located at the foot of Hijiyama Hill, but was moved to the Higashi Police Station on August 7, and again on August 20 to the inside of Toyo Kogyo Co., Ltd. (today's Mazda Motor Corporation) in Fuchu Town in Aki County.

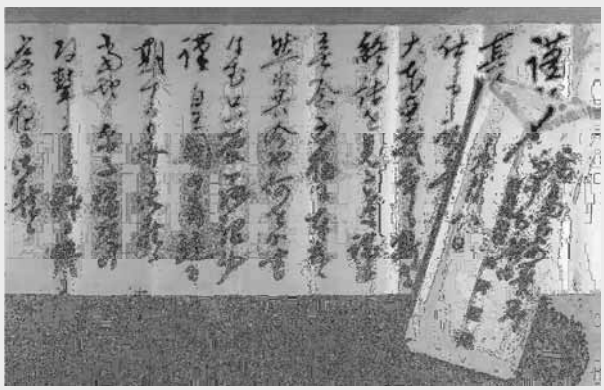
A letter dated September 7, after the atomic bombing and the end of the war, was sent from the prefectural government office located inside of Toyo Kogyo. In this letter, Takano expresses his sentiment of bitter disappointment at Japan's defeat and swears that he will follow the emperor's orders to rebuild Japan.

> It is extremely regrettable to me that the Great East Asia War has ended in this way. However, no matter what I say, there is nothing that can be done about it. All I can do is earnestly follow the orders of the Emperor and be resolved to rebuild His country.

On the other hand, as all prefectural government employees, except those who were away on business trips, were affected by the atomic bombing, with 606 already dead, Takano was convinced that a greater number would die. Also, having seen the destructive force of the atomic bomb, he believes, "Scientific research will be the only strategy that decides the outcome of future wars."

> Among the prefectural government employees, 606 have died, and I presume that an even greater number will die. Many of the survivors are those who were away from this area on business trips. It is no exaggeration to say that, including the wounded—be it light or serious—every employee of the prefectural government has suffered. This makes me think about the form of future wars. Air defense will no longer be effective. Rather, scientific research will be the only war strategy that will decide the winners and losers of future wars.

With the Occupation Forces issuing one order for reform after another, Takano talks about his uneasiness in the letter dated October 4. "Within this year and the next year, our country will face political and economic chaos. I fear I will not be able to endure this terrible anxiety." Shortly after this, Takano left Hiroshima to become Superintendent-General of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police. He was purged from office in September of the following year. It was almost as if his letters predicted what would become of him when he wrote about, "political and economic chaos."



A Letter by Genshin Takano, September 7, 1945 (mailed on September 8, 1945) (Collection of Hiroshima Prefectural Archives)

Part 2
Reconstruction of the City

Chapter 3
Reconstruction Planning

Introduction

The reconstruction of Japanese cities after the war was quite remarkable. In particular, Hiroshima's reconstruction after the atomic bombing is evaluated as a rare accomplishment. It was thought that reconstruction of the city from the ruins would be nearly impossible; but the reconstruction plan pursued the highest ideals attainable at the time, with ambitious plans for roads, parks, green areas, and land readjustments. Therefore, there were numerous difficulties that had to be overcome in the reconstruction process. Citizens and those who were engaged in the planning and the implementation of the reconstruction had to work hard and at times endure sacrifices. At the same time, various forms of aid and support from overseas helped to overcome the crisis that followed in the aftermath of the bombing.

In Japan, as there had been institutions such as city planning systems and a certain degree of human resources and mechanisms in place since before the war, reconstruction efforts started at a relatively early time. That being said, this particular reconstruction process was made possible due to numerous conditions present in those days and by a chance combination of factors at the time. In this sense, it was miraculous. This chapter tries to elucidate Japan's reconstruction process and particularly that of Hiroshima, which was in far more sever condition than other cities. It must also be clarified that the reconstruction of Hiroshima was implemented while the city was faced with many unsolved problems, some of which were carried over to later years.

I The Government's War Damage Reconstruction Plans

1 Japan's Urban Planning System Until the End of WWII

(1) Roles of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Tokyo City Area Improvement Ordinance, and the enactment of the City Planning Act

In order to explain the postwar reconstruction system in Japan, we must first examine the urban planning system that had been in place up until the end of WWII. Along with the development of the Cabinet system and the opening of the Parliament in 1887, as part of Japan's modernization process, in 1888 the Tokyo City Area Improvement Ordinance (*Tokyo Shi-ku Kaisei Jorei*) spearheaded Japan's urban planning systems.[1)] This system implemented in Tokyo was gradually applied to other major cities. In this process, the Ministry of Home Affairs (*Naimu Sho*) was placed in charge of organizing city planning.

In the Taisho period (1912-1926), the population of Japan became significantly concentrated in big cities as Japanese industry was further modernized. Various measures had to be put in place in order to address the emerging issues, such as confusion over land use. As

disorderly developments along the outskirts of cities would require tremendous expenses for redevelopment, the City Planning Act (*Toshi-keikaku Ho*) was enacted in 1919 to develop cities based on city planning by defining future visions of those cities. The City Planning Act gradually expanded to be applied to many cities across the country. Under this system, the designation of city planning areas, the planning, and the years for the construction of urban roads, parks and green areas were decided and implemented, and building regulations were actively put into place in conjunction with land-use zoning and the existing Urban Building Act.

(2) The Situation in Hiroshima

The City Planning Act took effect in the City of Hiroshima in 1923, and in 1925 the City established the "city planning area (*toshi-keikaku chiiki*)" to which the Act was applied. Land-use zoning was settled in 1927, road planning in 1928, and park planning in 1941.

As part of this process, the City Planning Commission (*Toshi-keikaku Iinkai*) of Hiroshima Prefecture met for the first time on March 28, 1924; starting before the war and continuing until the end of war, the Commission met 38 times (the date of the final meeting is unknown). The City Planning Division of Hiroshima Prefecture was in charge of organizing the commission (today's City Planning Council). The minutes include the agenda of the meetings, explanatory materials and the lists of the members. Shorthand records of the deliberations are also attached.

2 Institutional Reform for Implementing the War Damage Reconstruction Plan

(1) Establishment of the War Damage Reconstruction Agency[2)]

On August 15 in 1945, World War II and the so-called Pacific War came to an end. There were many cities destroyed during the war, and postwar reconstruction became a major issue. The reconstruction plan was left in the hands of the War Damage Reconstruction Agency (*Sensai Fukko-in*), which was established in November 1945. City planning was administered in a complex way for some time, as the cities that had not suffered from war damages were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Home Affairs; and the War Damage Reconstruction Agency was in charge of the reconstruction of the cities which were destroyed in the war.

The quick establishment of the War Damage Reconstruction Agency after the end of the war in August 1945 indicates that postwar reconstruction was already being prepared for before the end of the war. With regard to the establishment of the War Damage Reconstruction Agency, Makoto Inoue's book, *Shodo kara no Saisei*: *Sensai Fukko wa Ikani Nashieta ka* (The Recovery from the Scorched Earth: How the War-damage Reconstruction was Accomplished) (Shinchosha, 2012), introduces a testimony of Takeo Ohashi, who said that the establishment of the Agency was already being prepared for during wartime by some in the Ministry of Home Affairs, in strict confidence.

Many of those working for the War Damage Reconstruction Agency were those transferred from the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the civilian Ichizo Kobayashi was invited as Commissioner for its start. In 1948, the Ministry of Home Affairs was dissolved, and the War Damage Reconstruction Agency and the National Land Bureau of the former Ministry of Home Affairs were merged into the newly-established Construction Agency (*Kensetsu-in*) in 1949.

On December 30, 1945, the Cabinet adopted the "Basic Policy for the Reconstruction

of War-damaged Areas (*Sensai-chi Fukko Keikaku Kihon Hoshin*)."[3] This was precisely the main policy of the country's war-damage reconstruction plan. Some notable points from this plan include the roles of the street networks (item "*i*" under "Roads" in the section titled "Major Infrastructure"); the relationship between the sizes of the cities and the width of the streets (item "*ro*" of the same section); and item "*ha*" which states, "In required areas, 50 to 100 meter-wide roads or open spaces should be created for disaster prevention as well as for beautification of the cities." The Basic Policy did not require cities to include 100-meter wide roads in their reconstruction plans but gave guidelines and recommendations for building such streets.

On January 14, 1946, this policy was reported at the meeting where division chiefs in charge of reconstruction from the relevant prefectures as well as the heads of relevant departments and sections from five major cities gathered, and based on this policy, reconstruction plans were made by local governments throughout the country.

(2) Land Readjustment Methods and Systems

Among the Japanese city planning systems, the system of "land readjustment (*kukaku seiri*)" is the most difficult to understand. This system was originally developed in Switzerland and German (in Germany, it is called Lex Adickes). It was introduced to Japan by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, and was enacted in 1899 as the Arable Land Readjustment Act (*Kochi Seiri Ho*). In order for this system to be applied to urban development, the Arable Land Readjustment Act was amended in 1909 and later incorporated into the City Planning Act (old law). Before the Land Readjustment Act was enacted in 1954, ad hoc city planning acts were used to clarify the methods of reconstruction projects. One was made to facilitate the readjustment of land for disaster reconstruction after the Great Kanto Earthquake, and another for the postwar reconstruction after WWII.

The basic land readjustment system is explained in the Land Readjustment Act as "projects related to the changes of land lot form as well as the establishment of or changes to public facilities in order to develop and improve them and to promote the use of residential land within planned city areas." In other words, landowners were asked to provide their land for public use, and projects were conducted to enhance the convenience of the residential land as a whole. Land reduction due to provision for a land readjustment project is called "*genbu*," and the ratio of land reduction due to this provision is called "*genburitsu*." Specifically, land reduction due to provision for public facilities which are to be developed under a land readjustment project is called "*kokyo-genbu*," while it is called "*horyuchi-genbu*" when the land contributed is reserved and later sold to supplement project expenses.

(3) Creation and Use of War-damage Maps

War-damage maps were created immediately after WWⅡ in Japan. Some cities created such maps on their own. The maps of major war-damaged cities in Japan were also collected and then published. For instance, the First Demobilization Ministry (*Dai Ichi Fukuin Sho*) collected and published war-damage maps from over 150 cities, towns and villages around the country in December 1945 in *Nihon Toshi Sensai Chizu* (Maps of War Damage in Japanese Cities). The original document archived at the National Diet Library of Japan was later reprinted and published as *Nihon Toshi Sensai Chizu* (Maps of War Damage in Japanese Cities) (Hara Shobo, 1983).

World War II left serious damages on a global scale, and many cities were destroyed in the war. However, in some cities in the world, there is no information left to inform us if any war-damage maps were created or not; or in other cases, even though such maps were created they were kept confidential. These maps were rarely published or distributed widely.

Under such circumstances, it is noteworthy that in Japan, war-damage maps were actually made and published.

II Hiroshima Reconstruction Planning

1 Hiroshima During and After the Atomic Bombing

On August 6, 1945 at 8:15 a.m., an atomic bomb exploded in the skies over Hiroshima. The atomic bomb had been developed, tested, and, for the first time in human history, dropped and detonated in the skies over a city where many people lived. Countless people died in the explosion, were injured, and became radiation victims. Even though time has passed, further illnesses still arise, and many people continue to suffer from aftereffects. At the same time, the bombing destroyed the city, including houses, shops, factories and public facilities as well as the public infrastructure, such as transportation and communication facilities and water and sewage systems.

According to *Hiroshima Shisei Yoran:* Fukko Dai Ichi Nen Go, Showa Nijusan Nen Ban (the Municipal Handbook of the City of Hiroshima, 1946—the first year of the reconstruction edition) (published March 31, 1947), the Hiroshima Prefectural Police announced that its statistics showed that as of November 30, 1945, 55,000 buildings had been completely burned; 2,290 partially burned; 6,820 completely destroyed; and 3,750 partially destroyed. A further August 1946 investigation gives a breakdown of the building damages based on their distance from the hypocenter. The total number of buildings before the bombing was 76,317, and the number of the buildings that were more than half burnt or destroyed reached 70,147. These numbers differ depending on the source, but without doubt, over 90% of the city was destroyed.

In Nagasaki, though the bomb was not dropped on the city center, the bomb was a more powerful plutonium bomb and the damages extended to a wide area. Therefore, there were many casualties in Nagasaki as well, including heavily and slightly injured people. As for the figures of the building damages in Nagasaki, there were 1,494 buildings completely burned, 150 half-burned, 2,652 completely destroyed, and 5,291 half-destroyed. The ratio of half-damaged buildings was greater compared to that of Hiroshima, which indicates that the damages in Nagasaki extended to a wider area.

2 Exploration and Preparation of the Reconstruction Plan and Various Reconstruction Concepts

(1) Emergency Restoration

In order to return to some form of normalcy after the bombing, a restoration process was necessary. It was necessary to speedily restore transportation, electricity, and water by carrying out an emergency infrastructure restoration. It is said that the trains and streetcars were among the first services restored. Three days after the bombing, on August 9, one track between Koi and Nishi-temma was in operation once again as a result of the hard work put into the restoration and maintenance of the streetcar network. The Japanese National Railways Sanyo Line was also opened between Hiroshima and Yokogawa on August 8, and the Geibi Line opened on August 9.

However, due to the Makurazaki Typhoon in September and the heavy rain in October, the bridges that had been urgently repaired were again damaged or collapsed, and once again the living conditions of the citizens were greatly affected.

The main streets were first cleared of debris, just enough to let traffic flow again, and then the surface of the streets and the parapets of the bridges were repaired. The restoration of the Aioi Bridge is probably the most well-known picture (Photo 3-1). Restoration of the water system started by fixing leaks, but the overall restoration was not an easy work. Well water became very useful and many wells were dug in the city.

Emergency measures to restore war-damaged areas were implemented to rehabilitate the city. According to the *Sensai Fukkoshi*: Dai Nana Kan, Hiroshimashi (Record of War Damage Reconstruction, Vol. 7, Hiroshima City), "Emergency measures in the war-damaged areas started with clean-up operations in the relevant areas. The city reconstruction project was implemented and the city was divided into two areas with the City of Hiroshima in charge of the eastern part of the city and Hiroshima Prefecture in charge of the western part. The cleanup operation was also divided into two areas with the City responsible for the eastern part and the Prefecture for the western part." The clean-up operations conducted with national government aid started in the fiscal year of 1946 and continued until 1949.

Metal was also collected as one of the emergency measures. The collected metal was then sold, and the revenue was pooled to be used for the reconstruction works of the war-damaged city. Funeral services for war victims were also necessary.

The water-supply system was heavily damaged, including the water-intake, water treatment, and water-supply facilities; but as water is essential for people's lives, water pumps resumed operations four days after the bombing. Repairing the waterworks was an arduous task. It took a long time to repair the entire water system of the city, because water leaked and spouted at many places in the city. It is said that it took nine months to restore the water supply to the outskirts of the city. In the meantime, groundwater was hand-pumped at many places after the war.

The sewage system in Hiroshima was a confluence of rainwater and sewage systems. Drainage pumping stations, manhole covers and outlets had all been seriously damaged. Emergency repair work was conducted to discharge water, but heavy rains frequently caused floods. The situation gradually improved through efforts including the emergency restoration of the drainage pumping stations and the clean-up and maintenance of the sewer pipes.

Housing projects needed emergency measures; and mid to long-term perspectives were also necessary. The national government promoted building houses by mobilizing the Housing Corporation, which had functioned during the war. In Hiroshima, the planned site for Chuo Park in Moto-machi was turned into a large residential area, in which a total of 1,815 homes were constructed from 1945 to 1947, including 743 homes to provide shelters for winter, 1,038 municipal housing units, and 34 built by the prefecture for those returning to Japan. This emergency housing would later become a major problem when the city had to consider how to end the reconstruction projects.

(2) Reconstruction Proposals and Various Concepts

The reconstruction plan of the city was addressed by both Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima. Before the end of war, the prefectural government took the lead in formulating the city planning of the city of Hiroshima; but with the democratization after the war, the administrative authority was devolved to the City, which then took up the efforts itself.

The Reconstruction Bureau (*Fukko Kyoku*) was founded in the Hiroshima City Office on January 8, 1946, and Satoshi Nagashima, who was born in Chiba Prefecture and worked at Nagoya City Hall, was invited to act as the Director of the Reconstruction Bureau. At the same time, the Hiroshima City Reconstruction Council was established as an advisory body to the mayor, and the first meeting was held on February 25. In this meeting there was lively discussion and hopes were raised for the reconstruction efforts. Council minutes are collected in the *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Shiryo Hen II, Fukko Hen (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Resource Materials Vol. 2, Reconstruction), in which one can find a wide variety of information on its proceedings and decisions.

The person responsible for the foundation of the Hiroshima City Reconstruction Council was Mayor Shichiro Kihara. Senkichi Awaya was the mayor at the time of the bombing but was said to have been killed instantly by the blast. Kihara stepped in as mayor after being selected in September, 1945. Then in April 1947, in the first postwar public election, Shinzo Hamai, formerly a member of the Reconstruction Council, was elected mayor and would go on to handle many important municipal duties during the reconstruction period.

Numerous proposals were made by the Reconstruction Council. Outside of the Council too, a great number of ideas were proposed in newspapers and magazines and at various other fora. It can be said that the city planning of postwar Hiroshima was characterized by the vast number of ideas proposed.

The main ideas proposed in the immediate aftermath of the war were as follows: 1) the relocation of the city, 2) small city concepts, 3) ground elevation, 4) the concept of riverbank greenbelts, 5) Shigeru Watanabe's proposal, 6) Sankichi Toge's proposal, 7) Kenzo Tange's proposal, 8) Miles Vaughn's proposal, 9) Tam Derring's proposal, 10) John D. Montgomery's proposal, and 11) Stanley Archibald Jarvie's proposal. These proposals were made in different ways. In some cases, many people were involved in drafting one proposal; and in other cases, many ideas were submitted by one person. When they are studied in detail, these plans and concepts included a variety of ideas, as they were not proposed in a consistent manner.

The relocation of Hiroshima was proposed by Tomiko Kora and others (Figure 3-1). They proposed that the center of the blast in the city should be left just as is, and a new city should be built at a different location. As a plan it was a most impressive, striking proposal but this idea was not adopted due to various reasons. The ground elevation plan was proposed by Jujiro Matsuda and others, and was a revolutionary plan which proposed elevating the ground level of Hiroshima in the reconstruction plan, as the city had often suffered from floods. "Hiroshima in 1965," proposed by Sankichi Toge, who won the essay competition, also garnered much attention.

Figure 3-1 Proposed relocation plan of Hiroshima[4)]

Regarding the small city concepts, some assertively proposed that Hiroshima should be

planned as a smaller city because they thought it was ideal for Hiroshima to be a small-sized city. Others proposed this idea from a more pessimistic point of view because they thought it was impossible for Hiroshima to become a big city again. In either case, at the time, many thought that Hiroshima was destined to be a small city after the atomic bombing.

These proposals were not only made by Japanese people but also by those from overseas, particularly by those from the United States and Australia. Among them, John D. Montgomery, Stanley Archibald Jarvie, Miles Vaughn, and Tam Derring stood out as most conspicuous. They all emphasized the importance of memorials and conservation, such as the preservation of the A-bomb Dome.

In this way, there were vast numbers of proposals, but only a few were adopted and implemented. The proposed greenbelts along the riverbanks were later realized, but most proposals were left untouched.

3 The Contents of the Initial Hiroshima Reconstruction Plan and its Operation Initiatives

(1) Process of the Legally Authorized Plan

Japan's system of city planning has a unique process through which decisions on city planning were made in the form of legally authorized plans. This system was stipulated in the City Planning Act put into effect in 1919. According to this system, plans must be prepared as bills subject to review by the City Planning Commission of Hiroshima Prefecture. Once passed, it must go through the administrative procedures of the department acting as secretariat of Hiroshima Prefecture, and then be reviewed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Ministry of Home Affairs then made a final decision which was released as an official notice, thus completing the process. After the war, management of this process was shifted from the Ministry of Home Affairs to the War Damage Reconstruction Agency.

By 1940, there were roads planned through this city planning process. Starting in the early Showa period (1926-89), city planning projects had been implemented based on this process, and new roads were under construction. However, many of these projects were halted when Japan entered into the Second Sino-Japanese War, which then led to the Pacific War. The postwar reconstruction plans were based on this method.

After the war, in 1946, reconstruction plans were drafted by Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima, and a proposal was then sent to the War Damage Reconstruction Agency for adjustment. It was then discussed by the City Planning Commission of Hiroshima Prefecture, after which an official notice was issued by the Agency.

The first postwar reconstruction agenda item in Hiroshima was the "Hiroshima Reconstruction City Planning Road Decision" discussed at the 39th meeting of the Commission on September 16, 1946. After the Commission adopted the proposal as drafted, it was legally authorized when the War Damage Reconstruction Agency issued official notice No. 198 in its gazette on October 4.

In the discussion during the commission meeting, there was an explanation of how the "character of the city" was in relation to the planning of roads. This was included as part of the agenda item. At this stage in planning, key terms such as "City of peace," "City of culture" and "hub city" were already discussed. The basic details of the plan summarized that "the plan is full of dignified ideas and pride; Hiroshima is a memorial city for world peace. The city must be reconstructed as an ideal city of culture, symbolizing world peace. The whole world is now watching Hiroshima."

(2) Road Planning as Part of the Reconstruction

Printed and published in December 1946, the Hiroshima Reconstruction City Planning Map (Figure 3-2) is a comprehensive drawing of the reconstruction plan of Hiroshima City. The Planning Map of Road Network (Figure 3-3) extracts only the roads from this drawing.

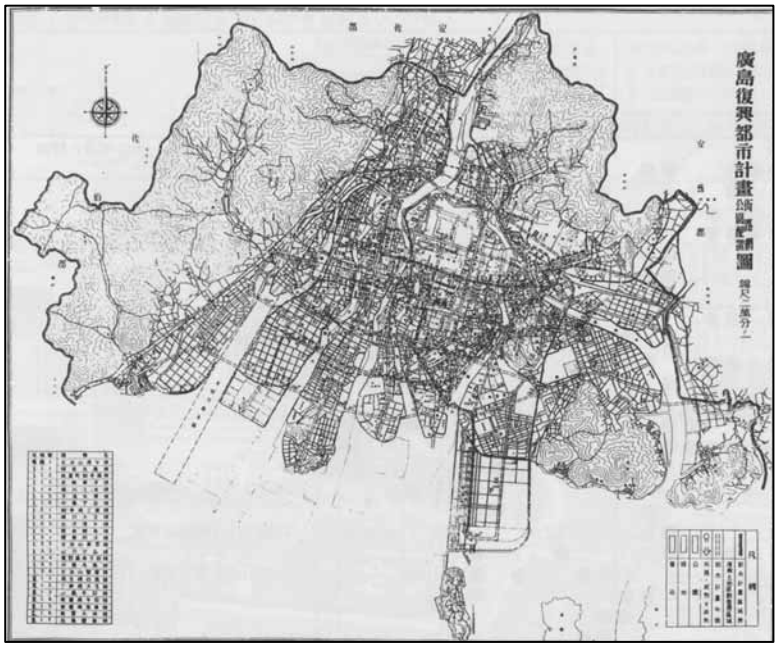


Figure3-2 Hiroshima Reconstruction City Planning Map (1946) [4)]

At the 39th meeting of the City Planning Commission of Hiroshima Prefecture, the secretary-general Teizo Takeshige, Director of the City Planning Division of Hiroshima Prefecture, explained the meaning behind each of the main roads, according to a *Hiroshima Shisei Yoran* (Municipal Handbook of the City of Hiroshima) by saying the following:

> "Main roads are not only for the convenience of city traffic, but also they serve as arteries to connect the city with satellite cities and surrounding areas as well. This plan must consider fundamentally improving Hiroshima, which has become a blank slate after it was reduced to ashes. The roads must connect Hiroshima to surrounding areas in the north, south, east and west; Hiroshima Station, a gateway of the land, must be connected with Ujina Port, a gateway of the sea; the site of the future airport with Hiroshima Station; and Hiroshima Station with the center of the city."

In reality it was not planned out on a completely "blank slate" but rather followed some of the city's past plans, which somewhat influenced the reconstruction plans.

In this manner, the reconstruction of roads started with the Hiroshima delta area. Multiple axes were running from north to south through large deltas, and on smaller deltas, one axis was running through the center. Streets running east-to-west had differing characteristics such as commercial and business streets, the national trunk road, and routes connecting industrial areas. In all, they made up a grid pattern with numerous special features built into the planning of the city. Using the prewar road plan as a base, they also adopted completely new routes. The map shows the accumulation of different plans in the history of Hiroshima. The most conspicuous routes were the Hijiyama-Kogo Line, a 100-meter wide road stretching east to west, and a road extending diagonally from Hiroshima Station towards Yoshijima. The

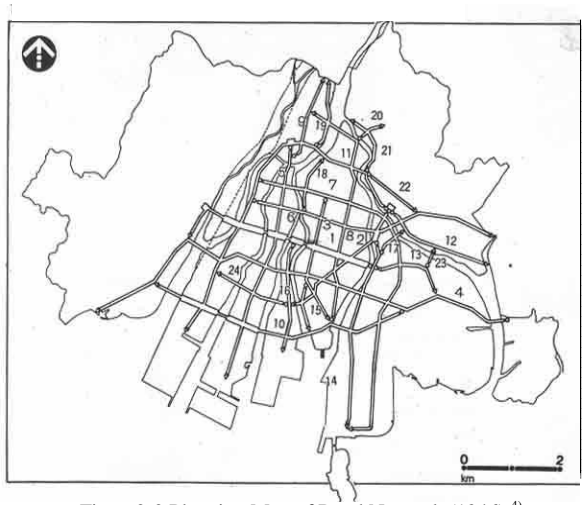


Figure3-3 Planning Map of Road Network (1946) [4)]

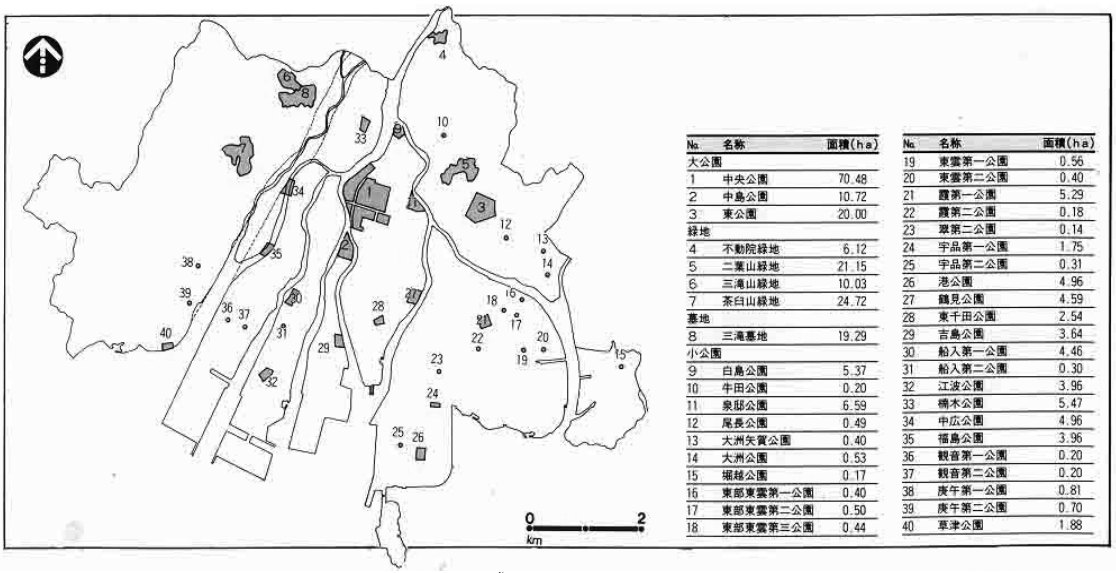
former was known as the "100-meter road," and was later officially named "Peace Boulevard." To the south of this street, there was a plan to create another 100-meter road, the Desio-Kogo Line. Of this street, a total of about 6.1 kilometers in length, about 1.9 kilometers from Funairi-kawaguchi-cho to Minami-kanon-machi was to have a road of one-hundred meters in width. What happened to these wide streets will be explained later.

(3) Planning Parks and Green Areas as a Part of Reconstruction

Planning for parks and green areas was decided upon at the 40th meeting of the City Planning Commission of Hiroshima Prefecture on October 19, 1946. It was there that secretary-general Teizo Takeshige, Director of the City Planning Division of Hiroshima Prefecture, mentioned the international standards of park development. One can see that he wanted to raise the standards for the parks in Hiroshima as much as possible.

The Planning Map of Park Areas (Figure3-4) was also made based on the above-mentioned comprehensive drawing (Figure3-2), extracting only the planned areas for parks and green areas.

The plan consisted of three large parks (total area of 101.2 hectares)—Chuo Park, Nakajima Park, and Higashi Park—and four green areas (total area of 62.02 hectares), a cemetery (19.29 hectares), and 40 small parks (total area of 66.35 hectares). However, this did not include some of the existing parks, nor the small parks which were already planned as part of the land readjustment. Additionally, riverbank greenbelts were planned "in order to beautify the waterfront city."



No.	名称	面積(ha)
大公園		
1	中央公園	70.48
2	中島公園	10.72
3	東公園	20.00
緑地		
4	不動院緑地	6.12
5	二葉山緑地	21.15
6	三滝山緑地	10.03
7	茶臼山緑地	24.72
墓地		
8	三滝墓地	19.29
小公園		
9	白島公園	5.37
10	牛田公園	0.20
11	泉邸公園	6.59
12	尾長公園	0.49
13	大洲矢賀公園	0.40
14	大洲公園	0.53
15	堀越公園	0.17
16	東部東雲第一公園	0.40
17	東部東雲第二公園	0.50
18	東部東雲第三公園	0.44

No.	名称	面積(ha)
19	東雲第一公園	0.56
20	東雲第二公園	0.40
21	霞第一公園	5.29
22	霞第二公園	0.18
23	草第二公園	0.14
24	宇品第一公園	1.75
25	宇品第二公園	0.31
26	港公園	4.96
27	鶴見公園	4.59
28	東千田公園	2.54
29	吉島公園	3.64
30	舟入第一公園	4.46
31	舟入第二公園	0.30
32	江波公園	3.96
33	楠木公園	5.47
34	中広公園	4.96
35	福島公園	3.96
36	観音第一公園	0.20
37	観音第二公園	0.20
38	庚午第一公園	0.81
39	庚午第二公園	0.70
40	草津公園	1.88

Figure3-4 Planning Map of Park Areas (1946) [4)]

(4) Decisions on Land Readjustment Areas

There was, however, no guarantee for these plans on roads and parks to be implemented. In order to secure the necessary land, land readjustment had to be conducted. Decisions regarding land readjustment were discussed and adopted at the 39th City Planning Commission of Hiroshima Prefecture and issued as notice No. 199 on October 9, 1946 (Figure 3-5).

According to *Hiroshima Shisei Yoran:* Fukko Dai Ichi Nen Go, Showa Nijusan Nen Ban (the Municipal Handbook of the City of Hiroshima, 1946—the first year of the reconstruction edition), "Land readjustment is important for making transportation convenient in the city, improving ventilation and lighting, and improving the value of land and its usage.

The land readjustment for the reconstruction of the city will cover the whole area of the burned city, which is about four million *tsubo* (1322.4 hectares). In addition to readjusting the land area, this project will also develop auxiliary roads, small parks (land readjustment parks), etc. The years the plan is to be executed in are as follows...” This notice explains that the City of Hiroshima was responsible for approximately 2,374,000 *tsubo* (783.4 hectares) of land, and Hiroshima Prefecture for 1,626,000 *tsubo* (536.6 hectares), and how much land was to be readjusted each year from the fiscal years of 1946 to 1950. It further states, “That is to say, after reservation of the sites for streets, parks, green areas, etc., the land left will be redistributed among the former landowners. Therefore, the land which will be redistributed to owners will be approximately 70% of the land they used to have.” Here the notice mentions the possibility of a 30% of “land reduction.” This shows that the reconstruction plan imposed extremely heavy burdens on landowners and city residents at that time.

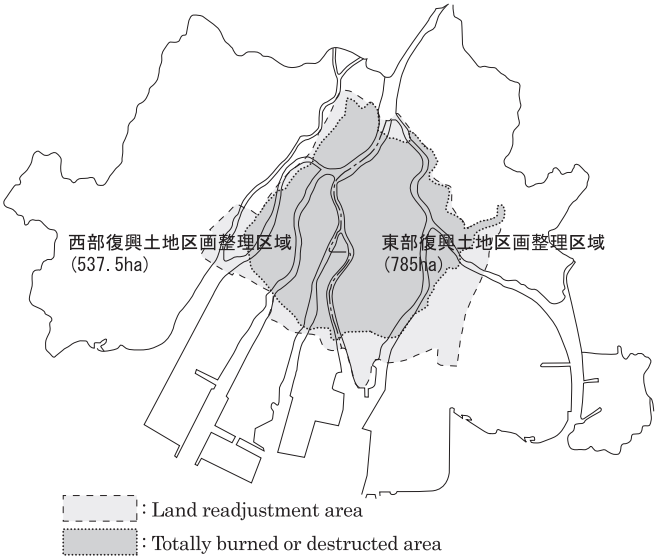


Figure3-5 Land readjustment area (1946)
[Edited based on the chart from *HIROSHIMA Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

4 Promotion of Projects in the Initial Reconstruction

The reconstruction plan was formulated and decided upon in this manner, but at the time Hiroshima City was having financial difficulties with its budget, and projects were not able to proceed as planned. However, among such projects there were some facilities that were able to be constructed thanks to foreign aid. This will be discussed further in the following chapter, but the foreign aid in the early stages of the reconstruction certainly encouraged the people of Hiroshima in the process of reconstruction.

The planned land readjustments were decided on September 16, 1946, and implementation of projects was decided in October of the same year, together with how the readjustment would proceed with each fiscal year. As the projects were to be implemented by public authorities, they were divided between the City of Hiroshima and the Hiroshima Prefectural Government. The Reconstruction Land Readjustment based on the Hiroshima Ad Hoc City Planning Project was implemented by the City of Hiroshima in the East, and by Hiroshima Prefecture in the West.

The Hiroshima Reconstruction Office of Hiroshima Prefecture had been established in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry building in Moto-machi in February 1946, and in January 1947, the East District Reconstruction Office of the Reconstruction Bureau of the City of Hiroshima was established adjoining it. In August of that year, announcement was made by the City of Hiroshima on the first phase of land allocation plan for 150,000 *tsubo* (49.5 hectares) of land in the eastern part of the city; and in September, by the Prefecture on the first phase of land allocation plan for 240,000 *tsubo* (79.2 hectares) of land in the western

part of the city. In this way, the operations moved into full swing.

To illustrate the early stages of the reconstruction process, according to a study conducted by the Research Division of the City of Hiroshima in August of 1946, the number of buildings more than half-burned or half-destroyed totaled 70,147. But one year later, reconstructed buildings numbered 32,242, or roughly 46% of the total. Of that number, 1,585 were newly constructed, 18,486 were repaired, and 12,171 were temporary buildings. It is worth noting that the number of new constructions was greatly outnumbered by repaired or temporary buildings. The fact that there were more than 12,000 temporary buildings constructed at this stage indicates the shortcomings of the readjustment system, but to carry out land readjustment for such a wide area was inevitably a time-consuming challenge.

III Summary

As outlined above, in the case of Hiroshima, the war reconstruction plans played a role in modernizing the city. Before suffering damages in the war, Hiroshima still had many features of a feudal castle town, but the historical vestiges and atmosphere of the old city were eliminated, and the city lost many of its distinct characteristics during the war reconstruction. Within a relatively short period of time, many major cities and war-damaged cities in Japan were rebuilt in this way. This certainly was a major endeavor.

At the same time, it can be said that the planning of the reconstruction of Hiroshima, as an A-bombed city, started by assuming the mission of modernizing the city and of conveying a message as a city that experienced an atomic bombing. At the time, however, because the plan had to be made and implemented within a very limited time, without being able to examine it fully, the first reconstruction plan did not go through enough scrutiny. In addition, the operations were brought to a standstill by financial constraints, and the first reconstruction plan eventually had to be revised.

In order to carry out the reconstruction plans, public land needed to be reserved through the process of land readjustment. That is to say, outside the readjustment area, there was no way to bring about the implementation of reconstruction plans. The readjustment process was indeed a difficult task, costing both time and money. The foundation for reconstruction remained unconsolidated, but the demand for housing construction, and the citizens' dissatisfaction continued to grow stronger.

The most distinctive feature of the Japanese reconstruction process was that administrative bodies were responsible for preparing land while the construction of buildings on the land was left up to the landowners (or those with rights to use the land). What types of buildings would be built, and in what manner, was also left to the initiative of the people. Within this lied the basic nature of the reconstruction process in Japan.

(Norioki Ishimaru)

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Column

Outstretched Hands: Reconstruction Support from Overseas

Introduction

When the Great East Japan Earthquake hit on March 11, 2011, information on the disaster made its way around the world through various media outlets, such as TV and the Internet. The great amount of aid, coming not only from within Japan but also from abroad, still sits fresh in people's minds. When the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima about 70 years ago, the amount of information available was significantly limited, but various kinds of support were delivered from overseas. This "support from overseas" encouraged the struggling citizens of Hiroshima both physically and spiritually.

1 Provision of Pharmaceuticals Soon after the Bombing

Among those who brought support from overseas, Marcel Junod, for whom there is a monument in Peace Memorial Park, is probably the most famous. A Swiss doctor, Junod came to Japan on August 9, 1945 as head of the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to Japan. Although he heard the rumors of atomic bombs dropped on Japan, immediately after the war, he was busy investigating the status of allied prisoners of war. On August 29, Junod dispatched ICRC delegate Friedrich Bilfinger and others to Hiroshima to report on the situation there. On August 30, Bilfinger sent a telegram reporting that the condition in Hiroshima was "appalling" and requested Junod to call on the Allied General Headquarters (GHQ) to send medical aid to Hiroshima as soon as possible. Junod immediately negotiated with the GHQ to provide support to the A-bombed city, and on September 8 he came to Hiroshima himself, bringing along approximately 15 tons of pharmaceuticals and medical equipment provided by the US army, and saved many lives.[1)]

2 Writing about Hiroshima

The first news articles on the damages of Hiroshima published overseas were written by a second-generation Japanese-American, Leslie Nakashima, and an Australian journalist, Wilfred Burchett,[2)] but the first to conduct thorough interviews with A-bomb survivors and that conveyed their personal stories overseas was Pulitzer-winning American author, John Hersey. Hersey visited Hiroshima in May 1946. He interviewed six survivors including Reverend Kiyoshi Tanimoto of the Hiroshima Nagarekawa Church and wrote the reportage, "Hiroshima," which was published in the magazine, *New Yorker*, on August 31 of the same year and shocked the American public. In December, this article was already published in

book form. *Hiroshima* vividly conveyed the devastation caused by the atomic bombing to Americans, who did not yet know the situation, and inspired many readers to help send aid to Hiroshima.[3)]

Robert Jungk, who brought the story of Hiroshima to Europe, must also be remembered. A Jewish journalist born in Germany, he visited Hiroshima in May 1957; and with the help of Hiroshima city employee, Kaoru Ogura, who worked as a translator, he interviewed many A-bomb survivors. Two years later, he published *Strahlen aus der Asche* (Children of the Ashes) about a Hiroshima under reconstruction, with two young A-bomb survivors as leading characters. This book drew a huge response in Europe. It also was a means by which the story about Sadako Sasaki and the thousand paper cranes was introduced to the world.[4)]

3 Building Homes for the Survivors

We must also not forget Floyd Schmoe, the American who worked to build houses for those who lost their own homes in the atomic bombing. Schmoe, a devout Quaker and lecturer at the University of Washington came to Hiroshima in August 1949, when he was 54 years old. In August of 1945, Schmoe heard the news of the bombing while in Seattle and was so heartbroken that he felt as if he himself had been struck by the bomb.[5)] He wrote, "To us who came here to build homes for homeless people as a token of our regret and humiliation...." [6)] With a heavy heart and a feeling of guilt, Schmoe decided to build houses with his own hands, for those in need, and began fundraising in the United States, finding collaborators, and headed to Hiroshima in 1949.

Working along with Japanese volunteers in Hiroshima, Schmoe built four housing units over the course of three months, and provided them to four families. He continued thereafter to lead the construction of "Houses for Hiroshima" and by 1954 this project had also built 16 housing units and one community center in Ushita and Eba and supported the survivors in a difficult situation.[7)] In 2012, the only remaining "House for Hiroshima" opened as the "Schmoe House," a branch of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

4 Healing the Emotional Trauma of the Survivors

In March 1964, the City of Hiroshima praised the achievements of Norman Cousins from the United States for his peace activities, including physically and morally assisting children orphaned by the atomic bombing, and awarded him the title of "special honorary citizen." There is a monument honoring Cousins in Peace Memorial Park, and even today there may be people who still clearly remember the role he played in the reconstruction of Hiroshima.

Cousins was the editor-in-chief of the, *Saturday Review of Literature* magazine, and came to Hiroshima for the first time in August of 1949. Visiting a war orphanage, he was shocked by the plight of the A-bomb orphans, and upon returning home soon gave a report on the situation in his article titled "Hiroshima – Four Years Later." In this article, he proposed the idea of moral adoptions of children who had lost their immediate families by the A-bomb in order to support them as they grew up. He gained many collaborators from the United States and with their contributions, supported around 500 orphans.[8)]

Another achievement of Cousins was opening the way for female A-bomb survivors to get medical treatment in the United States. The women who had keloid scars from the atomic bombing were deeply hurt by people's stares and words. They became more and more negative and even hated going outside.[9)] In September 1953, Cousins came to Japan for the third time, and he was able to meet ten female survivors through an introduction from Reverend Kiyoshi Tanimoto. This led him to invite female survivors to receive medical treatment in the United States. Through his devoted efforts and the support of American

doctors, Christians and other private people, he was able to prepare the funds needed for their operations, transportation and accommodations. He also prepared places for them to stay, and in May 1955, 25 girls headed to the United States.[10] They were called the "Hiroshima Maidens" and their scarred bodies of them brought the terrible reality of the atomic bomb to the American public. During their stay, a bilingual second-generation Japanese-American who accompanied them as a translator, Hatsuko Yokoyama (Helen Yokoyama), encouraged them, as they were in unfamiliar environment of foreign country and were anxious about the surgeries.[11] The 25 girls underwent plastic surgery at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York to remove the keloid scars on their faces and bodies. By the time they returned home in November 1956, they had undergone over 100 surgeries.

In Closing

After the war, the majority opinion of the public in the United States saw the atomic bombings as justified, but as we have seen here, many Americans supported Hiroshima in various ways. Feelings of guilt caused from being citizens of the country that dropped the bombs along with their human consciences led them to take actions for Hiroshima. When we recall their efforts, we must also not forget the actions of Kiyoshi Tanimoto, Kaoru Ogura, Helen Yokoyama, and others who served as go-betweens, helping to strengthen the will of the supporters and encouraging their actions.

(Hitoshi Nagai)

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Chapter 4
The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law

Introduction

This chapter discusses postwar reconstruction process in Hiroshima. Initially, the reconstruction planning encountered many problems such as financial difficulties, lack of human resources and shortages in materials and public land. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, which paved the way for special assistance from the national government and transfer of national government properties to Hiroshima, played a key role in overcoming these difficulties. This chapter explains how this special law based on Article 95 of the Constitution revived Hiroshima. Another important theme of this chapter is to examine how this law was enacted and how the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan was established based on the law. The reconstruction process must be recorded by clarifying how the concept for a Peace Memorial City was formulated; how the special project system to build "peace memorial facilities" was established; and how the Peace Memorial Park was designed and constructed. Furthermore, we must note the various issues related to the construction of the Peace Boulevard, which was one of the special features of the reconstruction plan. Discussing the reconstruction process of Hiroshima as the main theme, this chapter also tries to elucidate the common characteristics of reconstruction in Japan.

I The Process of Establishing the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law and Its Content

The initial reconstruction plan was determined in the period from October to November 1946, and land readjustment was to be implemented to proceed with the plan. Land readjustment projects, however, were extremely difficult not only in Hiroshima but also in other war-damaged cities across the country. On June 24, 1949, the Basic Policy on Reviewing War-damaged City Reconstruction Plans was approved by the Cabinet. This review advised reducing the areas for land readjustment and downsizing the widths of the planned roads, saying, "Appropriately change the width of roads which are unduly wide (about 30 meters or wider), taking into account the feasibility and urgency." This was a significant reversal from the original policy.

Based on this policy, the reconstruction plans were reviewed and scaled down across the country. The number of 100-meter wide roads, for example, was drastically reduced from 24 to four in the country (Table 4-1, 4-2). In addition to reducing the number of 100-meter roads, the overall area of land readjustment was greatly reduced. Initially, land readjustment was planned for a total area of approximately 180 million *tsubo* (595 million square meters), but the reviewed five-year plan in later day reduced this area to almost half, to approximately 85 million *tsubo* (281 million square meters) as of 1960.

Among the financial difficulties of the war-ravaged cities across the country, the hardship of the A-bombed city of Hiroshima was most extreme. The burden of the emergency projects and measures needed was enormous while the tax revenue was minuscule. Under such conditions, those who were in charge of reconstruction were not idle. In order to cope with these conditions, they made strenuous efforts to find a way, and finally came up with the idea of enacting a "Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law."

From soon after the war ended, they repeatedly requested the national government to consider special subsidies and transfer of national government properties to Hiroshima. For instance, as early as November 13, 1945 the Hiroshima City Council submitted "Opinions on the Reconstruction of Hiroshima" to General Douglas MacArthur at GHQ requesting special high-rate assistance for the reconstruction projects in Hiroshima. In January of 1946, Mayor Shichiro Kihara requested the national government to transfer the former military land to Hiroshima. He made this request many times after that as well.

The period from the end of the war to about November 1948 can be called "Phase 1" of the reconstruction. It was when people lobbied for special subsidies and for transfer of government properties to Hiroshima. Phase 2 starts from November 30, 1948, when the Hiroshima City Council adopted a petition to request the national government to conduct the reconstruction and building of Hiroshima as a national project. This period can be called the "national reconstruction project petition period."

Table 4-1 Number of 100-meter roads in reconstruction plans

City	100 meters	80 meters
Tokyo	13	1
Yokohama	2	
Kawasaki	2	
Nagoya	2	
Osaka	4	1
Kobe		1
Hiroshima	1	
Total	24	3

Survey on the special city planning projects according to road width, conducted by Civil Engineering Division, Planning Bureau, War Damage Reconstruction Agency, on November 12, 1947

Table 4-2 Number of 100-meter roads in reconstruction plans

City	100 meters or wider	100 meters or wider
	Before Review	After Review
Tokyo	7	0
Yokohama	2	1
Kawasaki	1	0
Nagoya	2	2
Osaka	2	0
Hiroshima	2	1
Total	16	4

Comparison of road plans in war-damage reconstruction projects, before and after review, by City Bureau, Ministry of Construction, June 28, 1949

On February 13, 1949, city officials and city council members met those who had ties to Hiroshima and the chairmen of committees of the House of Councillors and lodged the petition. Things began to develop rapidly when Nobuo Asaoka, a member of the House of Councillors, and Tsukasa Nitoguri, Chairman of the Hiroshima City Council, visited the office of Tadashi Teramitsu, Director General of the Proceedings Department of the House of Councillors. Teramitsu presented the idea of using the framework of a special law stipulated in Article 95 of the new constitution, and they decided to quickly write a draft. Phase 3 of the reconstruction started then. This law was to be called the "Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law" (sometimes abbreviated to Peace City Law), so Phase 3 can be called the "Peace City Law movement period." The keyword "Peace Memorial City" came to be used then. The proposed Peace City Law said in Article 1, "It shall be the object of the present law to provide for the construction of the city of Hiroshima as a peace memorial city to symbolize the human ideal of sincere pursuit of genuine and lasting peace." Here the law clarified the objective of the city construction and called for people's efforts to pursue it. Furthermore, Article 6, Responsibility of the Mayor of Hiroshima, says, "The mayor of Hiroshima shall, with the cooperation of residents and support from relevant organizations, establish a program of continuous activity toward completion of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City."

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law unanimously passed the Lower House on May 10, 1949, and the Upper House on May 11. Therefore Phase 3, the Peace City Law movement period, is until the law passed the Diet on May 11, 1949.

Subsequently, on May 14 of that same year, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in accordance with the Local Autonomy Act, officially informed the Prime Minister of the fact that the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was a special law under Article 95 of the Constitution. On July 7 of that year, the law was supported by the local referendum, and it was promulgated on August 6. This period can be called Phase 4 of

the reconstruction, until the enactment of the law, with which the movement calling for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law ended. Voter turnout of the local referendum held in the city of Hiroshima was 65.0 %, of which 91.0% supported the law. This means 59.2% of the eligible voters voted for the law at the referendum. In this way, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, a special law for Hiroshima, was established and promulgated on August 6, 1949. Phase 5 was the period that followed, when the Peace City Law was implemented and used. It played a major role in the reconstruction process in Hiroshima.

II The Development of a Peace Memorial City Construction Plan Based on the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law

1 The Contents of the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan

The original reconstruction plan as a legally authorized plan, described in Chapter 3, was revised based on the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law and became a new legally authorized plan. This was the "Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan," finalized on March 31, 1952. Let us look at the process to complete this plan. (Table 4-3)

Table 4-3 Various plans for constructing Peace Memorial City

No.	Name of the Plan	Planned by	Date of issue
1	Comprehensive Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace Memorial City (Draft)	City of Hiroshima	September 23, 1949
2	Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Project Draft Plan	City of Hiroshima	October 3, 1949
3	Tentative Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace City	Secretarial Division of the City of Hiroshima	April, 1950
4	Draft Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace City	Secretarial Division of the City of Hiroshima	October, 1950
5	Opinions on the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan	Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Special Committee	August 6, 1951

In order to establish the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan, city authorities, in particular the Secretarial Division, along with Kenzo Tange and Takashi Asada, concentrated on working on the plan between November 1, 1949 and February 4, 1950. During this period the blueprints for the Peace Park plan, including Chuo Park, were created and included in the "Tentative Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace City" published in April 1950. It did not use the term "Peace Memorial City" but "City of Peace." Chapter 1, titled "Hiroshima as a City of Peace," gives a detailed explanation of the reasons for constructing Hiroshima as a City of Peace. The "peace facilities" included peace greenways, bridges and peace memorial seed nursery[1)] along with a Peace Hall and a Peace Park. In addition to cultural facilities (a library, a science museum, an art museum, an open-air theater, and academic facilities) and a children's center, the plan included recreational facilities (facilities for relaxation, amusements, health, hygiene, sports, and friendly gatherings).

This tentative plan was followed by the Draft Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace City (October 1950). The characteristic of this draft plan was that the keyword "City of Peace" was repeatedly used. For example, the draft plan discussed "Hiroshima as a City of Peace"

and the "major issues in planning the construction of a City of Peace" to elaborate on the philosophy of a City of Peace together with the Peace City Law and presented specific details of the functions and the area of peace facilities. The "peace facilities" (later called "peace memorial facilities"), a peace park (the combination of Nakajima Park and Chuo Park in the original reconstruction plan), and a peace greenway (later called Peace Boulevard) were proposed in this draft plan.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Special Committee, a committee of experts, issued a 16-page booklet called "Opinions on the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan" (August 6, 1951). This booklet was made as a report to provide advice and proposals as requested by the Mayor of Hiroshima. It included the discussion results from the first meeting of the committee on October 11, 1950 to the fifth meeting on June 5, 1951. What should be noted among the contents is that the report clarified the principles in building a Peace Memorial City, in particular, the vision of constructing "peace memorial facilities." Also noteworthy is that the planned 100-meter wide road was called "Peace Memorial 100-meter Road." This shows the intention of trying to obtain high-rate subsidies under the Peace Memorial City Construction Law by naming the facilities to indicate that they contribute to building a Peace Memorial City. In this way, after the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, many concepts for constructing a City of Peace were developed, and the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan was ready to be made a legally authorized plan.

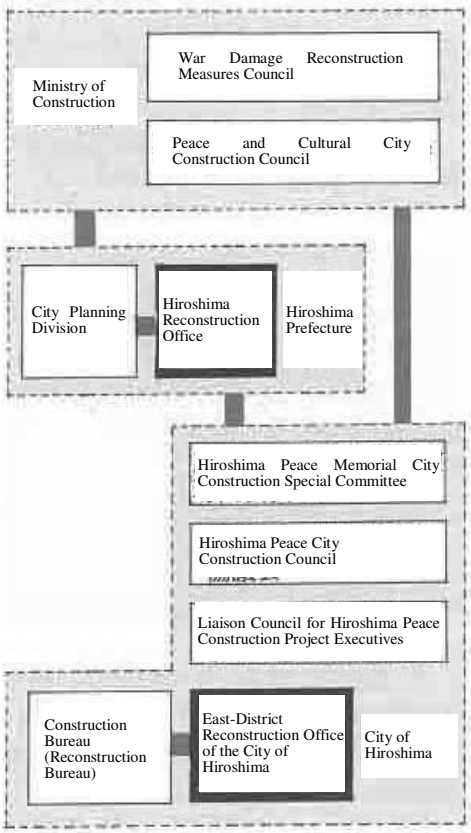


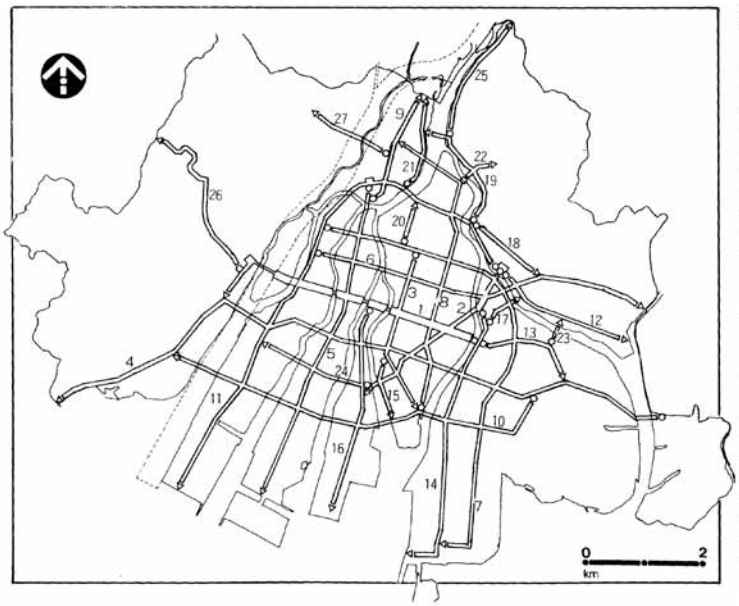
Figure 4-a Chart of the implementing organizations for the reconstruction plans
[Edited based on the chart from *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

2 Revisions to the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan

The 48th meeting of the City Planning Council of Hiroshima Prefecture, held on March 29, 1952, deliberated and decided on the aspects of city planning including roads, parks and green areas; memorial facilities, cemeteries, sewers, road construction, and land readjustment; and others issues. With regard to the "planning of urban roads," plans for the construction of 27 roads, including the 100-meter wide Hijiyama-Kogo Line planned in the initial reconstruction plan, were made (Figure 4-b).

In regards to parks and green areas, when the initial plan was made, there had been no progress in the plans for the re-plotting of the land readjustment, so planning parks within the zone was not possible. However, by the time the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan was being formulated, there had been considerable progress in land readjustment, and small parks were incorporated into the plan. Additionally, some large parks that were not included in the initial plan for some reason were added during this stage (Figure 4-c). The initial plan included three large parks, 32 small parks, four green areas, and one cemetery, for a total of

40 parks and green areas; but the number experienced a significant increase, to 88, in the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan, including six large parks, 72 small parks, eight green areas, and two cemeteries. Among those, the plans for the completion of 13.14-hectare riverbank greenbelts in the Eastern Area and 8.18-hectare riverbank greenbelts in the Western Area were particularly noteworthy. Motoujina Park, Hijiyama Park, Ebayama Park, and Sogo Undo Koen (a sports park) had already been built, so the major change to the large parks was removing Nakajima Park from the list of "parks" and making it a "memorial facility."



平和記念都市建設計画・都市計画街路一覧表

No.	路線名称	等類号	幅員(m)
1	比治山・庚午線	広 路 1	100
2	駅前・吉島線	I—1—1	40
3	紙屋町・御幸橋線	I—1—2	40
4	青崎・草津線	I—1—3	40
5	横川・江波線	I—1—4	36
6	天満・矢賀線	I—1—5	40
7	中広・宇品線	I—1—6	36
8	御幸橋・三篠線	I—2—1	30
9	横川・大芝線	I—2—2	30
10	霞・庚午線	I—2—3	30
11	駅前・観音線	I—2—4	30
12	駅前・大洲線	I—3—1	27
13	比治山・東雲線	I—3—2	25
14	松川・宇品線	I—3—3	27
15	鷹野橋・南千田線	I—3—4	27
16	中島・吉島線	I—3—5	25
17	比治山・蟹屋線	I—3—6	27
18	常盤橋・若草線	I—3—7	25
19	常盤橋・大芝線	I—3—8	25
20	基町・白島線	II—1—1	20
21	三篠橋・大芝線	II—1—2	20
22	白島・牛田線	II—1—3	20
23	東雲・大洲線	II—1—4	20
24	吉島・観音線	II—1—5	20
25	牛田・戸坂線	II—3—1	11
26	己斐・石内線	II—小—1	6
27	三篠・三滝線	II—小—2	6

Figure 4-b Planning map of road network and a list of planned roads (1952)
[from *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

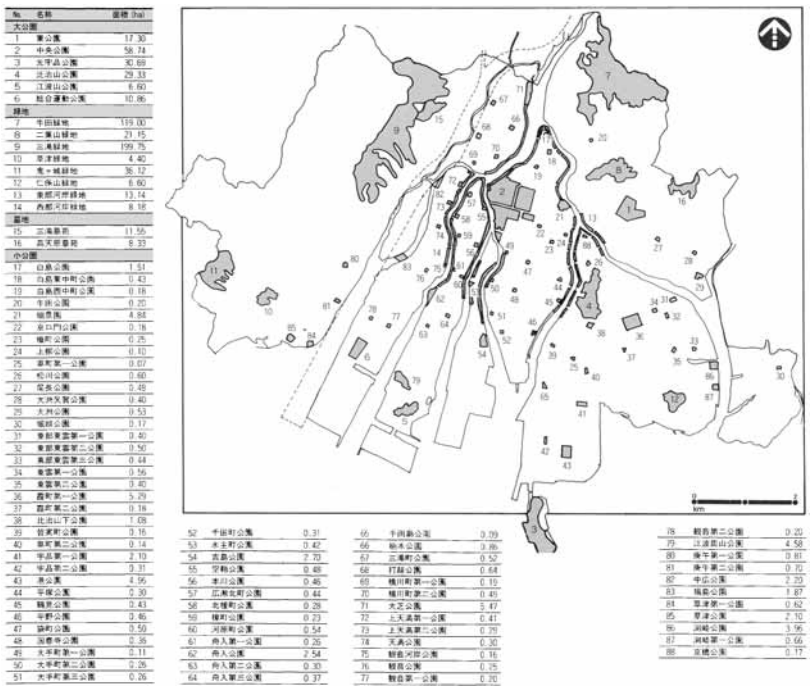


Figure 4-c Planning Map of Park Areas (1952)
[from *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

As for land readjustment, the initial "Reconstruction Land Readjustment based on the Hiroshima Ad Hoc City Planning Project" had decided to readjust a total land area of 1,322.5 hectares in 1946. However, in 1952 the project was renamed the "Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Project, Reconstruction Land Readjustment" and 1,060.1 hectares of land was designated as area for reconstruction, including 579.0 hectares in the East and 481.1 hectares in the West. The reconstruction of the East was to be implemented by the Mayor of Hiroshima, and the West by the Governor of Hiroshima Prefecture.

With regard to zoning, based on the Building Standards Act, enacted in 1950, the planned industrial zone was divided into quasi-industrial districts and exclusive industrial districts. The area north of the 100-meter wide road in the center of the city and part of the area behind Hiroshima Station were designated commercial zones. The area south of the prison in Yoshijima Honmachi, a part of Tanna, the reclaimed land in Ujina, and the old Yoshijima Airfield were designated quasi-industrial districts.

Another conspicuous decision made by the City Planning Council was the construction of "memorial facilities." A special framework was made possible by the Peace City Law.

Specific memorial facilities proposed by the council at that time were: a Peace Memorial Park (12.21 hectares) within about 500 meters of the hypocenter, a memorial cenotaph within the park, and Peace Memorial Halls around former Nakajima Honmachi and Tenjin-machi. The total floor area of the Peace Memorial Halls were to be 2,825 *tsubo* (9,339 square meters), with a 718-*tsubo* (2,374 square meters) terrace. The Halls included an assembly hall, a memorial display room, and a main building. The previously mentioned, "Draft Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace City," referred to such facilities as "peace facilities," not "memorial facilities." Initially, the "peace facilities" proposed in the draft plan included a peace arch, a memorial temple, atomic bomb ruins, and an 85-hectare Peace Park (not Peace "Memorial" Park). Compared with the draft plan, the plan proposed by the City Planning Council was significantly scaled down. However, the decision to make "memorial facilities" was unprecedented in Japan. Their construction was made possible, for the first time, by the Peace City Law (Figure 4-1).

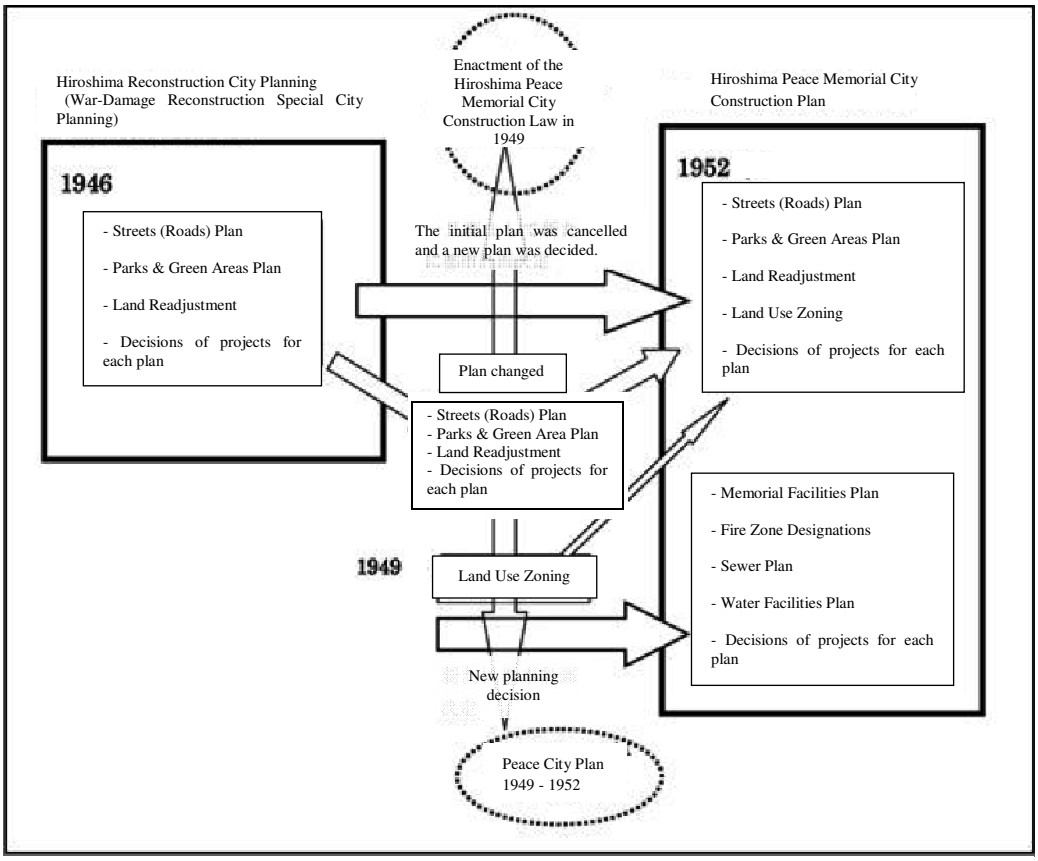


Figure 4-1 Changes from the original reconstruction planning (1946) to the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan (1952)

3 The Formation Process of the Peace Memorial Park

(1) Peace Memorial Park Competition

With the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law came new circumstances. The decision to revise the previous city plan was an important move, as was the design competition that was conducted around this time. This led to a large-scale design and furthered city planning in Hiroshima. In 1949, the city decided to hold a design competition for the Peace Memorial Park when it became clear that the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law would pass the Diet. In short, Nakajima Park, one of the large parks proposed in the postwar reconstruction plan was instead made a "peace memorial facility" to give it a special status; and a movement to build a Peace Memorial Museum and a Peace Memorial Hall began as a result of special subsidies from the national government, further demonstrating that the concept of promoting a "peace memorial" city had taken root.

At the Roundtable for the Design Competition for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Memorial Halls, Kosuke Terasaki, then Director of the Civil Engineering Division of the City of Hiroshima, said, "The details of the design competition were released on May 20, 1949, based on the discussions conducted from around August 1948 on the scope of application, how to realize the concept and other details."

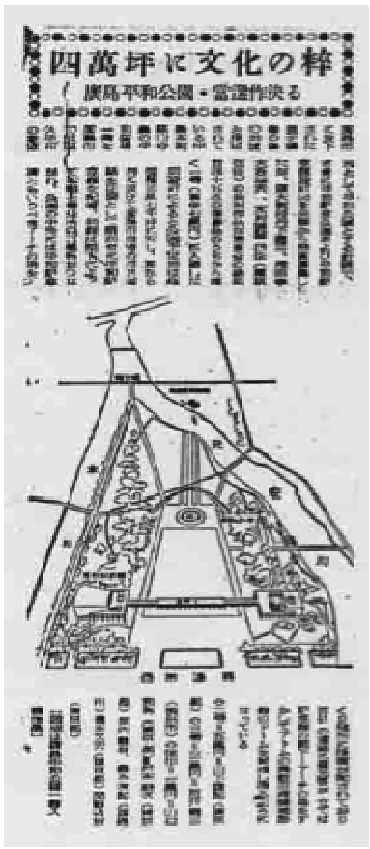
According to the design policies clarified in the application requirements (or guidelines) the design must: 1) convey the purpose of the project and be adapted to the

environment; 2) have an comprehensive plan for the Peace Memorial Halls and the Park; 3) incorporate the design of the landscape, garden paths, a plaza, and trees (maintaining a distinction between coniferous and broad-leaf trees); and 4) contain plans for the Peace Memorial Halls, including meeting rooms for various international conferences, a display hall for the exhibits showing atomic bomb disasters,[2] a tower for Peace Bell, an assembly hall that could accommodate 2,000 people, small meeting rooms, offices, a library, and a large cafeteria.

Furthermore, according to the "Current status of the proposed site," in the June 1949 "Application Guidelines" published in *Kensetsu Geppo*[3] (Monthly Construction Report), "The remains of the former Industrial Promotion Hall are to be appropriately repaired and kept." This was an extremely important detail, and it is unclear if its importance was fully understood by the competition applicants. In fact, the majority of the plans submitted did not take this into consideration.

(2) Kenzo Tange's Winning Plan

The plan submitted by Kenzo Tange's group was selected as the winner of the competition. The postwar design competition drew much attention—particularly because it was a competition held in Hiroshima. Along with the design competition held the year before by the Catholic church in Nobori-cho (today's Memorial Cathedral for World Peace), it attracted attention as a new trend in the field of architectural design, with the keywords of "Hiroshima" and "Peace." On July 20, 1949 (July 18 by some accounts) the Peace Memorial Park competition stopped taking applications, and the results were announced on August 6. *The Chugoku Shimbun*, a daily newspaper based in Hiroshima, published the results the earliest (on August 7). As shown in Figure 4-2, the article titled "The essence of culture in 40,000 *tsubo* (132,200 square meters): decision on the winning design of Hiroshima Peace Park." The article said, "...submissions were being taken from all over the country for the Peace Memorial Park and Peace Memorial Hall. The first prize (prize of 70,000 yen) from among 145 entries was awarded to the design jointly submitted by Kenzo Tange, professor (sic) at the University of Tokyo, Takashi Asada, Sachio Otani and Norikuni Kimura (residing in Tokyo)." Second prize went to Toshiro Yamashita (Tokyo), third place to Ryuzo Arai (Yokohama), and honorable mentions went to five groups led by, Kazuo Yamaguchi (Tokyo), Asaji Sugimoto (Tokyo), Yoshinari Kochi and Jiro Fujimoto (Hiroshima), Fumio Hashimoto (Tokyo), and Kokichi Mano (Tokyo). At the time, the competition drew much attention and the architectural design industry in Hiroshima was much interested in this competition. It is notable that a design proposed by a group of architects at Akatsuki Sekkei, a design office in Hiroshima, was selected as a runner-up.


四萬坪に文化の粋

廣島平和公園・當選作決る

Figure 4-2 Peace Memorial Park Competition Results Announcement (the Chugoku Shimbun, August 7, 1949 edition).

An explanation of the winning plan reads as follows: "In this plan, in the proposed park area of 37,000 *tsubo* (122,100 square meters), a Peace Memorial Hall (later named Peace Memorial Museum) will be built stretching from east to west, facing south towards the 100-meter wide road that Hiroshima residents are proud of. The Hall is to be connected by corridors between two buildings: the main building and an assembly hall.

In the center of the park there is an arched tower, which shall be called a Peace Monument, and trees are to be planted at various places. From the 100-meter wide road, tourists will be able to see the A-bomb Dome, the former Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, through the piloti and the arch tower."

With a supplementary budget in 1949, the construction of the Peace Memorial Park and the building Kenzo Tange called "Hiroshima Peace Center" began. First, the construction of the display hall started in February 1951. This later became the main building of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Then the construction of the Peace Memorial Hall, today's Peace Memorial Museum's East Building, began in March of that year. The construction took a long time because of the tight budget and the buildings were left unfinished for some time.

On the other hand, the "assembly hall" in the initial plan was not considered as a "memorial facility" unique to Hiroshima, and ineligible for subsidies from the national government. However, with donations from the local business community, the construction of the building started in November 1953, after significant design changes were made by a local architectural firm. The structure would no longer be an assembly hall as initially planned but would now be a public auditorium and hotel.

The difficult time Hiroshima faced in the reconstruction process after the war can be seen in the photograph of the construction of the display hall. While under construction, the museum building was ridiculed as a bird cage as its hollow body was exposed (Photo 4-1). The park itself was still full of homes (which people had been ordered to vacate). These houses were hidden with curtains during the Peace Memorial Ceremony. This also sheds light on another aspect of Hiroshima's postwar reconstruction process (Photo 4-a).

Photo 4-1 The display hall under construction (today's Peace Memorial Museum Main Building) (Taken on July 1, 1952. Collection of the Hiroshima Municipal Archives)

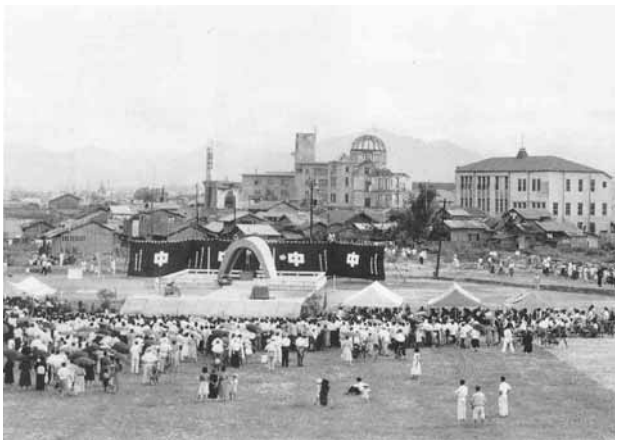


Photo 4-a Peace Memorial Ceremony with houses in the background (Taken on Aug. 6, 1952. Courtesy of the Chugoku Shimbun)

In 1955, these buildings were completed one after the other. In March, the earliest building to be completed was the public auditorium, which had started the latest. In May, the Peace Memorial Hall was completed and finally the display hall in August. By 1959, the remaining houses were all cleared from the park and the park was almost complete. In April 1958, the Hiroshima Reconstruction Exposition was held at the Peace Memorial Park and in the Museum. As the population levels surpassed pre-war levels, the reconstruction came to be seen as having made a large amount of progress.

III The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan: Project Implementation and Effects

1 The results of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law

On August 6, 1949, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was enacted, and an additional budget of approximately 31 million yen was allocated from the national government as a special subsidy that fiscal year. In 1950, 180 million additional yen was provided during the fiscal year. Under this special framework, Hiroshima and Nagasaki continued to receive higher subsidies to cover the costs of their reconstruction projects. The national government subsidized two-thirds of the costs of the "peace memorial facilities," a high rate at the time. In this way, the national government supported the construction costs of the Peace Memorial Museum and the development costs of the Peace Memorial Park. Many properties of the national government were also transferred to Hiroshima. For example, land transferred from the national government was used to build Hakushima Elementary School and Yoshijima Elementary School, Futaba Junior High School and Noboricho Junior High School, Motomachi Senior High School, the water facilities in Ushita, and the Hiroshima Citizens Hospital.

The benefits of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law were not only limited to special assistance from the national government. The law also provided moral support to the citizens by assuring them that the national government was watching over and assisting them. The efforts made by those in Hiroshima were not the only factors that played important roles in Hiroshima's reconstruction process; the support framework as well as physical and moral support played a significant role.

2 Characteristics of the Implemented Plan - Particularly the 100-meter Wide Road

The reconstruction plan of Hiroshima was unique in character. Specifically, there were three main unique characteristics to the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan.

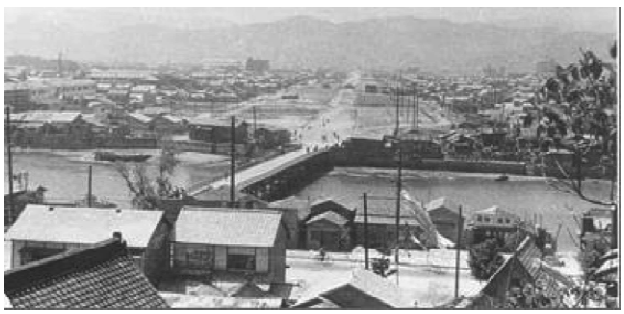


Photo 4-2 The 100-meter road under construction as seen from Hijiyama Hill (May 12, 1952) (Collection of the Hiroshima Municipal Archives)

In the initial 1946 reconstruction plan, the Hijiyama-Kogo Line was one of the wide roads and part of the line that extends over 3,570 meters was 100 meter wide. Therefore this part was called "100-meter road" (Photo 4-2). In November 1951, it was named the "Peace Boulevard"—a name selected from among submissions from the general public. At that time, there was another plan to construct a 100-meter wide road about two kilometers south from the Peace Boulevard. This was called the Deshio-Kogo Line (later renamed the Kasumi-Kogo Line). The 100-meter wide road portion of this line's plan was cancelled following a nationwide review of the reconstruction plans of war-damaged cities (conducted in 1949). The bridges constructed to the southeast

and the southwest of the new Peace Memorial Park were named the Heiwa-ohashi Bridge (the Peace Bridge) and the Nishi Heiwa-ohashi Bridge (the West Peace Bridge), respectively. The writer Yoko Ota details the problems surrounding the 100-meter road in *Yunagi no Machi to Hito to: 1953 Nen no Jittai* (A City and its People in the Evening Calm: Realities of 1953)—about people who criticized the 100-meter road at the time.

This criticism peaked during Hiroshima's April 1955 mayoral election. Though deemed to have made enough achievements in the reconstruction process of the city during his two terms of office, incumbent Shinzo Hamai lost the election to Tadao Watanabe, who had called for a review of the city planning. In particular, Watanabe called for the reduction of the width of the 100-meter road by half and the construction of public housing for the citizens. Later, Mayor Watanabe withdrew his campaign promise and in 1957 and 1958, trees were planted along the greenbelt in the center of the city, through the tree donation and planting campaigns. In this way, the landscape of the city gradually developed.

3 Support from Overseas

It must be mentioned that Hiroshima's reconstruction was not only supported by the national government. It also received support from overseas. In 1949, Dr. Floyd Schmoe paid a visit to Hiroshima to build and provide homes for survivors of the bomb. This marked the beginning of the Houses for Hiroshima—also known as the Schmoe House project. Afterwards, he came back to Hiroshima many times and built 20 housing units and a community center, in Minami-machi, Eba (Nihonmatsu 1 chome) and at other places and donated them.

Relief supplies and donations were sent to support bomb victims in Hiroshima by those originally from Hiroshima who had moved abroad to Hawaii and the mainland of the United States, Canada, Brazil, Peru and other countries. In fact, the Hiroshima Kenjinkai in Hawaii formed the Hawaii Society for Relief of Hiroshima War Victims in April 1948 to fundraise and remitted donations to support reconstruction costs. In this same way, the Children's Library in Chuo Park in Moto-machi was built with donation made by the Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California in the United States. This was built based on Kenzo Tange's 1952 design, with a concrete shell in the shape of a mushroom and glass walls. It was opened in 1953 and became a popular place for children to read books (Photo 4-3). Additionally, the Peace Bridge and the West Peace Bridge were both built as national projects with the Collateral Fund of U.S. Assistance to Japan.

Photo 4-3 Night scene of the Children's Library in Moto-machi (around 1953)
(Courtesy of Urban Development Coordination Division, Urban Development Bureau, the City of Hiroshima)

While not a direct form of assistance, the CIE Library (later the American Culture Center) built along the 100-meter road was also valuable for Hiroshima, which had very few cultural facilities.

Much of the Memorial Cathedral for World Peace's equipment (a Catholic church built in Nobori-cho) was donated from various countries, including a pipe organ from Cologne, Germany (then West Germany); four peace bells from a steel company in Bochum; the front doors from Düsseldorf; the pulpit from Munich; a mosaic mural from Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of West Germany at that time; a baptismal font from Aachen; and

an altar from Belgium. Additionally, the stained glass windows that bring light into various places of the cathedral and create an atmosphere were donated from countries such as Germany, Austria, Portugal, Mexico, a church in Munich and others. While these items were given to the Noboricho Church, which constructed the Memorial Cathedral, in most cases, donors had also intended that the items to be gifts to the people of Hiroshima. As citizens of Hiroshima, and as Japanese people, we must remember those who donated these gifts and their thoughts.

IV Summary

1 Construction of Buildings with People's Power in the Final Stages of Reconstruction

As is often said, the reconstruction process in Japan typically started with a public authority that established the infrastructure and urban foundation. Once the land was prepared, what types of buildings would be constructed and how livelihoods would be rebuilt were typically left up to the private sector, such as land owners, building owners, residents and tenants. After the bombing, the people typically first built temporary shacks and after the urban infrastructure was developed, they constructed full-scale buildings. There were of course different forms of reconstruction, but most buildings constructed in the city had to be done by people's own efforts. There was a system to provide public loans—but for those in poverty, building their houses on their own was still quite difficult. Many people struggled daily just to get by.

Throughout the reconstruction process, houses were rebuilt and the city was gradually reconstructed. Commercial and business activities needed shops and office buildings, which were designed by architects (and the design sections of construction companies) and built by construction companies. In this way, groups of large buildings gradually started to appear in the city. There were several architects who were particularly active. For example, the architects at Akatsuki Sekkei, a design office in Hiroshima, played a major role in designing buildings after the war. There were also architects who later became independent from Akatsuki Sekkei. These architects also supported the further expansion of the reconstruction efforts. Each individual building was a physical embodiment of Hiroshima's reconstruction, and people who saw these buildings said that Hiroshima's reconstruction had made much progress. Architects thus played major roles in the final stages of the reconstruction.

2 Criticism and Problems of the Reconstruction Process

Despite the progress made in the reconstruction efforts, the implementation of the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan faced mounting criticism and disapproval from citizens from time to time, for example, at the time of the local referendum held in July 1949, during the process of enacting the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, and during the mayoral election in April 1955. The dissatisfaction surrounding the land readjustment was also deep-rooted, and in some cases the readjustments were taken to court. We also must not forget the burden and sacrifices made on the part of the citizens during

Notes and References

1. It was noted in the *Hiroshima Heiwa Toshi Kensetsu Koso Shian* (Tentative Construction Plan of Hiroshima Peace City), April 1950, that "to celebrate the hosting of various world-class events and to commemorate visitors from around the world as well as to increase the greenery of the City of Peace, the peace memorial seed nursery will be built to nurture the necessary seedlings."
2. The wording used at that time.
3. *Kensetsu Geppo* 1949 Nen 6 Gatsu Go says, "The current proposed site is about 123,750 square meters, including Nakajima-cho and a part of Saiku-machi in central Hiroshima. The main area is the flat delta between the two rivers, and the part across one river has the remains of the Industrial Promotion Hall, which is to be appropriately repaired and kept. The southern end will face the 100-meter road, and the northern end will lead to the T-shaped Aioi Bridge."

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Column

Mission of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

Introduction

After the blast, there was a man who went about gathering rocks and tiles among the burnt ruins with a bag on his back. His name was Shogo Nagaoka, and he went on to become the first director of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. In 1948, the City of Hiroshima temporary commissioned Nagaoka (then a part-time instructor for the Geological and Mining Science Department of the Hiroshima University of Literature and Science) to investigate the effects of the atomic bomb. In 1949, the "A-bomb Reference Material Display Room" was set up at the Chuo Community Hall in Moto-machi. At first, it was merely a display of tiles and stones placed upon desks and chairs. Then, the "Atomic Bomb Memorial Hall" was established alongside the Chuo Community Hall. Though the facility was small, the panoramic model of post-bomb Hiroshima even drew dignitaries from overseas. While working to rebuild, the people of Hiroshima kept records of their experiences of the bombing and chose a way to preserve such memories.

1 How the Museum Was Built

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum opened in the Peace Memorial Park 10 years after the bombing, in August 1955. The bomb caused catastrophic damage, but Hiroshima quickly moved into lively discussions about reconstruction, drawing up the "Hiroshima Reconstruction City Planning" the very next year in 1946. However, the progress of the project was not always smooth due to financial difficulties.

What broke through these obstacles was a special law that applied to a specific local public entity, based on Article 95 of the Japanese Constitution; this law is called, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law. Backed by this law, which passed unanimously in both houses of the Diet in May 1949, the development of Peace Memorial Park began. The City of Hiroshima held a competition to design the Peace Memorial Park; and in August of that year, the plan proposed by Kenzo Tange's group (an assistant professor at the University of Tokyo) won the first prize from among 145 entries. This plan aligned the A-bomb Dome, an arch, and a display hall so that one could see the A-bomb Dome through the arch from the Peace Boulevard.

In February 1951, construction began on the Atomic Bombed Relics Display Hall (today's Main Building of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum) that Tange designed; and a piloti-style building rose "amid the ruins." Progress, however, was slow due to funding difficulties. Construction work was suspended many times in every year, and it took five years to complete the building. The museum finally opened in August 1955, and (as previously mentioned) Shogo Nagaoka became the first director. At the time, the exhibition rooms were surrounded by glass walls—with sunlight pouring in and no air conditioning. And even though the items on display were limited to the materials and photos collected by Director Nagaoka and by the A-bomb Material Collection Support Association (later known as the A-bomb Material Preservation Society), the museum had over 110,000 visitors in its first year. The admission fee was 20 yen for adults (13 years old or older) and 10 yen for children (under 13).

2 What to Convey and How

As the exhibits were improved focusing on real materials, the number of visitors increased annually; and that number exceeded 500,000 in the 1961 fiscal year. In 1964, the English audio guide (explaining the exhibits) was introduced for visitors from overseas. In the

following year, audio guides were made in Japanese and many other languages (as of March 2014, it was available in 17 languages including Chinese, Korean, and French). In 1970, "dialogue notebooks" for visitors to write down their thoughts and feelings were put in place. In the 1971 fiscal year, the museum had over one million visitors for the first time. In 1972, the admission fee was changed to 50 yen for adults and 30 yen for children, and it remains so to this day.

The next year, in 1973, the museum saw its first major renovation. At this time, measures to prevent the deterioration of the materials were implemented—including blocking sunlight entering the exhibition hall. Additionally, at around the same time, materials that had been collected by the U.S. military during the occupation were returned to Japan. The exhibit changed significantly based on these new materials.

Before the 50th anniversary of the bombing, the museum underwent a great change. In 1991, the museum's second large-scale renovation was conducted, introducing a large video apparatus. Then in June 1994, the East Building opened, and the museum came to consist of two buildings. The permanent exhibit in the new East Building introduced the history of Hiroshima before the bombing, the circumstances surrounding the bombing, the reconstruction of the city, the current conditions of the nuclear world, and Hiroshima's commitment to peace. Additionally, there are exhibition rooms in the basement floor, a hall and meeting rooms (in which A-bomb survivors can share their experiences with visitors). With these facilities, the museum's function as a "place for learning peace" was enhanced. Furthermore, A-bomb exhibitions began to be conducted in earnest both in Japan and abroad.

3 Passing on an Experience of Human Suffering

In July 2006, the Peace Memorial Museum became the first postwar building to be designated as an important cultural property of Japan. The City of Hiroshima asked for citizens' opinions and, based on the deliberations by a review committee composed of academics and survivors, established a basic plan in July 2010 for renewing the exhibition at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. This plan included a change of the order of the exhibits and renovations needed to accommodate such a change as well as an overall update to the entire exhibition. As A-bomb survivors began aging, and the number of people who had not experienced the war had exceeded that of those who had, the basic plan included a strong awareness of the museum's mission to convey the reality of the atomic bombing. The basic plan of 2010 configured the permanent exhibits into four zones: the "Introductory Exhibit," "The Reality of the Atomic Bombing," "The Danger of Nuclear Weapons," and "Hiroshima's Progress." The "Reality of the Atomic Bombing," being the core of the exhibits, looks at the tragedy of the atomic bombing from a human (the survivors') perspective and more than ever aims to convey the inhumanity of the atomic bombing, the devastating damage it caused, and the suffering of the bereaved families and survivors—by focusing on the actual references, such as personal belongings left by the victims, and photos and films that show the damage of the time.

4 The Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims

In August 2002, the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims opened to the east of the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims. The inscription at the entrance to this Memorial Hall reads, "Mourning the lives lost in the atomic bombing, we pledge to convey the truth of this tragedy throughout Japan and the world, pass it on to the future, learn the lessons of history, and build a peaceful world free from nuclear weapons." This Hall was established in Hiroshima (and Nagasaki) by the national government to remember and mourn the sacred sacrifice of the atomic bomb victims, in order to pass down

the stories of its horrors to the future generations. The Memorial Hall has extensive facilities for passing down the A-bomb testimonies, including the victims' information area with the names and portraits of the deceased; a library in which A-bomb memoirs, testimonial videos and photographs are made open to the public; a special exhibition area; and the Hall of Remembrance.

The Peace Memorial Museum and the National Peace Memorial Hall complement the functions of each other and continue to deepen their cooperation.

(Shoji Oseto and Hitoshi Nagai)

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Chapter 5
Various Problems Surrounding Redevelopment

Introduction

The primary focus of this chapter is the problems related to the illegal structures that were particular to the reconstruction process. It will also cover the creation of riverbank greenbelts and the realities surrounding the redevelopment plans. In the turmoil of postwar Japan, not having a place to live in was quite common and homes were often constructed on land that did not have clear ownership. Hiroshima was no exception. After the war numerous clusters of illegal constructions arose, particularly in the Nakajima district (which would later become a part of the Peace Memorial Park) and in the Moto-machi district (part of which was later developed as a riverbank greenbelt). However, as construction of the park in the Nakajima district progressed, residents were evicted one after another. Along the riverbanks too, forced evictions from the illegally-built homes were conducted as the greenbelts were being developed. In Moto-machi, public housing was built after the war, but illegally-built homes appeared among them. Then, the redevelopment plan, including the areas of illegally-built houses, was drawn. Eventually, after overcoming many difficulties, the Moto-machi and Chojuen high-rise apartment buildings were built. This chapter will detail these illegal structures as well as the reconstruction process that Hiroshima faced in postwar years.

I Illegal Structures

1 Black Market in the Hiroshima Station Area Immediately After the War

Food and clothing are basic human needs. If one's home is destroyed, and a full replacement cannot be easily prepared, people will seek out some sort of temporary refuge. Moreover, in order to survive, they must immediately go and acquire food and daily necessities. This need is the driving mechanism behind the creation of black markets. Nonetheless, black markets are doomed to disappear once regular distribution routes are reestablished and policing becomes strict. Black markets were particular to this limited period.

On August 14, 1945, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration and the war ended in Japan's unconditional surrender. As early as the end of August, it is reported that a black market had already appeared in the land in front of Hiroshima Station. The transition period of the area surrounding Hiroshima Station could be divided into the following phases[1)]: Phase 1) Black market spontaneously appeared in the open space in the station square; Phase 2) The black market was forced to relocate to private land but shortly

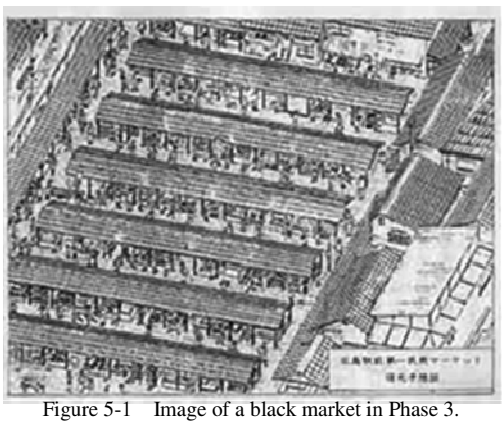

Figure 5-1 Image of a black market in Phase 3.

re-concentrated in front of the station; Phase 3) The market was forced to move to Matsubara-cho and "people's markets" were created. (Figure 5-1); Phase 4) box-shaped stores appeared after "the people's markets" burned down; and Phase 5) As land readjustment progressed and the area in front of the station developed, a department store named Hiroshima Hyakkaten opened. Finally, Phase 6) Preparations were made for the area's redevelopment; redevelopment was realized; and commercial buildings constructed. It was during Phases 1 to 3 that the black market existed.

2 The Spread of Illegal Constructions

(1) The Main Locations of Illegal Construction

Illegally-built homes became a major problem in the reconstruction process of Hiroshima. Specifically there were three periods when illegal structures become prevalent. From around 1950 to 1955, there were clusters of illegal houses in the Peace Memorial Park, and from around 1960 to 1966, illegal buildings (including many stores) that sprung up along the bank of the Enko River in front of Hiroshima Station. And from around 1965 to 1978, in the last stages of the reconstruction process a major issue was dealing with clusters of illegally-built homes along the "Aioi Street," on the bank of the Ota River in Moto-machi. While there were many other illegal homes in other areas of the city, particularly along the riverbanks, these three areas were the most conspicuous in their concentration of illegal buildings.

(2) Houses in the Peace Park

Illegal structures within the Peace Park were especially noticeable because they were recorded in the annual August 6 photographs of the Peace Memorial Ceremony and kept on record. In 1952, the photo taken at the Peace Memorial Ceremony, after the completion of the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims (Photo 5-1), there were many houses in the background, but curtains were hung behind the Cenotaph to hide them. The photos of the memorial ceremonies in 1953 and 1954 show the same situation.[2)] Even a photo taken three years later at the 1955 memorial ceremony shows the curtains (Photo5-2). Over the years, as the number of participants and the scale of the ceremony continued to grow and became more orderly, curtains were still used to block out the background. Over the years, these photos showed that the houses in the background decreased little by little, and these had completely disappeared by the 1959 memorial ceremony. As evidenced in the photos, we see that there were still houses left in 1956, indicating that these houses were all demolished between 1957 and 1958.

Photo 5-1 Peace Memorial Ceremony in 1952
(Courtesy of the Chugoku Shimbun)

Photo 5-2 Peace Memorial Ceremony in 1955
(Courtesy of the Chugoku Shimbun)

This section of the Peace Park used to be the Nakajima district, in which houses, shops,

and recreational facilities were densely concentrated before the atomic bombing. There were also many temples and cemeteries located here before the bombing, and being within 500 meters of the hypocenter of the blast, it suffered great damage. In many cases, whole families died, and many children who were moved to countryside under group evacuation were orphaned. (Group evacuations saved children from the direct exposure to the atomic bombing, but many of them lost their families remaining in the city by the bombing.)

The atomic bombing destroyed families that lived in the area and deprived others of their livelihoods. Then, the large area was designated as a park area. Of course, the designation did not nullify people's ownership of the land. However, they were relocated to other places with reduced land area. The former residents in this area were not able to rebuild their communities and they had no choice but to live separately in different locations after the land readjustments. The land owners, entitled to receive land at the time of the land readjustment, were able to build new houses to live in or to rent or to keep shops to run business—they were able to maintain stability of their lives. Those without such foundations were, in many cases, left with no choice but to live in illegally-built housing. The reconstruction process was closely linked with the appearance of these illegal buildings.

II Illegal Construction on the Riverbanks and the Creation of the Riverbank Greenbelts

1 From the Park and Green Area Plan in the Original Reconstruction Plan to the Riverbank Greenbelt Plan

The plans for parks and green areas in the postwar reconstruction have already been explored in Chapter 3, so they will not be covered in detail here except to note that Chuo Park was initially planned as a large park in the Moto-machi district. However, as massive housing construction projects continued in this area, its function as a residential area and as a park area came into conflict. As detailed in Chapter 3, with the enactment of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law in 1949, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan was established, and new plans for parks and green areas were drawn up in 1952. The riverbank greenbelts were proposed in the original reconstruction plan but not were initially finalized. When the detailed plan for land readjustment was made, the large-scale plan for riverbank greenbelts became concrete: 13.14 hectares of greenbelts in the East and 8.18 hectares of greenbelts in the West. Land for the greenbelts in the East was to be acquired by Hiroshima City in the Eastern Reconstruction Land Readjustment Area; and land for greenbelts in the West was to be

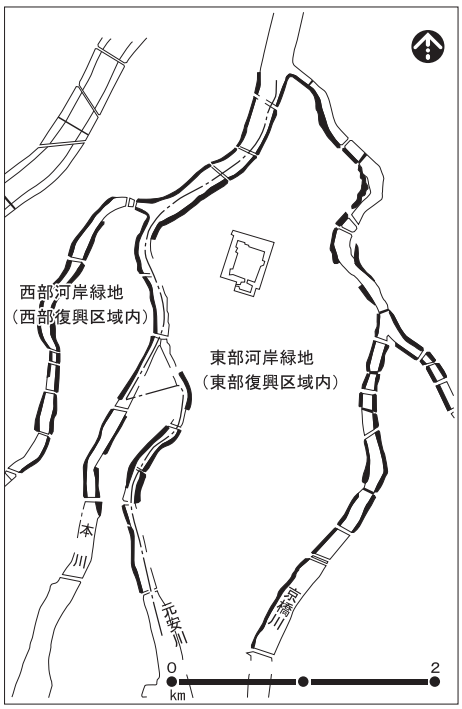

Figure5-2 Plan of Riverbank Greenbelts
[Edited based on the chart from *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

acquired by Hiroshima Prefecture in the Western Reconstruction Land Readjustment Area. The plan for the riverbank greenbelts were indicated in Figure 5-2.

2 The Reconstruction Plan: Land Readjustment and Development of Riverbank Greenbelts

Before the war, the riverbanks of the city of Hiroshima were largely private land—used for warehouses and transportation facilities in certain locations. There were also restaurants, inns, as well as houses; and they were not just any houses, but somewhat high class residences. Of course, there were some alleys between these buildings, and stone steps called *kawadzu* and *gangi* which could be used to get to the river to swim, fish, dig for shellfish, etc. People were not able to see the river from a road and were only able to see it from building windows or when crossing bridges. Though people called Hiroshima a riverfront city, the citizens were not able to enjoy the river in their daily lives at many places.

Plans were made for these riverbanks to be made into greenbelts after the war, and they were re-plotted under the land readjustment, with land ownership being transferred from the original land to other locations. Once the transfers were complete, the riverbanks were to be public land, and greenbelts were to be created there. However, some refused to move to new locations, and others came in to squat on the land of those who had been evicted; so, the situation never quite reached a point where greenbelts could be created. Legally, once land rights are lost, staying on said land is classified as illegal occupation (Photo5-3).

Photo 5-3 Illegal postwar riverbank construction cluster in the Matoba district near Hiroshima Station. (Courtesy of Hiroshima Municipal Archives)

In order to finish the process of land readjustment and the land ownership transfers, the government could not allow the continued residence on lands that the land owners refused to transfer ownership of. In January 1966, forced demolition of these illegal structures began. Whether it was "finishing the postwar reconstruction" or the "uphill task of cleaning up the postwar pus," the demolitions started in the southern end of the riverbank in Matoba 2-chome near Hiroshima Station. At first, police officers were also involved in the building demolitions, but as the employees of the city government were mobilized, the process gradually expanded to became a city-wide effort (Photo 5-4).

Photo 5-4 Cluster of illegal riverbank construction in the Matoba district near Hiroshima Station right before forced removal. (Courtesy of Hiroshima Municipal Archives)

In this way the development of the riverbank greenbelts began at last. The banks were reinforced, trees were planted along the embankments, pathways for walking, jogging and cycling were developed, and the riverbanks took on a completely new look. Later on, "city beautiful policy" was promoted under Mayor Takeshi Araki, and numerous sculptures were placed along the riverbank greenbelts. Later on, open cafes were built along the riverbanks for

people to enjoy food and drink and became popular. One of the positive outcomes of developing riverbank greenbelts is the *Gangi* Taxis, which use the river as a means for transportation, or simply as the focus of enjoyment. While the riverbank greenbelts will continue to be used in many other positive ways, we must remember their postwar history and how the process of their redevelopment incurred large costs and required residents to make sacrifices.

III Moto-machi District and Housing Construction

1 Moto-machi's Transformation and the Construction of Houses in the Wake of the War

(1) The Transformation of Moto-machi

When discussing the postwar transition of Hiroshima there is one topic and one place that cannot be ignored, Moto-machi district. Moto-machi is located at the core of the city of Hiroshima's Ota river delta and is a pivotal place. It is where Hiroshima Castle was built, along with its tower, main castle compound, and secondary and tertiary compounds. Around the castle were samurai residences during the feudal era. It was surrounded by outer, mid, and inner moats. This was the place where Hiroshima actually came to be.

After the Meiji Restoration, the castle area was used for the installation of the First Outpost of the Chinzei (Kyushu) Garrison in 1871; and in 1873, it was positioned as a military center with the establishment of the Hiroshima Garrison. From there on, many military units came to be concentrated in the area and facilities were founded; and in 1886, the Hiroshima Garrison was renamed the Fifth Division. Hiroshima was also developed as an industrial city and a center of learning as it modernized—and in conjunction with modernization came militarization, through at times in an almost competitive fashion. In a way, Moto-machi had been somewhat detached from ordinary citizens' daily lives. During the First Sino-Japanese War, it was the location of the Imperial Headquarters, and Hiroshima functioned as a temporary capital. After the Russo-Japanese War, and up until the Pacific War, the military aspects were enhanced; and in that process Moto-machi came to play a central role, which would have a great impact on the lives of the citizens. Then, in August 1945, the bomb struck.

(2) Construction of Houses in the Wake of the War

The Moto-machi district was located a short distance, roughly one kilometer from the hypocenter and suffered devastating human and physical damage. The military was disbanded after the end of the war, and the area became vacant almost instantly. From this point the postwar history started. The former Western Drill Ground area was temporarily turned into farmland, and was later converted into residential land. Due to the bombing and damage incurred during the war, there was a dire housing shortage. So for the time being, it was decided that the land would be the best place for supplying emergency housing for

Photo5-a Wooden public housing in the Moto-machi district
(Collection of Housing Policy Division, Urban Development Bureau, the City of Hiroshima)

demobilized soldiers and repatriates. After the war, this land became state-owned property and fulfilled a unique role. In October 1946, there were plans to use the majority of Moto-machi, an area of 70.48 hectares, for a Chuo Park. If the park development had continued as planned, the situation would likely have been entirely different, but as the area set for this park was used to build emergency houses, Moto-machi came to face new problems.

In June 1946, the City of Hiroshima constructed 480 emergency residences (in rows, each partitioned lengthways into 10 units). They were called "winter houses," and featured foundations of piled logs, shingle roofs and no ceilings; however, people were competing to live in them. Additionally, 267 *Setto-Jutaku* [prefabricated housing about 7 *tsubo* (23.14 square meters) in size] were built during the 1946 fiscal year by the Housing Corporation, which had been active during the war and was put back into action. Residential construction continued in this area, including prefectural housing, and Moto-machi became a major residential area, breathing life back into the city which experienced a decrease in population due to the atomic bombing (Photo5-a, Figure5-3).

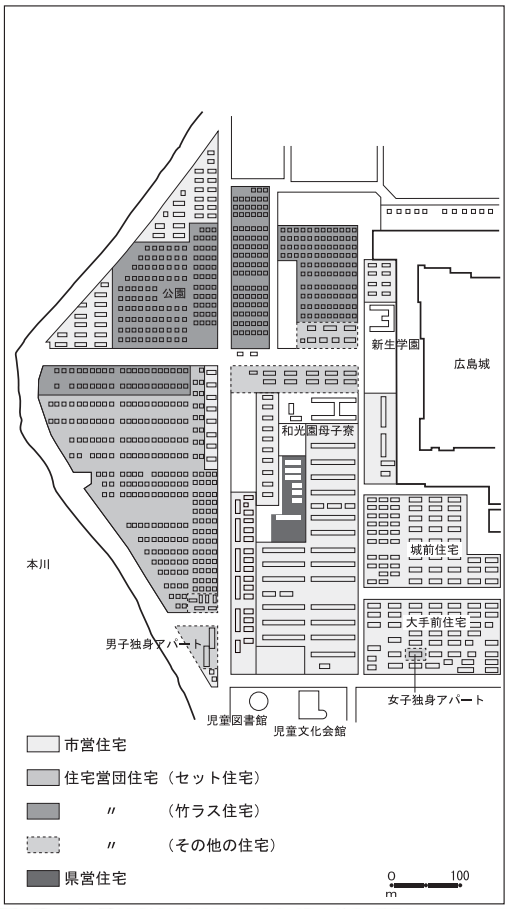

Figure5-3 Map of public housing in Moto-machi district in 1949 [Edited based on the chart from *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

At the time there was a desperate need for housing, so supplying housing was a higher priority than securing park grounds. The decision to use the planned park areas for residential construction was made because using space set aside for parks would be least likely to cause problems and because former military lands had been temporarily set aside as park areas. The urgent need to address the critical housing shortage led to the decision to use the planned park space for much-needed houses, the priority issue at that time.

2 Construction of Mid-rise Public Housing

As Moto-machi transformed into an enormous residential area, it was faced with numerous problems.

After running against two-term incumbent mayor, Shinzo Hamai, Tadao Watanabe won the election with campaign promises of "turning the Moto-machi residences into high-rise apartments and reducing the park lands and the width of the100-meter road." In the Moto-machi district, the size of the planned Chuo Park changed. In December 1956, as the area for the "construction and management of apartment complexes" (*Ichi-danchi no Jutaku Keiei*) was fixed, the scale of the park was reduced by 13.25 hectares to 42.32 hectares. A major change in the plan to create a residential area was proposed and discussed at a meeting

of the City Planning Council. At the meeting, the objective of this decision was explained as follows: "The planned usage of former military lands, in the city center's Moto-machi district, was for Chuo Park. But wooden public housing was hastily put up in this area after the war, and as there is no place to transfer these residents to, there has been almost no progress in the construction of the park. In order to overcome the construction bottleneck for this park and in order to consolidate the old public housing, a new section for 'construction of an apartment complex' must be added to the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan."

In this way the "Moto-machi Mid-rise Housing Plan" (Figure5-4) was established; and in 1956, construction of the public housing started to replace old houses. By the 1968 fiscal year, 630 municipal housing units and 300 prefectural housing units were completed (Photo 5-5). Through this, a residential area was officially created in Moto-machi. Still, the remaining space for the planned park was full of old and illegal houses, and the park space had not yet been secured. It soon became clear that replacing all the clusters of wooden houses with mid-rise apartments would be impossible.

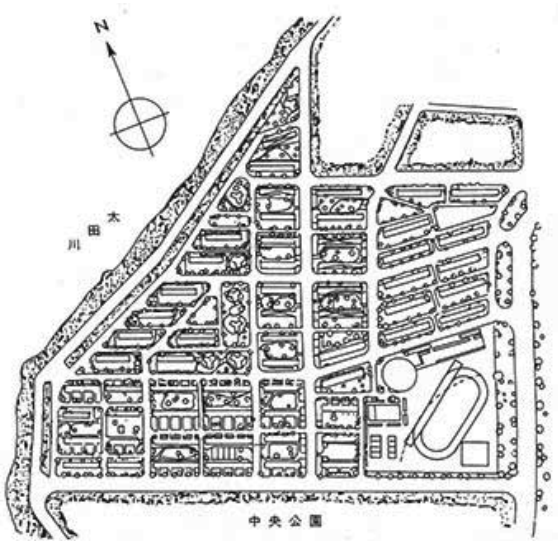

Figure5-4 Moto-machi Mid-rise Housing Plan
(Collection of Housing Policy Division of the City of Hiroshima and Housing Division of Hiroshima Prefectural Government)

Photo 5-5 Mid-rise Apartment Buildings
(Courtesy of the Yomiuri Shimbun)

3 The Illegal Structures along the Moto-machi Riverbank

As of 1969, the riverbank in Moto-machi, on the left bank of the Ota River, was still full of illegal structures which had not been removed. There was a reason the place came to be called Aioi Street or an "A-bomb slum." Today Aioi Street is a main street passing through Hiroshima's biggest downtown area—stretching from Kamitenma-cho to Inari-machi near Hiroshima Station, through Tokaichi, the Aioi Bridge, Kamiya-cho and Hatchobori. But the development of the area between the eastern end of the Aioi Bridge and the eastern end of the Misasa Bridge (about 1.5 kilometers long) followed a unique process, and almost 1,000 homes were built at its peak. Around that time, this area came to be called "Aioi Street." In "*Konosekai no Katasumi de*" (In a Small Corner of this World) (Iwanami Shoten, 1965), Tomoe Yamashiro wrote, "Reporters traveling through the area mention Aioi Street as simply a place A-bomb survivors have drifted to. But if that is how Hiroshima's largest slum formed, we at least wanted to get a grasp of the actual situation..." "So we rented a room in the middle of the town, and Ryuichi Fumisawa lived there. So we know Aioi Street fairly well."[3)]

Soon after the bombing, residences and other new buildings started becoming concentrated in the area. At first, it started in the easily accessible areas, such as the eastern end of the Aioi Bridge (which was at the southern end of Aioi Street) and the eastern end of the Misasa Bridge (at the northern end). Then houses were built approximately half way between these bridges—where ferries connected Moto-machi with Tera-machi on the opposite side of the river. Once the former military grounds in Moto-machi were to be put to use for constructing temporary public housing (by the Housing Corporation and by the city and prefectural governments), those who had been evicted began building illegal housing along the riverbank. As land readjustment progressed as part of postwar reconstruction, Aioi Street also became a home for those who had nowhere to go.

Photo 5-6 Fire on Aioi Street
(Courtesy of the Chugoku Shimbun)

The influx of people to Aioi Street was further increased due to the development of the Peace Memorial Park. This was reported in *Honoo no Hi kara Niju Nen: Hiroshima no Kiroku 2* (20 Years after the Fires: Records of Hiroshima 2), edited by the Chugoku Shimbun. In the chapter, "Aioi Street," it notes, "the construction of the Peace Memorial Park began on the opposite shore downstream. And suddenly, the people who had been evicted rushed over here and built nearly 70 shanties."[4] "From 1955 on, the construction of the Ota River floodway and the 100-meter road also brought many from the Fukushima district to this bank."[5] In 1958, Alain Resnais, a film director, visited Hiroshima for the filming of "Hiroshima Mon Amour." It was later discovered that the lead actress Emmanuelle Riva had taken photographs of the slum in Moto-machi in-between the shootings.

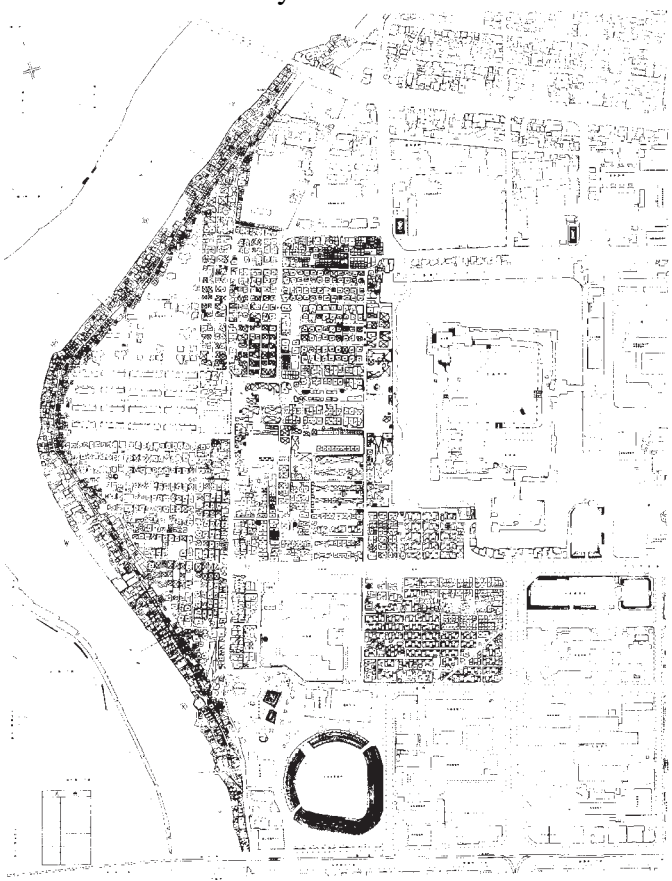

Figure5-5 Map of the houses and buildings in the Moto-machi district
(Collection of Housing Policy Division of the City of Hiroshima and Housing Division of Hiroshima Prefectural Government)

This area was filled with houses built with temporary materials, which would deteriorate quickly. It was a dangerous place where fires broke out frequently (Photo 5-6). Aioi Street became known as an illegally occupied area and according to Yamashiro, "all the people who live here have been forced here under the political strain."[6]

During a field survey conducted in 1970[7] it was found that though decisions on the redevelopment had already been made and though the environment may have had its share of problems, the people were accustomed

to and satisfied with living in the area, and a caring community started to form (Figure 5-5).

Around 1965, when the land readjustments (as part of the war-damage reconstruction project) were approaching their final stage, the issue of the Moto-machi district was the largest problem. One big issue was that the residents in the wooden public housing (built after the war) could not be completely accommodated in the fire-resistant mid-rise apartment buildings, and the public housing was still congested and aging. Another issue was that as most of the illegal structures along the city riverbanks had been removed, Aioi Street was the last remaining area. The biggest task in the final stage of the war-damage reconstruction project in Hiroshima was figuring out what to do with this congested area that was troubled with hygiene and environmental problems.

IV The Road Towards the Redevelopment of Moto-machi District

1 The Final Problem of Postwar Reconstruction

When land readjustment in the city of Hiroshima had made progress in the districts heavily damaged and burned (and the development of the city came to take a concrete form), a new issue related to the reconstruction planning was raised concerning Moto-machi, which, despite its important location in the city center, had been left out of the reconstruction experienced by the rest of the city.

Photo 5-7 Residents petitioning for the Residential Areas Improvement Act to be applied to the Moto-machi district (and the national, prefectural and municipal officers who listened to them) (Courtesy of the Chugoku Shimbun)

Starting around 1963, the City of Hiroshima sought the enactment of a special law to provide homes for the survivors of the atomic bombing in the Moto-machi district by connecting it with the Atomic Bomb Survivors Support Law. Meanwhile, the prefectural government sought to implement a residential area improvement project based on the Residential Areas Improvement Act rather than using special legislation. At the same time, the city and prefectural governments continued discussions, and in September 1967, they tried to overcome this issue by requesting that the Ministry of Construction 1) implement a residential area improvement project and 2) coordinate the basic policy for redevelopment. At a December 1967 regular session of the city council, Mayor Setsuo Yamada made the following announcement: “I want to be free from the previous concepts of the city and want the implementation of the redevelopment of the Moto-machi district conducted under the framework of a residential area improvement project. I would like to hold talks with the prefecture and come up with concrete plans by next February.” This announcement shows that the city had a strong intention to redevelop the area towards the end of 1967.

Meanwhile, the Hiroshima City Moto-machi District Federation of Housing Promotion Associations (*Hiroshima-shi Moto-machi Chiku Jutaku Kensetsu Sokushin Domei Rengokai*) was formed by Aioi Street residents, and its members lobbied at the municipal and prefectural governments and the Ministry of Construction and repeated petitions. In September of 1966, they requested key officials to visit the district, invited them to a local

gathering and lodged petitions. From these activities, they drew answers from the officers in charge (from the Ministry of Construction) regarding the possibility of applying the Residential Areas Improvement Act to the area's reconstruction (Photo 5-7).

2 Redevelopment Planning and Its Details

There were three major problems and issues. The first was how to handle and redevelop the public housing district created soon after the war. These public houses were aging and significantly overcrowded, partly because the residents had expanded their houses on their own.

The second was deciding what to do with the people who lived on Aioi Street and ran shops there for a living. The structures were not provided by the government but were built illegally. The third issue was how to develop Chuo Park and the riverbank greenbelts. This was an important element of urban development in Hiroshima; and the 1946 decision to create a park there was no longer just a plan but was finally becoming a reality.

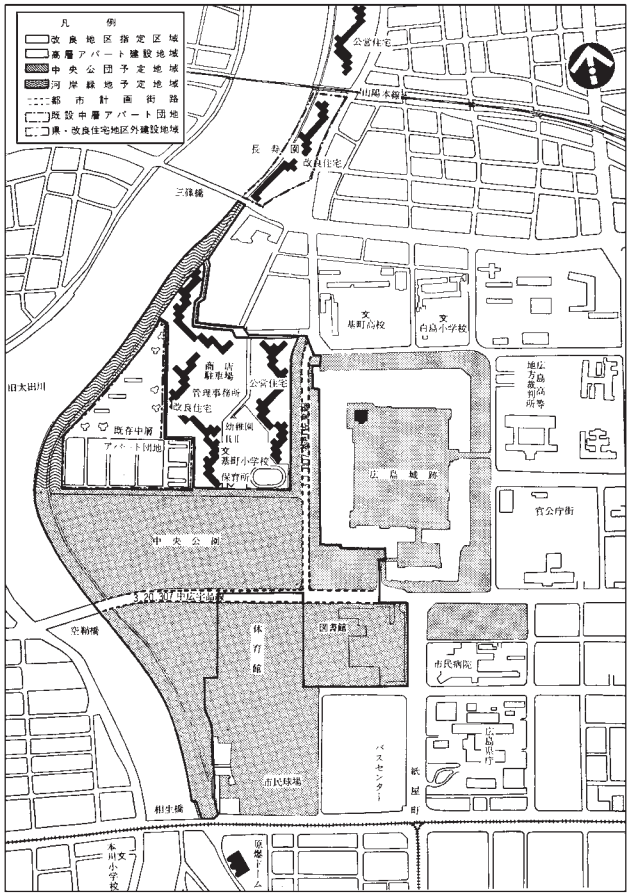

Figure 5-6 The plan for the redevelopment of Moto-machi and Chojuen
[Edited based on the chart from *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi: Toshi no Fukko* (Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Iinkai, 1985)]

With regard to the first issue (formulation of the redevelopment plan), in May 1968, the prefectural and municipal governments jointly established the Moto-machi District Redevelopment Promotion Council (*Moto-machi Chiku Saikaihatsu Sokushin Kyogikai*) to discuss the matter. Along the establishment of the council, the Masato Otaka Architect & Associates firm was commissioned to design the master plans for the Moto-machi and the Chojuen districts. The site plan (of the redevelopment plan) for Moto-machi and Chojuen (Figure 5-6) was made in May 1968, and the master plan for the Chojuen district was formulated in March 1969. Thus, on March 18, those two districts were designated as areas to be developed under the Residential Areas Improvement Act, entitled the "Moto-machi District, Hiroshima City."

Under Masao Otaka's master plan, the high-rise apartment buildings were laid out in a zigzag style along a north-south axis and in a circular style around the public area as a whole. (Photo 5-8). Additionally, artificial corridors were added principally to separate people from vehicles and to link stores, an elementary school and other facilities in an integrated manner. The ground floors of the buildings were built in an open piloti style, without residential units, but with staircases and elevators. There were gardens on connected rooftops, a unique

architectural decision at the time. In his design, Masato Otaka applied some of the five principles of modern architecture proposed by Le Corbusier, including use of the piloti style and rooftop gardens. A total of 2,954 housing units (accommodating a population of 9,500) were planned to be built on the 7.54 hectares of land provided for the Moto-machi district's residential redevelopment, which meant that the population density would be 1,260 people per hectare. The high-rise apartment buildings were densely built and connected, with a 241% floor to area ratio, and ranged from 14 to 20 stories (partially eight stories and 12 stories).

Photo 5-8 Shops surrounded by the apartment buildings under the central green area
(Photo by Norioki Ishimaru)

Under the residential area improvement project, 650 housing units were planned to be built in the Chojuen district. In addition to these, 486 units were built by the prefectural government, 220 units built by the Japan Housing Corporation for rent, and 204 units by the Hiroshima Prefectural Housing Corporation for sale (a total of 1,560 units). The Chojuen district, too, would end up with a high population density; and the buildings followed the style of those in the Moto-machi district, as the site was a narrow strip of land that lay north and south along the Ota River. A 17-meter wide greenbelt along the riverbank was created, despite the fact that a wide space could not be procured. Additionally, in consideration of the urban landscape, the buildings were laid out so that the skyline stood out from a distance.

Another unique characteristic of the buildings is that they were built with large, skeletal, pure steel Rahmen structures. The floor plans show that the structure of the buildings was typically made up of 9.9 x 9.9-meter square units, each consisting of two stories with two housing units on each floor. This means there were four housing units in each two-story unit. The main residential buildings [between 14 and 20 stories (13 and 15 in Chojuen)] were built and arranged so that they were shorter in the south and taller in the north. In the Moto-machi district, a mall was organized in the middle of the rows of residential buildings that faced one other.

There were basically two types of standard housing units: those on corridor floors and those on non-corridor floors. The housing units on the corridor floors were 2DK's (two rooms and a dining kitchen) and those on the non-corridor floors were 3K's (three rooms and a kitchen). The corridor floors and non-corridor floors alternated ("skip-floor pattern"). The elevator stopped only on corridor floors, but staircases connected the housing units on the non-corridor floors to the corridor floors. There were also sections for 1K units (consisting of one room and a kitchen) for single residents. These units all faced corridors, so in these sections, elevators stopped on all floors. The high-rise apartment buildings in Moto-machi and Chojuen were quite conspicuous and spectacular buildings in Hiroshima at the time. The mall in the center, the rooftop gardens, and the piloti style came to fruition as planned and became unique spaces.

In total, the 2,951 families who lived in 2,600 housing units were to be relocated from the target redevelopment area. Some families wanted to move out to other areas, and 2,609 families requested to move into the improved residences. Some of these families were expected to split up into smaller households, so the total number was expected to increase by 261.

Of those families, 1,065 households had previously lived in the slum along the riverbank, in the clusters of illegally-built houses. While some wanted to move to other areas, 981 families requested to move into the improved residences. There were some households

that wanted to split into smaller households, so this number increased by 84. The relocation of the residents was a step-by-step process. Old buildings were gradually removed, and new buildings were built on-site. As people moved into the new buildings, their former houses were demolished. As a result, areas cleared of old houses gradually expanded. Construction started right away in the Chojuen district, as there were no houses to demolish. Many of those who moved into the "improved residences" in Chojuen used to live on the riverbank. As for the housing units that were not improved residences, tenants were chosen by lottery from among the qualified families, which were not limited to those who lived in the target area. In this way, the redevelopment project gradually progressed.

On October 11, 1978, the ceremony commemorating the completion of the Moto-machi district redevelopment project was held. On this occasion, a monument was unveiled and a memorial tree was planted to celebrate the completion of the project. The monument placed here explained that the redevelopment project was to put an end to the postwar era in Hiroshima, quoting what people had said: "The postwar period in Hiroshima will not be over until this district is renovated."

The site of the former Aioi Street has been significantly transformed into the Moto-machi riverbank greenbelt. Those who lived on Aioi Street moved to various locations of their choice, but many moved to the improved residences in Chojuen, since the riverbank was under the jurisdiction of the prefectural government and the housing was developed by the prefectural government. At that time, the problem of whether or not the residents could adjust to their new lives was repeatedly brought up. The slum was eventually cleared, but was the strong riverbank community bonds able to continue in the new high-rise complexes? Until then, they rarely locked their doors during the day; and anyone who walked by could see inside their homes through their doorways. People were very close to their neighbors, sharing, borrowing and lending items to each other in their daily lives. They now live behind steel doors, which cannot be left open, and need to be locked from time to time. This certainly had a big impact on their communities. It is true that there were extenuating circumstances behind the changes that happened to Aioi Street; but these changes put an end to a society, one that was an antithesis to modern society.

Since that time, the biggest change in the Moto-machi district has been the renovation of the once (relatively) uniform housing units into several different types. As part of the Moto-machi redevelopment project, the City of Hiroshima has been planning the renovation of certain housing units since the 2005 fiscal year: turning two 2DK units into one 3DK units, three 3K units into two 3DK units, and two 1K units into one 2LDK units. The prefectural government also started its residence improvement plan in 1979 by combining two housing units for single people into larger units on the corridor floors. The initial plan provided housing units that anticipated the new standard designs of the time; however, it would not have been able to meet the changing needs of occupants. Different types and sizes of housing units are now required to accommodate the needs of different families. It is necessary to create appropriate means for people to move and better utilize the high-rise apartment buildings of Moto-machi and Chojuen. This is not due to a fault in the original plan but because people's needs have changed over the years. These are challenges that those concerned today must address.

(Norioki Ishimaru)

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Column

Moto-machi: Visiting a Drastically-altered Urban Space

Introduction

The history of the Hiroshima delta is said to have started in 1589 with the construction of Hiroshima Castle by Terumoto Mori, a Warring States period daimyo (feudal load). The grounds of Hiroshima Castle were roughly one kilometer from east to west and one kilometer from north to south, with a total area of approximately 900,000 square meters. It was a robust castle constructed on flat land with three moats and 88 guard towers. In 1872, this area was named "Moto-machi," meaning the "foundation town," as the castle area was deemed to be the land upon which the foundation for Hiroshima was laid.[1)] Moto-machi, from the Meiji period up until the atomic bombing, was the embodiment of a military city, housing the Fifth Division Headquarters, the Western Drill Ground, and other military facilities.[2)] Immediately following the war, some hastily built public housing lined the area, but now it is the site of the prefectural government offices, local divisions of the national government, museums, libraries, gymnasiums and other cultural and sports facilities, as well as low, middle and high-rise residential complexes. It has completely transformed into a representative urban center of the city of Hiroshima. This column will investigate the trajectory of change the area has seen, looking at the traces of the past that overlap with the present and still remain today.

1 Becoming a Provisional Capital

In the south of the east wing of the Hiroshima prefectural government office, there is a plaque, indicating the former site of the Provisional Imperial Diet Building. It explains that in the First Sino-Japanese War, which began in August 1894, the Imperial Headquarters were moved to Hiroshima, and the Provisional Imperial Diet was opened. Once the war began, as home of the Fifth Division, Hiroshima City became the launching point for troops to the continent. The opening of Ujina Port and the Sanyo Railway were important factors in this. Then, in September, the Imperial Headquarters were moved from the General Staff Office in Tokyo to the Fifth Division Headquarters in Hiroshima Castle. On October 15, the Provisional Imperial Diet convened in Hiroshima to discuss the temporary military spending budget and other war-related bills.[3)] In preparation for this, a western-style, one-floor, wooden shingle-roofed Provisional Diet Building was quickly constructed on the Western Drill Ground.[4)] With the Imperial Headquarters and the Imperial Diet moved to Hiroshima, the

Meiji Emperor, government officials, military officials, and members of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives came to Hiroshima one after the other. Following the start of the First Sino-Japanese War, Hiroshima seemed to be exactly what one would expect of a provisional capital.[5)]

2 Hiroshima Castle's Outer Moat and a New Downtown

North of the center plaza of Kamiya-cho's underground mall (Shareo), at the bottom of the staircase that leads up to the office of the Prefectural Government, there remains some masonry which was part of the outer moat of Hiroshima Castle. This stone wall was dug up during the construction of the underground mall. The east-west road at the Kamiya-cho intersection (present Aioi Street) was once the outer moat of the south side of Hiroshima Castle. During the Meiji period, sewage stagnated in the outer moat, and gave off an awful odor in summer. In the rainy seasons of spring and fall, the waters would overflow and cause infectious diseases to spread.[6)] To counteract this, the City set a land reclamation plan for the outer moat, taking over jurisdiction from the Ministry of Army. Finally, in 1911 the moat was converted into plazas, some roads and residential areas. At the same time, streetcar tracks were laid down, and the first streetcar line opened in November 1912.[7)] The opening of the streetcar system helped facilitate transportation, and Hatchobori, Shintenchi, and the area surrounding Hiroshima Station developed into bustling downtown areas.

3 The Atomic Bomb: Destruction of the City Originating from Hiroshima Castle

Along the southern end of the Hiroshima Castle's main compound, along the stone wall of the inner moat there are remains of semi-subterranean reinforced concrete. At the time of the bombing, it was part of a military facility known as the Chugoku Military District Headquarters' Air Defense Room. It was used as a strategic and intelligence operation headquarters in case of air raids, and was equipped with a vault for important documents. Starting from May 1945, 90 third-year students of Hijiyama Girls' High School were mobilized there. Working in three shifts, they carried out telephone operations. They were there when the atomic bomb hit. The Chugoku Military District Headquarters building was destroyed instantaneously. This was followed by outbreaks of fires. The former Imperial Headquarters building and the castle tower on upper levels of the compound collapsed but escaped the fires. The Hijiyama Girls' High School students who were in the semi-subterranean Air Defense Room were blown by the bomb's blast. Still, these girls managed to make use of the one dedicated line that could still be used, and quickly got the message of Hiroshima's destruction to those outside the city, while all communications and phone lines in the city were destroyed.[8)]

Today, near the entrance to the former Air Defense Room, there is a monument in remembrance of the military service members, civilian employees, and mobilized students who lost their lives there.

4 The Phantom Hiroshima Station Relocation Plan

In the postwar reconstruction plans, there was a proposal to move Hiroshima Station to Moto-machi (the former site of the Western Drill Ground). Moving the station was one of the major challenges faced by the city, and it emerged as part of an effective plan for utilizing the former Western Drill Ground. However, the costs would have been far too great, and the proposal was left to fade into obscurity.[9)] However, in the Hakushima district near Moto-machi there is progress being made on constructing new stations at the JR Sanyo Line and the Astram Line crossing. Though it has changed somewhat, the planner's dream of having a train station at the city center is becoming a reality.

5 Emergency Housing and Moto-machi

In the war damage reconstruction plan, the western side of the former military site in Moto-machi was to be used mostly for park land. However, in measures to counteract the lack of residences, the Housing Corporation and the city and prefectural governments built emergency housing in this area. By 1948, there were 851 city homes and three buildings (wooden two-floor apartments), and by 1949 the Housing Corporation, Hiroshima Prefecture, and the City of Hiroshima had built a total of 1,800 homes in this area.[10)]

The homes made by the Housing Corporation were such simple constructions, for which the materials were shipped to each site from factories, that even amateurs could build them within two or three days. In other parts of the city too, public housing was built, but there was a flood of applications. Lotteries were held, and they were highly competitive.[11)] Public housing in Moto-machi went on to age quickly, and illegal constructions began to arise along the banks of the Ota River.

The housing situation was finally resolved through the redevelopment project, which was completed in 1978. And the riverbanks, once clustered with illegal constructions, have now been transformed into the Moto-machi Environmental Riverbank, a hydrophilic waterfront space.[12)]

(Kazuhiko Takano and Hitoshi Nagai)

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Part 3
Hiroshima's Reconstruction and Citizens' Lives

Chapter 6
Rebuilding of Industrial Economy

Introduction

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima on the 6th of August, 1945 caused enormous damage to the city. Yet, Hiroshima's industrial economy was able to be rebuilt and made a remarkable recovery. How was Hiroshima able to rebuild its industrial economy so quickly? This chapter investigates Hiroshima's recovery and reconstruction process using the following sources:

1) *The Census of Manufactures* was mainly used to study the manufacturing industry trends in Hiroshima Prefecture, focusing on the postwar reconstruction period to the middle of the 1960s. The conditions of the several years directly after the war were compared with those of the several years directly before the war.
2) *The Census of Manufactures* reviews its statistics by prefecture. While the figures for Hiroshima Prefecture were used primarily, this chapter endeavored to include as much data compiled by the City of Hiroshima as possible.
3) In order to complement the analyses of these statistical data, this chapter also referred to *Hiroshima Kenshi* (History of Hiroshima Prefecture) and *Hiroshima Shinshi* (History of Postwar Hiroshima) to research the influence of the institutions and policies and the situations surrounding the development of infrastructures at the time.

I World War II to the Early Postwar Period

1 Shifts in the Number of Workers

The manufacturing industry was one of Hiroshima Prefecture's key industries from before World War II. The statistical data for places with five or more full-time workers as of December 31 of each year show that in 1940 the number of employees in the manufacturing industry was 100,040, making Hiroshima 9th in the number of employees among all 46 prefectures (not including Okinawa Prefecture), while the population of Hiroshima ranked 10th. However, by 1946, the number of employees had dropped by roughly 10,000 to 90,482, and Hiroshima's ranking dropped to 13th place (Table 6-1). In 1947, the number of employees increased by nearly 10,000 to 99,305, and Hiroshima's national ranking rose to the 11th place. In 1948, Hiroshima moved up to 9th place (and 13th in population) after over 10,000 more jobs were added—raising the total to 113,581. By this time, the number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture had returned to prewar levels.

Table 6-1 Hiroshima Prefecture's Manufacturing Industry (from 1940 to 1948)

	1940	1941	1942	1945	1946	1947	1948
Population (thousand)	1,823	1,826	1,897	1,885	1,901	2,011	2,044
No. of establishments	3,280	3,274	2,976	2,211	1,897	2,804	2,837
Total number of employees	100,040	101,850	101,746	96,095	90,482	99,305	113,581
No. of clerical staff & engineers	8,583	10,594	10,934	14,739	14,754	16,843	15,844
No. of workers	88,337	87,424	86,686	76,802	69,456	77,756	92,352
Others	3,120	3,832	4,126	4,554	6,272	4,706	5,385
Total production (JPY 1000)	446	489	462	745	2,010	7,279	19,853
Horsepower of operated electric motors (1000 HP)	144	183	173	NA	134	161	270

Notes: 1. Table created using data from *the Census of Manufactures* compiled by the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Munitions) and *the Historical Statistics of Japan* (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications).
2. Factories regularly employing five or more workers. Total production was reported at nominal values.
3. No data from 1943 to 1944.

In addition to damage from the war, due to a dire energy crisis not all factories that remained after the war were in operation. According to *the 1946 Census of Manufactures*, there were 1,397 idle factories nationwide (excluding Okinawa Prefecture). After Tokyo, Kanagawa, Aichi, Osaka, and Hyogo, Hiroshima Prefecture had 79. However, in *the 1947 Census of Manufactures* this number had dropped to a nationwide total of 496; with 20 in Hiroshima Prefecture—evidence that the recovery and reconstruction had preceded relatively well.[1)]

The trends between 1945 and 1946 are also notable. In 1945, the number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture was 96,095, about 4,000 less than that of 1942. Still, in relation to other prefectures, Hiroshima had the 7th highest number of employees (no data for 1943 and 1944). From 1940 to 1941 Hiroshima's employees made up 2.2% of the number of employees nationwide (excluding Okinawa Prefecture) and by 1945 it had a 4.3% share. However, in 1946, the situation worsened and the number of workers dropped by roughly 6,000 to 90,482. It has been inferred that this change was influenced by the Allied Powers claim for reparations, which began in earnest in January 1946, but was lifted causing a great deal of confusion.[2)]

On the other hand, of the total number of employees in Japan, Hiroshima Prefecture's share rose from 1946 to 1947 to 2.7%, and surpassed 3% in 1948. At the same time, Hiroshima's share of Japan's total population was 2.6% in 1942, 1945 and 1946; and in 1947 and 1948 it was around the same level as the early 1940s at 2.5%. Therefore, for the first time after the war, the Hiroshima Prefecture's share of labor force in the manufacturing industry surpassed its share of national population.

With regard to the City of Hiroshima, the statistics on the manufacturing industry are only available from 1950.[3)] However, these statistics are based on the municipal area at the time and do not account for changes in the municipal boundaries. The statistics from 1953 cover the area close to that of the current municipal area.[4)] According to these statistics, the number of employees in Hiroshima City's manufacturing industry, excluding the former towns of Saiki-cho and Yuki-cho, was 31,515, and the population of Hiroshima City was 485,244, which was 22.9% of the total population of Hiroshima Prefecture and the percentage of factory employees in the City was 25.2% of that of Hiroshima Prefecture. In addition, there were 59.1 employees per 1,000 people in the prefecture and 64.9 in Hiroshima City. This shows that there was a high concentration of manufacturing in Hiroshima City (excluding the former towns of Saiki-cho and Yuki-cho) in proportion to its population.

2 Recovery in the Number of Workers

In 1944, Hiroshima City had a population of approximately 340,000, and along with Kure (some 340,000) and Fukuoka (some 330,000), it was considered among the bigger cities in Japan after the three major metropolitan areas. But in 1946 the city's population had dropped by half to 171,000.[5] By December 1945, some 140,000 people are said to have died from the atomic bombing. This substantially corresponds to the major decline in population.

Strikingly, even at its lowest point in 1946, the number of employees in the manufacturing industry in Hiroshima Prefecture only decreased by about 10,000 people, or 10%, from the wartime levels. In all other 46 prefectures, the decrease in the numbers of employees in the manufacturing industry was 50% in 1945, 26% in 1946, and 18% in 1948, compared to 1940. Therefore, the decrease in the number of employees in the manufacturing industry in Hiroshima Prefecture was relatively small.

However, this is when looking at establishments with five or more regularly employed workers. *The Census of Manufactures* during the war and in 1948 includes the number of very small factories regularly employing fewer than five workers, and the number of their employees. From 1940 to 1948, the total number of establishments in Hiroshima Prefecture had dropped by 61%, from 16,589 to 6,515. Of those, the number of establishments that employed five or more workers fell 14% from 3,280 factories to 2,837. However, the number of very small factories employing fewer than five workers had decreased by 72%. It was 13,309 in 1940 (80.2% of all establishments in Hiroshima; this ratio was 80.4% nationally (not including Okinawa Prefecture) but dropped to 3,678 in 1948 (56.5% of all establishments in Hiroshima; 54.4% in Japan). During this time, the total number of employees had dropped 4.4% from 129,989 to 124,298. While the number of employees at factories regularly employing five or more workers had increased from 100,040 to 113,581, the number of employees at factories regularly employing fewer than five workers had dropped to about one third from 29,949 (23.0% of all establishments in Hiroshima; 21.9% in Japan) to 10,717 (8.6% in Hiroshima; 9.2% in Japan).

After investigating the makeup of employees who worked at very small factories (fewer than five workers) in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1940, it was observed that 33.7% were employed by companies (36.2% in Japan excluding Okinawa Prefecture) and 66.3% were family members (63.8% in Japan).

This shows that between 1940 and 1948 the number of very small factories (that were primarily family-run) decreased sharply. It can be inferred that the majority of these factories in Hiroshima City were established in mixed residential-factory areas relatively near the hypocenter and they were unable to continue in the hardship after the bombing. In fact, according to the population surveys on each neighborhood association before the bombing and after the bombing conducted on November 1, 1945, while the population decreased from some 65,000 to 11,000 in the 1.5 to 2.0 kilometer area from the hypocenter, there was a sharp decline in the population from some 61,000 to 1,455 in the area of less than one kilometer radius from the hypocenter, and the population fell from 66,000 to 5,925 in the area of 1.0 to 1.5 kilometers from the hypocenter.[6]

However, the drop in the number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture was not fatal for the factories that regularly employed five or more workers. They are said to have played a role in supporting the recovery and reconstruction process in the following years. Of course, the number of people flowing in from the suburbs and evacuation sites has to be considered along with the permanent population. According to *the Chugoku Shimbun newspaper*, on August 1, 1946, one year after the bombing, "the daytime population flowing into Hiroshima City from outside has rapidly increased, and the people gradually set the mood for the reconstruction of the city."[7]

3 Support for Production Capacity

There were other factors that contributed to the recovery and reconstruction of Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing industry.

The first was capital (i.e., equipment and facilities). Together with manpower, this is one of the factors of production. From wartime until directly after the war, *the Census of Manufactures* tabulated motors and their indicated horsepower (HP). Of these, when looking at electric motors in operation, 7.89 million HP was used nationwide in 1940; and in 1946, 9.91 million HP was used, a 26% increase. During this time, the HP used by Hiroshima Prefecture decreased some 7%, from 144,000 HP to 134,000 HP (between 1940 and 1946). However, at 161,000 HP by 1947, it had more than recovered.

The second factor was workers—particularly a large number of workers. *The Census of Manufactures* at the time grouped employees into three categories: staff, workers and others. Staff was further subdivided into clerical staff and engineers, and their numbers were shown for both men and women. Before the war, the percentage of workers nationwide was in the mid-80's; after the war, it was in the high 70's (roughly 80%). In Hiroshima Prefecture it was in the high 80's before the war and slightly below 80% directly after the war. In 1948, it surpassed 80% again—several percentage points above the prewar and postwar national averages. Even directly after the war in 1945, Hiroshima Prefecture was 7th in the number of employees amongst all 46 prefectures and the 6th in workers.

The third factor was the role played by female workers. In 1940, the percentage of female workers nationwide was 33.8%; while it was 30.3% in Hiroshima Prefecture. In 1945, it was 34.6% nationwide and 31.1% in Hiroshima Prefecture—placing Hiroshima below the national average. However, when looking at national trends from 1940 to 1945, the number of all workers decreased by 55% (while the number of female workers decreased by 54%). In other words, the number of workers (both male and female) in Japan dropped by more than half. In contrast, the total number of workers in Hiroshima Prefecture fell 13%, and female workers fell 11%. The number of female workers in Hiroshima Prefecture was 23,883 (31.1% of all workers) in 1945, decreased to 15,835 (22.8% of them) in 1946 but increased to 19,322 (24.8% of them) in 1947 and 25,989 (28.1% of them) in 1948, returning to the level of 1940 (26,723).

The fourth factor was the relatively smooth transformation of military facilities into private company facilities—especially in the manufacturing industry. The former army and naval facilities not used by the Allied Occupational Forces were transferred over to private control one after another. For example, the Army Transport Department's Kanawajima Plant (Hiroshima City) was sold to Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' Hiroshima Shipyard; the Army Provisions Depot (Hiroshima City) was sold to Hiroshima Ryoko; the Kure Naval Arsenal (Kure City) was sold to Amagasaki Steel, Harima Shipbuilding, Nichia Steel, and American funded NBC; and the 11th Plant of Naval Aeronautical Arsenal (Kure City) was leased to Kawanami Kogyo and Toyo Pulp.[8)] These transfers to the private sector were completed by around 1948.[9)]

4 Productivity in the Manufacturing Industry

Table 6-2 summarizes the labor productivity (shipments per employee) and the capital stock per labor (HP for operating electric motors per employee) in Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing industry between 1940 and 1948, and compares them to the national level. From this, we were able to identify the following:

First, although the manufacturing industry was a key industry in Hiroshima Prefecture, individual factories were not very large. Before the war, the average number of employees per factory in Hiroshima Prefecture was about 30, which stayed at around 90% of the national average. After the war, this number exceeded 40, which exceeded the national average.

Second, even though the manufacturing industry was a key industry in Hiroshima Prefecture, the number of employees in the manufacturing industry was at most around 50 per 1,000 people before and immediately after the war. This was less than 90% of the national average (excluding Okinawa Prefecture) before the war (not including numbers from former army and naval arsenals), but after the war the number finally exceeded the national average.

Table 6-2 Key indicators in Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing industry (1940 to 1948)

	1940	1941	1942	1945	1946	1947	1948
No. of employees per establishment (person)	30.5	31.1	34.2	43.5	47.7	35.4	40.0
No. of employees per 1,000 population (person)	54.9	55.8	53.6	51.0	47.6	49.4	55.6
Percentage of workers to employees (%)	88.3	85.8	85.2	79.9	76.8	78.3	81.3
Shipments per establishment (1,000 yen)	136	149	155	337	1,060	2,596	6,998
Shipments per capita (1,000 yen)	0.24	0.27	0.24	0.40	1.06	3.62	9.71
Shipments per employee (1,000 yen)	4.5	4.8	4.5	7.8	22.2	73.3	174.8
Horsepower of operating electric motors per establishment (HP)	43.9	55.9	58.1	NA	70.6	57.4	95.2
Horsepower of operating electric motors per employee (HP)	1.44	1.80	1.70	NA	1.48	1.62	2.38
No. of employees per establishment (%, national level: 100)	91.3	92.1	89.3	113.9	121.5	107.1	109.2
No. of employees per 1,000 population (%, national level: 100)	87.2	87.8	81.1	164.2	104.2	106.7	120.9
Percentage of workers to employees(%, national level: 100)	103.5	102.5	103.3	103.2	100.4	101.8	101.7
Shipments per establishment (%, national level: 100)	67.4	65.7	60.1	53.4	104.6	94.6	85.0
Shipments per capita (%, national level: 100)	64.4	62.6	54.6	77.0	89.7	94.3	94.1
Shipments per employee (%, national level: 100)	73.8	71.3	67.3	46.9	86.1	88.4	77.9
Horsepower of operating electric motors per establishment (%, national level: 100)	75.0	82.5	85.1	NA	60.6	86.3	122.7
Horsepower of operating electric motors per employee (%, national level:100)	82.2	89.5	95.4	NA	49.9	80.6	112.3

Notes: 1. Created from the same material as Table 6-1.
2. National figures do not include Okinawa Prefecture.

Third, Hiroshima Prefecture's shipments per establishment, capita, and employee were overall less than the national average. In other words, productivity was not very high. To better understand this problem, it is necessary to consider the structural problems of the industry. Manpower, equipment and facilities should also be considered.

Economic growth, i.e., the growth in labor productivity, is brought about with the combination of labor, capital as well as knowledge and skills. Putting aside the knowledge and skill factors, labor productivity is ultimately determined by the amount of capital stock per labor. As explained previously, while the number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture returned to prewar levels relatively early, in 1946 and in 1947 the indicated horsepower of operating electric motors fell below 1941-1942 levels. In other words, as the denominator became relatively large, the capital stock per labor (the indicated horsepower of operating electric motors per employee) remained at about 50% of the national level in 1946 and 80% in 1947, and the labor productivity (shipments per employee) was also about 80% of the national average. However, in 1948, the capital stock per labor rose to 12% above the national average, an indicator of the growth that was to follow.

5 Recovery and Development of Infrastructure

The August 6, 1945 bombing reduced the area surrounding the hypocenter to ashes. Yet, before the dust had settled, the rebuilding of roads, rails, electric power-lines, and other infrastructures had already begun. Obviously, the initial activities were focused on military affairs and defense, rescuing survivors, and restoring medicine and sanitation; but the gradual reconstruction of the traffic system and the mass transportation provided a foundation for rebuilding the local industry and the economy. The reconstruction of the major infrastructures immediately after the bombing happened as follows.

Shortly after the bombing, the army and the civil defense cleared and opened the main roads in the city.[10] For railroads, shuttle services between Hiroshima Station and Saijo Station (in today's Higashihiroshima City) were in operation by the afternoon of August 6 to evacuate the injured and dispatch rescue teams. Recovery efforts continued throughout the night,[11] and the Ujina Line, connecting Hiroshima Station and Ujina Port, was opened on August 7, the main Sanyo Line on August 8, and the Geibi Line on August 9 to reconnect with northern Hiroshima Prefecture. A little later, on August 18, the entire Kabe Line was opened to reconnect with the suburbs.

The streetcars had suffered catastrophic damage. Of the 123 streetcars in Hiroshima City only 15 remained—and of those only three were completely operational. However, on August 9 one-way service between the Nishi Temma-cho stop and the Koi stop reopened. "The early return of even partial streetcar operation contributed enormously in revitalizing dispirited citizens." [12] Two buses that had escaped damage also began operating on August 9 between Hiroshima Station and Ujina Port via Hijiyama.

With the bombing, the entire city's electric power was lost. However, the Danbara substation (which suffered relatively small damage because it was situated in the shadow of Hijiyama Hill, standing some 70 meters tall) was quickly repaired and began supplying power to the Ujina area and its military installations on August 7, and to the area around Hiroshima Station on August 8. Meanwhile, the damage to the Ushita water purification plant (about two kilometers from the hypocenter) was limited. Despite leaks from damage to water pipes in the city center, the water supply was not interrupted.

By August of 1946, one year after the bombing, Hiroshima was slowly restoring its vitality—with the daily number of national and private railway customers topping a total of 65,000. As for the major train stations, the number of passengers was about 40,000 at Hiroshima Station, 8,000 at Yokogawa Station, 4,000 at Koi Station, and 13,000 at Nishi-Hiroshima Station (on the Miyajima Line running to the suburbs).[13]

The *Hiroshima Reconstruction City Plan* was established in 1946 and revised in 1949 to systematically promote urban redevelopment, including these elements of infrastructures. In 1949, the *Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law* was implemented, and the *Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan* was established based on this law in 1952.

II Period of High Economic Growth

1 From a Period of Adjustment to the Special Procurement of the Korean War

From 1948 to 1949, Japan faced a major turning point in its industrial economy. Planned, controlled economic policies were initially developed under the Allied occupation, but the "Dodge Line" was implemented in March 1949 following the announcement of the "Nine Principles for Economic Stabilization" in December 1948, calling for a balanced budget, and price and wage controls. There were policy changes in America, such as the introduction of a fixed exchange rate of 360 yen to the dollar the following April, gradually shifting to liberal policies. The "Dodge Line" implemented rapid financial restraints in order to curb abnormal inflation during that time, but this sent the entire country in a deep recession.

In 1948, the number of the unemployed in Japan was 240,000, but it rose to 380,000 in 1949 (58.3% increase), and to 440,000 in 1950 (15.8% increase) (*Annual Report on the Labor Force Surveys*, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications). According to *the Monthly Report of Recent Economic and Financial Developments* (issued in June 1949 by the Bank of Japan's Hiroshima Branch), there were 3,466 worker layoffs at 122 companies in the prefecture from January to June.[14)] On the other hand, inflation was steadily subsiding with the implementation of the "Dodge Line." The Retail Price Index in Hiroshima City, compared to the previous years, had increased by 82.8% in 1947, and by 70.9% in 1948, but had slowed somewhat with a 17.4% increase in 1949; and in 1950, the Retail Price Index actually decreased by 17.0%.[15)]

With regard to the effects of these policies on Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing sector, according to *the Census of Manufactures* (Table 6-3), although the number of establishments with four or more employees increased from 2,837 in 1948 to 3,029 in 1949, the number of employees dropped by 7.5%, from 113,581 to 105,095. (The number of employees at very small sized factories with less than four full-time employees remained roughly the same, going from 10,717 to 10,879). During the same period, the number of employees nationwide dropped by 7.7%. This resulted in a relative increase in Hiroshima Prefecture's share in the total number of employees in the nation, from 3.09% in 1948 to 3.10% in 1949.

Table 6-3 Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing industry and Hiroshima's share in Japan (1949–1952)

	Actual numbers				Rate of change (%)	
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1949-1950	1951-1952
Population (1,000 people)	2,070	2,082	2,097	2,106	0.59	0.42
No. of establishments	3,029	3,812	4,338	4,294	25.85	-1.01
No. of employees	105,095	108,427	117,394	117,996	3.17	0.51
Shipments (1 million yen)	34,285	51,509	92,000	103,619	50.24	12.63
Population (%)	2.53	2.50	2.48	2.45	-0.03	-0.03
No. of establishments (%)	2.79	2.44	2.61	2.55	-0.35	-0.05
No. of employees (%)	3.10	2.81	2.77	2.73	-0.29	-0.04
Shipments (%)	2.38	2.25	2.28	2.24	-0.13	-0.04

Notes: 1. The above chart uses the same source material as Table 6-1. The bottom column shows Hiroshima's share nationally and its percentage in relation to the rate of nationwide change.
2. The survey expanded to include establishments with four or more full-time employees from 1949. The shipments are nominal values.
3. National figures do not include Okinawa Prefecture.

Research in recent years evaluates the "Dodge Line" as having functioned as a base for later Japanese economic development.[16] However, at that time, the "Dodge Line" was severely criticized in Hiroshima as "being the sole cause of the rapid downturn of the regional economy due to its anachronism, running counter to the historic flow of economic policies."[17]

Either way, Japan's industrial economy at the time should have outgrown its reliance on government demand and protectionist policies. In order to do so, structural adjustments were required; but before this could be completed effectively, the Korean War started—accompanied by a special procurement boom.

The Korean War, which erupted on June 25, 1950, came with a special procurement boom that "operated just like a fulcrum for economic recovery."[18] When using 1935 as the baseline for 100%, the Industrial Production Index was stagnant. It was 30% mark in 1946 and 1947; 50% mark in 1948; 60% mark in 1949; rose to 83.3% in 1950; and 111.1% in 1951—surpassing prewar levels. This special procurement had the effect of *bringing Hiroshima back from the brink of disaster*. Its effects were seen as early as the following July, and the following boom was "exalted as a reversal that transformed Hiroshima City's moribund economy to one of prosperity."[19] Stimulated by the Korean War, Hiroshima's industrial economy— and Japan's—would later attain high economic growth.

2 Emergence of the "Productive Prefecture Plan"

Although Hiroshima Prefecture's industrial economy somehow managed to recover and reconstruct itself, neither its growth rate nor its standards were high compared to the rest of Japan. With the Korean War, the number of employees in the manufacturing sector surpassed 110,000, and while the shipments was 34.3 billion yen in 1949, it rose to 51.5 billion yen in 1950, 92.0 billion yen in 1951, and 103.6 billion yen in 1952; the first time it reached the 100 billion-yen mark. Hiroshima's share of nationwide shipments, however, dropped in the early 1950s. The number of employees per establishment and the number of employees per 1,000 of population were above the national average in these years from 1949 to 1952, but that level was also relatively decreasing (Table 6-4).

Under such circumstance, shipments per employee (labor productivity) were less than 80% of the national average until 1950, but it exceeded 82% from 1951. In other words, Hiroshima was able to achieve higher shipments with relatively fewer employees. However, it still did not approach the national level, remaining about 20% lower.

Table 6-4 Key indices of Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing sector (1949 to 1952)

	Actual numbers				Rate of change (%)	
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1949 – 1950	1951 – 1952
No. of workers per company	34.7	28.4	27.1	27.5	-18.02	1.54
No. of employees per 1,000 population	50.8	52.1	56.0	56.0	2.57	0.10
Shipments per employee (JPY 1,000)	326.2	475.1	783.7	878.2	45.62	12.05
No. of employees per establishment (national level: 100)	111.1	115.1	106.3	107.0	3.57	0.66
No. of employees per 1,000 population (national level:100)	122.3	112.2	111.7	111.3	-8.23	-0.32
Shipments per employee (national level:100)	76.8	79.9	82.4	82.0	4.10	-0.51

Notes: Same as Table 6-3.

Against this background, Hiroo Ohara was elected Governor in January 1951, with campaign promises that he would transform Hiroshima from a prefecture that consumed into a prefecture that produced. The governor's view was given a concrete form through surveys, research, and deliberation in the prefectural government; and the so-called "Productive Prefecture Plan" was announced in December 1952. This was intended to raise the prefecture's per-capita income (which remained less than 80% of the national average) to the national level by 1956. This plan was composed of four pillars: promotion of the agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; promotion of commerce and industry; development and strengthening of the transportation network; and establishment of forest conservation and flood controls.

In July 1951, the start of cease-fire talks in Korea brought an end to the period of special procurement of the war. The presentation of the "Productive Prefecture Plan" was extremely timely. In April 1952, the construction of new ships (which had been prohibited under the Allied occupation) was allowed; and the thriving shipbuilding industry (which had gathered in the prefecture before the war) gave this plan a great push.

Hiroshima Prefecture's ranking for manufacturing shipments between 1946 and 1948 was in the double digits amongst Japan's 46 prefectures (excluding Okinawa Prefecture), but rose to 9th place in 1949. It was said that the per-capita income in the prefecture reached the national average in fiscal year 1957; but according to the Cabinet Office's *Annual Report on Prefectural Accounts* (long-term series), which contains statistics from FY 1955 onward, Hiroshima Prefecture had already increased 3.3% above the national average (excluding Okinawa Prefecture) in FY 1955 and moved up to 8th place (and 13th in population).

3 Thrust into High Economic Growth

The number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing sector steadily increased from 108,427 in 1950 to 132,232 in 1955, then 201,665 in 1960, and 263,194 in 1965. In 1950, it accounted for 2.81% of the total number of employees in Japan (the prefectural population's made up 2.50%). This percentage slightly decreased by 1960, but rose again to 2.78% in 1960 (and prefectural population accounted for 2.32% of Japan's population). The shipments grew more steadily while its share in Japan was 2.25% in 1950, 2.31% in 1955, 2.48% in 1960, and 2.87% in 1965. From 1955 to 1965 Hiroshima remained 12th in population amongst the 46 prefectures (excluding Okinawa Prefecture), but it had maintained 9th place both in the number of employees in the manufacturing sector and in the shipments. In 1955, it ranked 8th in the number of employees.

From the late 1950s to the early 1960s various factories were built in Hiroshima City such as Toyo Kogyo's Fuchizaki Plant and Ujina Nishi Plant; Shin-Maywa Industries' Hiroshima Plant; and Tokyo Roki's Hiroshima Plant. Soon, other major factories began operations in rapid succession as well in Hiroshima Prefecture, such as Babcock-Hitachi's Kure Works; Nihon Shigyo's Otake Mill; Mitsubishi Rayon's Otake Plant; Mitsui Petrochemical Industries' Iwakuni-Ohtake Works; and Tokyo Press Kogyo's Hiroshima Plant. In 1965, Nippon Kokan built their Fukuyama Works in Fukuyama City based on the Act for Promoting Development of Special Areas for Industrial Consolidation (1964).

There are two points that should be noted regarding Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing sector as Hiroshima was thrust into high economic growth.

The first was the prefecture's steadily increasing labor productivity (shipments per employee). The growth of the shipments was higher than that of the number of employees. In 1955, labor productivity in Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing sector was 86.7% of the national average, and rose to 93.6% in 1960. While this was still short of the national average,

Hiroshima was able to ride a wave of high economic growth so that by 1965 its labor productivity surpassed the national average by more than 3% points.

The growth of labor productivity during this period was led by capital investment, both in Hiroshima Prefecture and the rest of Japan, as explained below.

The Census of Manufactures in 1955 and 1960 showed the depreciation costs for tangible fixed assets, which indicates capital stock levels of establishments with four or more employees. The depreciation costs for tangible fixed assets from 1955 to 1960 rose by 163% nationwide, from 141.8 billion yen to 373.1 billion yen; in Hiroshima Prefecture they rose by 166%, from 3.32 billion yen to 8.83 billion yen. The shipments in Hiroshima Prefecture increased 105% versus 90% nationwide. The Hiroshima Prefecture's growth exceeded the national average in both of these areas. On the other hand, the increase in the number of employees in Hiroshima was only 52.5% versus 53.1% nationwide, so the growth in Hiroshima's labor productivity was 34.3%, 10% points higher than the national average of 24.3%. (The depreciation costs and shipments are made as real values at prices in 1955.)

During this time, growth in capital stock per labor (the depreciation costs for tangible fixed assets per employee) was 71.8% nationally and 74.5% in Hiroshima Prefecture. Hiroshima was higher in this aspect too. The fact that the growth of the capital-labor ratio was significantly higher than the growth of shipments means that labor factors as well as knowledge and technological factors made small contributions to the growing labor productivity. During the "Iwato Keiki" (the economic boom from June 1958 to December 1961), people often said "investment begets investment." This very term shows that the economic growth of this time was led by capital investment. In particular, Hiroshima Prefecture's manufacturing sector had a strong tendency for capital investment-driven economic growth.

The second point was the existence of solid and extensive supporting industries in Hiroshima, in which various industries were clustered. Many of the small, medium, and very small sized enterprises in Hiroshima supported the manufacturing base, such as forging, casting, die manufacturing, plating, cutting, grinding, heat treatment, and machining. These were called "primary supporting industries," and they supported the production and prototyping of major enterprises.

As previously mentioned, the very small sized businesses around the hypocenter suffered catastrophic damage when the bomb dropped; but it is inferred that they either returned slowly once the postwar confusion ended or that new businesses opened and grew in number. According to *the Census of Manufactures*, the number of very small establishments (with three or less employees) and the number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture were 7,059 and 13,210 respectively in 1950; increased to 8,435 and 18,493 in 1955; and were 9,099 and 19,552 in 1960. The percentage of the number of employees in Hiroshima Prefecture (excluding Okinawa Prefecture) was 2.27% in 1950 but increased to 3.45% in 1960.

The Economic White Paper, issued in July 1956, is well-known for noting the period could "no longer be referred to as 'postwar'"; and we also know from the recollections of Toshio Uno, former president of the HIROTEC Corporation (Hiroshima City), that a high-dense agglomeration of "primary supporting industries" had formed in the center of Hiroshima.

Uno Manufacturing, HIROTEC's predecessor, was founded in 1932 in the littoral area. In the late 1950s the company was manufacturing automobile body parts and other items while searching for new ways to grow as a business. Mr. Uno said, "I often visited Tokaichi-machi (one kilometer west of the hypocenter). With rows of small specialized businesses and private shops, the town was indispensable for the manufacturing industry. At the time, I would ride my bicycle to visit steel wholesale dealers and have them sell me only

the amount of steel that I needed. After cutting them with blades I purchased from machine tool shops, I would bring the steel parts to heat treatment specialists. They would quench the steal and create dies for baths and so on. These vendors were convenient for purchasing not only steel and other raw materials but also bolts, nuts, and other parts, which could all be purchased from one piece. The necessary items could be purchased in any amount, after matching the requested amount of items with a manufacturer of the appropriate size."[20)]

4 The End of High Economic Growth

In 1950, when special procurement for the Korean War arose, the main manufacturing goods in Hiroshima Prefecture were chemical and allied products (24.1% of the shipments in the prefecture), foodstuffs (19.8%), and transportation equipment (14.5%). Later, chemical and allied products and foodstuff industries experienced a relative drop in ranking while iron and steel, machinery and equipment moved up into the top ranks. With these key industries' leading growth, Hiroshima Prefecture continued to maintain 8th or 9th place in the shipments from 1952 to 1978; and in 1968, Hiroshima reached 1st in the Chugoku, Shikoku, and Kyushu Regions, surpassing Fukuoka Prefecture. The prefecture's share of national value of shipment (including Okinawa Prefecture) reached its peak in 1975 at 3.17%. In 1975, Hiroshima's population was 2.36% of Japan's total population. This shows how important a role manufacturing played among all the sectors of Hiroshima Prefecture.

Meanwhile, Hiroshima Prefecture's per-capita income increased from the 8th in FY 1955 to the 7th in FY 1956, 6th in FY 1971, and the 5th in FY 1974. The Prefecture's share of shipments in Japan reached its peak in FY 1975 moving up to 3rd (including Okinawa Prefecture from 1972). However, since the late 1970s, Hiroshima's ranking gradually dropped and settled in the double digits after FY 1984.

There is no doubt that Hiroshima has relied on the manufacturing sector. In particular, heavy industries, including transportation equipment, iron and steel, and machinery and equipment, was a driver of industrial growth from the postwar reconstruction period to the end of the period of high economic growth. Yet, it cannot be denied that Hiroshima was also shackled by the weight of the manufacturing sector, which has made it hard to alter its industrial structure since the 1980s.

(Toshiyasu Ito)

Notes

1. While there were many victims from among those who worked at the major factories during this period, the factories had relatively little damage. For example, the Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' Hiroshima Machinery Works and Hiroshima Shipyard were each around four kilometers from the hypocenter, but "there was overall around 30% damage to the buildings, and almost no damage to the equipment." Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' 20th Works, some 5.5 kilometers from the hypocenter, "had windows blown out and some of its wooden structures toppled," but the day after the bomb "wartime production was immediately restarted." Toyo Kogyo, about 5.3 kilometers from the hypocenter, "had the roof of its factory blown off from the intense bomb blast, with most windows broken, window panes twisted, and a few buildings collapsed," but "overall the damage level was not serious, at approximately 30%." (City of Hiroshima, *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Keizai Hen (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Economy), 1984 a: pp. 13-22).
2. The Allies demanded one-time war reparations from Japan. Japan was to remove equipment from main factories to reduce its production capacity to 1930-1934 levels. In the Hiroshima area, Japan Steel Works Hiroshima Plant, Teikoku Heiki Hagoromo Works, Toyo Seikan, Toyo Kogyo, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' Hiroshima Machinery Works, and others were listed as targets for the said reparations. In the end, the equivalent of 160 million dollars of facilities was disposed of throughout Japan. However, as the Cold War confrontation gradually intensified, the reparations were virtually discontinued by May 1949. It was said that "Hiroshima too can now breathe a huge sigh of relief." (City of Hiroshima, 1984 a: pp. 63-79).
3. City of Hiroshima, *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Shiryo Hen IV (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Resource Materials IV), 1984 b: ff. 470.
4. Ibid., p. 324. Some are supplementary estimates from 1950 and 1955.
5. Sugai, Shiro, (Ed.), *Shiryo Kokudokeikaku* (Materials on National Land Plan), Taimeido, 1975. Municipal area at the time.
6. City of Hiroshima, *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi:* Dai Ikkan, Sosetsu (Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb War Disaster, Vol. 1, Overview), 1971 a: p. 621.
7. Ibid., p. 621.

8. Even if equipment and facilities recovered, it does not mean that the same products produced before the war could be quickly produced again. Here, the prospects for the recovery of the shipbuilding industry, where new shipbuilding was restricted, were gloomy. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries' Hiroshima Shipyard (Hiroshima City) made pots, kettles, spades, and hoes, and Hitachi Zosen Innoshima Works and Mukaishima Works (in current Onomichi City) made bells for Buddhist temples. For Shipbuilders, the time was dubbed the "Time of Pots and Bells." (Hiroshima Prefecture, *Hiroshima Kenshi:* Gendai, Tsushi VII (History of Hiroshima Prefecture: Contemporary History, Overview VII, 1983: p. 173).
9. Ibid., pp. 22 - 23.
10. City of Hiroshima , 1971 a: p. 586.
11. Ibid., p. 586.
12. Ibid., p. 587.
13. Ibid., p. 621.
14. City of Hiroshima, 1984 a: p. 58.
15. Ibid., pp. 122 - 123.
16. Nakamura, Takafusa, "Gaisetsu 1973-54 Nen" (General Remarks, 1937 – 1954). In Nakamura, Takafusa, (Ed.), *"Keikakuka" to "Minshuka,"* Dai Issho (*"Planning" and "Democratization,"* Chapter 1, Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
17. City of Hiroshima, 1984 a: p. 159.
18. Nakamura, 1989: p. 53.
19. City of Hiroshima, 1984 a: p. 295.
20. Chugoku Shimbun Keizaibu, *Hiroshima Monozukuri Monogatari Machikobagai* (Story of Hiroshima's Manufacturing, Small Factories in Town), Chugoku Shimbun, 1994: p. 16.

The extended manuscript by the author is available at the following website.
http://www-cres.senda.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/kiyou/26/26_01.pdf

Column

Streetcars Come Back to Life in the Hypocenter

1 Streetcars from their Establishment to the Atomic Bombing

On November 23, 1912, when Hiroshima Dentetsu ("Hiroden") (Hiroshima Electric Railway) began operations, it operated between Ekimae (current Hiroshima Station) to Miyukibashi Nishizume (current Miyuki-bashi) via Kamiyacho (near current Kamiya-cho intersection), and between Hatchobori and Hakushima. A little later, on December 8, it began operating between Kamiyacho and Koi (current Nishi-Hiroshima). On April 8, 1915 another line (the Ujina Line) opened between Miyukibashi Higashizume (later Senbaikyoku-mae station, later discontinued) and Mukoujina-guchi (current Motoujina-guchi). In May 1919, a bridge just for streetcars was built upstream of the Miyuki Bridge to connect Ekimae to Mukoujina-guchi via Kamiyacho together in one line. On November 1, 1917 the single track Yokogawa Line opened. Later, as per a request from the military, the Eba Line (to transport factory workers) and the Hijiyama Line (to transport military personnel, currently the Minami Line) opened in 1944. The track for the Hijiyama Line was laid when goods were in short supply, using the rails from the existing rails on the Miyajima Line between Densha Hatsukaichi (now Hiroden Hatsukaichi) and Densha Miyajima (now Hiroden Miyajima-guchi). As a result, that part of the Miyajima Line became a single-track line, while the Hijiyama Line opened was a double track line.

2 Circumstances Directly before the Bombing

The public transportation system at the time of the atomic bombing consisted of streetcars and small buses. In Hiroshima City, there were 123 streetcars then and 100 buses. However, during the war the government issued an order for buses to stop operating on lines where streetcar and bus lines overlapped; furthermore, due to fuel and spare part shortages during this time, less than 20 buses were in actual operation.

During the war the authority ordered that usage of some streetcar stops was to be discontinued, and people were ordered to refrain from using public transportation except in emergencies. This situation was prevalent not only in Hiroshima but throughout Japan. To

ensure there would be no obstacles in the way of emergency vehicle traffic, a notice was issued that the policy was to stop using or removing island-shaped streetcar stops. However, the war ended before this could be implemented.

In other words, the widely available system for transportation now referred to as the "public transportation system" was considered a luxury, and a social atmosphere made it difficult for people to use unless there was an emergency. In this situation, the seats in some streetcars were removed, with bamboo handrails installed for passengers to hold onto while riding.

As the war worsened and there were not enough male workers, the Girls' Domestic Science School of the Hiroshima Electric Railway Company was opened to supplement the workforce in April 1943. Initially, the students would go to school while working as conductors on streetcars, but as the war further intensified and male workers became increasingly rare, the female students were appointed to drive the streetcars too.

3 Circumstances When the A-bomb dropped and Reconstruction

When the atomic bomb was dropped, 108 out of 123 streetcars were damaged, and of those 22 were incinerated, three were partially incinerated, and 83 were destroyed to varying degrees. Of the 842 utility poles, 393 were damaged, as were 94,350 meters of power lines out of 102,400 meters. Among the 100 buses in the city, 68 were affected: 19 were incinerated, 13 were partially incinerated, and 36 destroyed in varying degrees. There was also damage to buildings and facilities, and streetcars and bus services in the city stopped completely.

A-bombed 100 Series (Car 115) streetcar near the Yokogawa Line terminal. It was a wooden streetcar that began operation in 1912, so only the burned platform remained. (Courtesy of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, Photo by the US military)

On August 9, three days after the bombing, the first streetcar began to carry passengers between Koi and Nishi-Temmacho using streetcars that had been evacuated to the Miyajima Line (which had suffered only minor damage) and power from the Hatsukaichi substation. This became a sign of reconstruction. In fact, on the previous day, there had been a test run with Hiroden employees, and the government and military personnel. On August 9, two cars were linked and ran on the only single track line that had been restored. People with no money were allowed to ride for free. It is said that the fact that there still existed operating streetcars in the city, which was like wasteland after the bombing, gave courage to many citizens in Hiroshima. In addition to the streetcar services, some claimed to have witnessed free bus services running on August 8, running from Senda-machi to Hiroshima Station via Kamiya-cho, using the only two buses that could run. From the Hiroden headquarters in

Senda-machi, it is said that people could see the buses running in the Kamiyacho area.

After the damage from the atomic bombing, which had far exceeded anyone's imagination, not only Hiroden, but also military personnel (the army's Tokyo Telegraph Corps) were mobilized to aid in the initial reconstruction. It is said that tanks were also dispatched for reconstruction to compensate for the lack of heavy machinery. Thanks to their dedicated efforts, one track from Nishi-Temmacho to Koamicho, further east, was restored on August 15.

And just as people could feel the reconstruction beginning, yet another major disaster struck Hiroshima on September 17. A large typhoon called the Makurazaki Typhoon caused landslides in the west part of the prefecture. The damage from the typhoon was enormous and washed away bridges in Hiroshima that had even withstood the blast of the atomic bomb, including Temma Bridge, Yokogawa Bridge, and Inari Bridge, which were used exclusively by streetcars. When the city was trying to recover after the bombing, the typhoon put a brake on the speed of recovery.

Hiroshima's reconstruction began in earnest after the war ended on August 15, and after the typhoon that struck on September 17. With the military demobilization after the war, Hiroden's staff formed the core of the reconstruction.

Soon after the war, a generator in Senda-machi was restored on August 18, and streetcars began running between Dentetsu-mae (now Hiroden-honsha-mae) and Mukoujina-guchi on the Ujina Line. Other lines were restored as well: from Koi to Dobashi on the main line on August 19, to Tokaichi-machi on August 21, to Sakancho (now Honkawacho) on August 23, and to Hatchobori on September 7. However, even with the resumption of operation, power issues (short-circuits) and downed power lines frequently caused the streetcars to stop. There were only ten cars that could operate, and the window glass and other materials could not be ordered, so some streetcars ran with boards fixed on the windows. The line running between Dentetsu-mae and Kamiyacho was restored on September 12, and to Ekimae on October 11. However, the streetcars were still operated on a single track line.

Two years later in 1947, operations resumed between Dobashi and Eba (now Funairi-minami-machi) on the Eba Line on November 1, and between Matoba-cho and Senbaikyoku-mae on the Hijiyama Line on July 1, 1948. Later, the Yokogawa Bridge, which had been washed away by the Makurazaki Typhoon, was rebuilt, and with it operation between Misasa (now Yokogawa Station) and Betsuin-mae on the Yokogawa Line was restored on December 18. Because of the road construction as part of city planning, the Hakushima Line was moved and reopened on June 10, 1952 on a relocated track. With this, the entire streetcar network in the city had managed to be restored.

Incidentally, while 108 of 123 cars were damaged at the time of the atomic bombing, 27 cars had been disposed of and the remaining 96 cars (including the ones not damaged) had been restored by 1950. Most of these cars were repaired at Hiroden's factory (in the Senda depot), but that factory could not handle all the work by itself in a timely manner, so much of the work was outsourced. Remaining records indicate that Ujina Shipyard and Akatsuki Shipyard were the two companies to which the repair work was mainly outsourced (neither of them exists today). This means that there were other companies that had supported the restoration of the streetcars (as well as the two shipyards). Thanks to their efforts, the cities streetcar system was competently restored to its original state.

Later, during the motorization of the late 1960s and early 1970s, maintaining streetcars became difficult, and many cities in Japan discontinued them. However, various efforts have been made in Hiroshima to preserve the streetcar system. Today, Hiroshima is proactively introducing cutting-edge streetcars with super-low floor ergonomic cars. In fact,

Hiroshima has the highest number of such streetcars in Japan. Through these efforts—in name and reality—Hiroshima has become the best known "City of Streetcars" in Japan.

(Kazutaka Kato)

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Chapter 7
Realizing Adequate Healthcare and Medical Care, and Support for A-bomb Survivors

Introduction

The bomb dropped on August 6, 1945 reduced the city to ashes and killed tens of thousands of people. Doctors, and other healthcare professionals were among the casualties and medical facilities also suffered great damage.

This chapter will describe the state of medicine in Hiroshima after the war by elucidating Hiroshima's medical environment immediately after the bomb, how it was restored and developed afterwards, and what kind of medical care and support were provided for A-bomb survivors between 1945 and 1975.

I State of Healthcare and Medical Care between 1945 and 1955

1 Health & Medical Care Environment after the War

The war left the daily lives of Japanese citizens utterly in shambles. Along with the collapse of the economy and local infrastructure, combined with demobilized soldiers and repatriates returning from overseas, poor hygiene caused acute infectious diseases, tuberculosis, and other diseases to spread. On top of a severe shortage of healthcare professionals, medical facilities and medicine, the medical insurance system failed due to worsening inflation, leaving many people unable to receive any medical treatment when they became ill.

Most of the city was destroyed in the fire that followed the bombing. According to a record published by the City of Hiroshima, 300,000 to 310,000 civilians and 43,000 military personnel were exposed to the atomic bombing, and as of November 1945, about 130,000 people had died. In this way, the situation in Hiroshima was more dire than that in other cities.[1)] In urban areas, all medical institutions not made of reinforced concrete were destroyed. The remaining hospitals had also received extensive damage and could not continue to provide satisfactory medical services. This was further exacerbated due to the Air Defense Work Order, which had prohibited healthcare professionals from evacuating. A total of 2,168 out of the 2,370 healthcare professionals, including 270 of 298 physicians, who were in Hiroshima City at the time of the bombing were exposed to the atomic bombing, leaving many patients unable to receive medical treatment.[2)]

2 Survey of Deaths in Hiroshima after the War

After 1947, the total deaths by major cause were tallied for the whole country, and after 1949 for Hiroshima Prefecture. The categorization of illnesses also differs slightly between the two.

Table 7-1 shows the numbers of deaths by main cause, providing evidence that trends in Hiroshima Prefecture were similar to that of the country as a whole. The mortality rate was 11.6 per 1,000 in 1949, which was the same as the national average.[3)] However, it should be noted that these results are only based on records from 1947 to 1950 so they do not include the statistics from 1945 and 1946, when most people died. Although the statistics from 1945 and 46 are not included, it is noteworthy that the mortality rate for cancer and other malignancies was slightly but consistently higher than the rest of Japan, though the number of deaths per 100,000 and the mortality rate were both lower than the rest of the nation for other illnesses.

As shown in Table 7-2, the leading cause of deaths in Hiroshima City was tuberculosis—the same as for the whole nation. Digestive system related deaths were high, while deaths caused by damage to intracranial blood vessels were low. Respiratory diseases, cancer, and malignancies were about the same level as the whole nation. The ratios for the five major causes of death were lower in Hiroshima City than those of the nation as a whole. All of these numbers come from a period after the worst period of the radiation effects of the atomic bomb, so they are not definitive.

Table 7-1 Number of Deaths by Major Cause in Japan and Hiroshima Prefecture

Year	Tuberculosis						Diarrhea and Enteritis, Gastritis, Duodenitis, Colitis						Pneumonia					
	Japan			Hiroshima Prefecture			Japan			Hiroshima Prefecture			Japan			Hiroshima Prefecture		
	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio
1947	1	146,241	187	1	3,820	190	3	101,154	130	2	2,663	132	2	101,601	130	3	2,563	127
1948	1	143,909	179	1	3,679	180	3	83,264	104	3	1,911	93	5	52,979	66	6	1,245	61
1949	1	138,765	169	1	3,324	159	3	72,188	88	3	1,665	79	5	56,636	69	6	1,154	55
1950	1	121,769	146	1	2,853	137	4	68,540	82	4	1,543	74	5	54,169	65	5	1,335	64

Year	Intracranial Blood Vessel Damage						Heart diseases						Cancer and Other Malignancies					
	Japan			Hiroshima Prefecture			Japan			Hiroshima Prefecture			Japan			Hiroshima Prefecture		
	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio
1947	4	101,095	129	4	2,494	124	6	48,575	62	5	1,392	69	5	53,047	68	6	1,380	69
1948	2	94,326	118	2	2,192	107	6	49,254	61	5	1,370	67	4	55,677	69	4	1,479	72
1949	2	100,650	122	2	2,415	115	6	52,826	64	5	1,322	63	4	58,892	72	4	1,557	74
1950	2	88,420	106	2	2,032	98	6	54,112	65	6	1,304	63	5	68,861	83	3	1,771	85

Source: Prevention Division, Department of Health, Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshima Ken Eisei Tokei* (Hiroshima Prefecture Health Statistics). 1953: pp. 2 – 7

Note: The ratios are per 100,000 people.

Table 7-2 Number of Deaths by Major Cause in Hiroshima City

	Tuberculosis			Digestive System			Respiratory			Cancer and Malignancies			Intracranial Blood Vessel Damage		
	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio	Rank	No. of People	Ratio
1949	1	350	129	2	322	119	3	205	76	4	189	68	5	148	55
1950	1	330	111	2	296	99	4	202	68	3	215	72	6	183	61

Source: City of Hiroshima (Ed.). *Shisei Yoran:* Hiroshima Heiwa Kinen Toshi Kensetsu Ho Seitei Kinen Go, Showa Nijuyo Nen Ban (Municipal Handbook: Commemorative publication for the enactment of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, 1949 edition). Research Division, General Affairs Department, City of Hiroshima, 1950: p. 57.
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3 Activities at Public Health Centers after the War

Acute infectious diseases, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases spread in Hiroshima Prefecture as well during the period of confusion immediately after the war. Under such circumstances, and despite severe financial constraints, countermeasures could be taken during this time (though not sufficiently) due largely to reformation of the medical and public health administration under the guidance of GHQ. Regional public health administration was dissociated from the police force, and a system was established that positioned the Ministry of Health and Welfare at the top, followed by prefectural public health departments, prefectural public health centers, and municipalities. Especially large was the role of public health centers, which became frontline institutions for handling public health.

On September 5, 1947, after being completely revised under GHQ's guidance, the Health Center Law, was adopted (implemented January 1, 1948) and public health centers were tasked with managing public health in virtually all fields. In response to this new policy, Hiroshima Prefecture worked to improve the 19 prefectural public health centers that had been established by the end of the war. In May 1948, the "Establishment of Model Public Health Centers" (for the establishment of such centers in every prefecture) and in June the "Transfer of Jurisdiction over Public Health Centers to Cities" (for cities with populations over 150,000) were notified. With this, administration of the prefectural Hiroshima Public Health Center was transferred to the City of Hiroshima and the prefectural Kure Public Health Center, which was a model public health center, to the City of Kure on August 1. The reason that the prefectural Kure Public Health Center was designated as a model public health center is that the headquarters of the occupation forces were located there at that time.[4)]

While the Hiroshima City Public Health Center had a staff of only 31, the Kure City Public Health Center started with four divisions and a staff of more than 120. The Kure center immediately set to work creating a plan for the prevention of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, parasites, and trachoma, as well as a plan for health and nutrition for mothers and children.[5)] On one hand, under the strict guidance and support of the occupation forces and thorough sterilization, the number of patients recorded as having legally recognized infectious diseases had dropped from 1,650 in 1944 to 603 in 1945, to 397 in 1946, and to 147 in 1947. On the other hand, tuberculosis, venereal disease and other notifiable infectious diseases were rampant. This is thought to be the reason for the implementation of these plans.

Tuberculosis, especially, had a high number of patients (and deaths), with 1,523 in 1948 (472 deaths) and 1,755 in 1949 (433 deaths). The "Kure City Public Health Center Guidelines for Tuberculosis Measures" (five-year plan) was introduced in 1949, which implemented education on tuberculosis prevention measures; tuberculin and BCG vaccinations; photofluorography for persons with strong reactions on tuberculin tests; and recuperation guidance for sufferers. In 1955, the number of patients and that of deaths were down to 924 and 137 respectively.

For venereal diseases, the Kure City Public Health Center took action by establishing a venereal disease clinic in the Center on October 11, 1949, but the number of patients with venereal diseases was still over 2,000. The situation worsened to 3,916 patients in 1951 with the Korean War, and as many as 5,469 patients in 1952. Following this, the center ordered an estimated 3,000 habitual prostitutes to form five unions and to receive regular checkups. Those who would not receive checkups were patrolled four times a week with the help of the military police of the occupation forces, and citywide crackdown was conducted with the police two or three times a month.[6)] However, the number of the afflicted did not drop back down to the 2,000 range until the British Commonwealth Forces Korea had completely withdrawn in1956.[7)]

4 Status of Medical Institutions and Activities after the War

Information containing the overall medical statistics for Hiroshima City before 1947 cannot be found. With regard to medical institutions in Hiroshima City in 1948, 1949, and 1950, the statistics show an increase in the number of hospitals (24 in 1948, 35 in 1949, 35 in 1950) and high fluctuations in the number of clinics (205 in 1948, 270 in 1949, 230 in 1950). Except for a drop in the number of dentists in 1949, healthcare personnel also steadily increased; physicians: 360 in 1948, 520 in 1949, 551 in 1950; dentists: 139 in 1948, 128 in 1949, 151 in 1950; nurses: 500 in 1948, 745 in 1949, 752 in 1950; midwives: 190 in 1948, 371 in 1949, 378 in 1950; public health nurses: 60 in 1948, 91 in 1949, 94 in 1950; pharmacists: 225 in 1948, 277 in 1949, 286 in 1950; and quasi-medical practitioners: 222 in 1948, 262 in 1949, 270 in 1950.[8)]

Hiroshima's biggest medical institution, National Hiroshima Hospital, opened on December 1, 1945, following the closing of the Hiroshima Second Army Hospital's branch hospitals, which had been established to move some of the hospital's functions outside the city. Ten physicians, and 50 to 60 nurses and 200 inpatients were transferred to the hospital which was located on the premises of a company called Daiwabo in Ujina-machi, Hiroshima City. However, on December 5 orders were given from the occupation forces to vacate the hospital so that it could be used as a repatriation camp for Koreans in Japan. With no other choice, they moved operations to the empty barracks of the former army shipping training unit in Tanna-cho.[9)]

Under such circumstances, in early February 1946, the National Hiroshima Hospital were to be reopened to accept the sick and wounded as activities for the repatriation of Koreans would be completed by the end of March, and demobilization of military personnel and the repatriation of Japanese civilians would begin. From the beginning of March, the interior of the former Army Marine Headquarters building was renovated to be used as the headquarters of the hospital, three new temporary wards were built by the Ujina Repatriate Relief Bureau of the national government, and the Tanna-cho barracks were renovated, allowing them to accommodate 1,500 patients in total.

From April until late September 1946, 200 staff members dealt with anywhere between 500 to 1,000 patients disembarking from American and British hospital ships at a time. They performed cumbersome duties such as dividing and treating the patients. They were divided into those returning to their families, those transferred to other national hospitals, and those accommodated at the National Hiroshima Hospital. These patients included army personnel (1,416), navy personnel (496), and civilian repatriates (184)—2,096 people in total.[10)] It was reported that citizens in Hiroshima, especially A-bomb survivors, were given treatment afterwards. According to a document published in April 1947, the hospital had departments of internal medicine, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, otorhinolaryngology, dermatology and urology, and dentistry.[11)]

The Japan Medical Treatment Corporation was established as a special corporation based on the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Order, which came into effect the day after it was promulgated on April 16, 1942, to expand medical care to increase the physical strength of Japanese people—especially by eradicating tuberculosis and ensuring all areas had access to doctors.[12)] The corporation supported the medical system during wartime, but on January 24, 1947, the Cabinet decided to disband it on April 1; and its 81 tuberculosis sanatoriums and 11 *Shokenryo* (tuberculosis sanatoriums for middle-aged and young patients potentially curable) were transferred to the care of the national government.[13)] With the promulgation of the Law regarding Dissolution and Liquidation of Medical Association, Dental Association, and Japan Medical Treatment Corporation on October 31 and its

enactment on November 1, the corporation was finally dissolved and the corporation's 180 hospitals and clinics were in principle transferred to the jurisdiction of prefectures and major cities.[14)]

The fiscal year 1944 medical facility income and expenditure survey (from April 1, 1943 to March 31, 1944) gives us a glimpse of the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation's activities in Hiroshima Prefecture during the war (in this case, fiscal year 1944 is probably a mistype of fiscal year 1943). This survey mentions a tuberculosis sanatorium called Hataga Hospital (150 beds, total number of patients: 28,952) and *Shokenryo* in Kure (number of beds and total number of patients unknown), Onomichi (50 beds, 3,427 patients), and Oku (150 beds, 7,308 patients). However, the survey gives no information on the prefectural and the regional hospitals established and run by the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation in Hiroshima Prefecture.[15)]

After the war, the relief stations for A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima City were closed on October 5, 1945 and turned over to the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation. Of these, the relief station at Kusatsu National School (a primary school), run by staff members of the former Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital (the hospital attached to the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical School), was renamed the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Kusatsu Hospital on February 1, 1946.[16)] The Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Yaga Hospital at Yaga National School was relocated and rebuilt in Iwahana in the same town, due to the "small and inadequate facilities on top of the serious disturbance it caused to children's school education." (Construction was scheduled to begin on August 1, 1946, and to be completed on March 31, 1947.)[17)]

On October 1, 1945, after taking over administration of the Hiroshima Army Kyosai Hospital (opened on November 3, 1942) in Ujina-cho 13-chome and the Army Hospital's Inokuchi branch hospital, the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Ujina and Inokuchi branch hospitals were opened.[18)] The Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Kusatsu Hospital merged with the Corporation's Ujina Hospital on June 1, 1947 and opened as the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Hiroshima Chuo Hospital, using Ujina Hospital's facilities. The director was Iwao Kurokawa, who was director of the Kusatsu Hospital.[19)]

During this time, the board of directors of the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation decided on February 20, 1946 to close all *Shokenryo* that were experiencing financial difficulties by March 31. In Hiroshima Prefecture, the Kure *Shokenryo* (50 beds) was to be closed after having been destroyed by a fire, while the Onomichi *Shokenryo* (clinic with 50 beds) was to be converted into a regional hospital.[20)] On April 1, 1947, the Hataga Hospital (150 beds), Hara Sanatorium (188 beds), and Oku *Shokenryo* (150 beds) were to be transferred to prefectural government control. On November 1, the Corporation's Hiroshima Chuo Hospital (a prefectural hospital), and regional hospitals including the Setoda Hospital, Kure Katayama Hospital, Yaga Hospital, Akitsu Hospital, as well as Chuo Hospital's Inokuchi branch hospital and Tadanoumi Hospital were transferred to the jurisdiction of the prefectural government, under the circumstances explained above.[21)]

Hiroshima Prefecture accepted these hospitals in order to "strongly promote its healthcare policies to meet the needs of the residents of the prefecture."[22)] Through negotiations with the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation, a contract was signed on March 23, 1948 to transfer the management of the seven hospitals and two clinics to Hiroshima Prefecture.[23)] And with the Prefectural Hospital and Prefectural Clinic Establishment and Management Ordinance enacted on March 31, these facilities were used to open the Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital, Inokuchi Prefectural Hospital, Prefectural Kosei Hospital (renamed from Yaga Hospital), Niko Prefectural Hospital (renamed from Kure Katayama Hospital), Akitsu Prefectural Hospital, Setoda Prefectural

Hospital, Tadanoumi Prefectural Hospital, Toyota Prefectural Clinic, and Kobatake Prefectural Clinic on April 1.[24)]

Medical facilities in the city of Hiroshima received catastrophic damage from the atomic bombing, but the reconstruction was considered to be quicker than expected. This was made possible with the legacy of the army, as the National Hiroshima Hospital was opened as the successor to the Second Army Hospital, and the Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital utilized the facilities of the Hiroshima Army Kyosai Hospital. The role played by the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation must also be remembered. One example was the establishment of the Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital based on one of the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation hospitals. However, while there were improvements as most hospitals and clinics secured healthcare professionals, the facilities and medical equipment were still insufficient. Reconstruction still had a way to go.

II Trends in Healthcare and Medical Care in Hiroshima after the War

1 Characteristics of Hiroshima City Seen from the Causes of Death

According to the trends in rankings for causes of death in Hiroshima City between 1951 and 1975 as shown in Table 7-3, in 1951 the number one cause of death was tuberculosis (in all forms), as it had been in preceding years. However, from 1952 the number one cause of death was malignant neoplasm, and from 1960 vascular injury to the central nervous system. The other causes among the top five include accidents, heart disease and senility.

When compared to the national average in Table 7-4, what stands out in Hiroshima City is that the number of patients who died of the top five causes per 100,000 people was fewer, however deaths from malignant neoplasms and accidents ranked high. For malignant neoplasms especially, which reached the second leading cause nationwide for the first time in 1955, it was the number one cause from 1952 to 1959 in Hiroshima City, with a consistent rise in the mortality rate. Furthermore, it should be noted that the mortality rate of the malignant neoplasm in Hiroshima City was much higher than that of the whole country. For example, in 1955, while it was 87 nationwide, it was 103 in Hiroshima.

Looking at the demographic statistics in Hiroshima City compared to those of Japan, the low birthrate and high stillbirth rate were conspicuous. The mortality rate, infant mortality rate, and newborn mortality rate were all lower than the national average.[25)]

Table 7-3 Trends in cause of death rankings (Hiroshima City)

Year	#1		#2		#3		#4		#5	
	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate
1951	Total tuberculosis	111.8	Accident	88.7	Malignant neoplasm	85.0	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	78.6	Senility	51.1
1952	Malignant neoplasm	90.6	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	84.5	Total tuberculosis	77.7	Accident	65.5	Senility	44.5
1953	Malignant neoplasm	90.9	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	79.3	Accident	75.4	Total tuberculosis	66.9	Senility	49.2

1954	Malignant neoplasm	109.2	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	81.1	Total tuberculosis	60.4	Senility	52.7	Heart disease	45.3
1955	Malignant neoplasm	103.3	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	85.9	Total tuberculosis	55.4	Senility	51.8	Heart disease	47.9
1956	Malignant neoplasm	114.7	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	91.8	Senility	58.8	Heart disease	51.3	Accident	40.1
1957	Malignant neoplasm	118.6	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	90.1	Heart disease	66.0	Senility	62.9	Accident	51.4
1958	Malignant neoplasm	132.5	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	100.6	Heart disease	60.6	Senility	49.3	Accident	43.3
1959	Malignant neoplasm	133.3	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	115.1	Heart disease	51.4	Accident	48.8	Senility	39.1
1960	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	101.9	Malignant neoplasm	90.1	Heart disease	48.2	Accident	43.1	Total tuberculosis	34.6
1961	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	99.6	Malignant neoplasm	92.7	Accident	46.6	Heart disease	42.1	Senility	39.4
1962	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	102.8	Malignant neoplasm	90.4	Accident	40.5	Heart disease	38.5	Senility	32.5
1963	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	100.3	Malignant neoplasm	88.5	Heart disease	46.8	Accident	35.2	Senility	34.8
1964	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	102.4	Malignant neoplasm	86.5	Accident	42.4	Heart disease	40.6	Senility	28.8
1965	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	102.5	Malignant neoplasm	87.3	Heart disease	50.2	Accident	42.2	Senility	26.6
1966	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	100.6	Malignant neoplasm	100.2	Heart disease	43.6	Accident	43.4	Pneumonia and bronchitis	20.6
1967	Malignant neoplasm	94.7	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	89.9	Heart disease	47.6	Accident	38.6	Pneumonia and bronchitis	23.2
1968	Malignant neoplasm	98.0	Cerebrovascular disease	93.0	Heart disease	58.1	Accident	34.4	Pneumonia and bronchitis	23.0
1969	Cerebrovascular disease	102.4	Malignant neoplasm	98.2	Heart disease	66.0	Accident	39.1	Pneumonia and bronchitis	25.1
1970	Cerebrovascular disease	104.2	Malignant neoplasm	100.7	Heart disease	64.4	Accident	38.6	Pneumonia and bronchitis	26.0
1971	Malignant neoplasm	100.6	Cerebrovascular disease	98.0	Heart disease	57.6	Accident	30.5	Pneumonia and bronchitis	19.9
1972	Malignant neoplasm	98.8	Cerebrovascular disease	89.5	Heart disease	52.8	Accident	31.4	Pneumonia and bronchitis	19.7
1973	Malignant neoplasm	104.1	Cerebrovascular disease	101.2	Heart disease	68.2	Accident	32.4	Pneumonia and bronchitis	23.0
1974	Malignant neoplasm	108.1	Cerebrovascular disease	104.6	Heart disease	67.8	Accident	29.7	Pneumonia and bronchitis	27.8
1975	Malignant neoplasm	115.5	Cerebrovascular disease	107.6	Heart disease	65.4	Accident	30.4	Pneumonia and bronchitis	28.5

Source: Public Health Bureau, City of Hiroshima. *Hoken Eisei Yoran,* 1965 (Public Health Handbook 1965 edition). 1965: p. 54.
Public Health Bureau, City of Hiroshima. *Hoken Eisei Yoran,* 1976 (Public Health Handbook 1976 edition). 1976: p. 107.

Note: The mortality rate is per 100,000 people.

Table 7-4 Trends in cause of death rankings (Japan)

Year	#1		#2		#3		#4		#5	
	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate	Cause of death	Mortality rate
1947	Total tuberculosis	187.2	Pneumonia and bronchitis	174.8	Gastritis, duodenitis, enteritis, and colitis	136.8	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	129.4	Senility	100.3
1950	Total tuberculosis	146.4	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	127.1	Pneumonia and bronchitis	93.2	Gastritis, duodenitis, enteritis, and colitis	82.4	Malignant neoplasm	77.4
1955	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	136.1	Malignant neoplasm	87.1	Senility	67.1	Heart disease	60.9	Total tuberculosis	52.3
1956	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	148.4	Malignant neoplasm	90.7	Senility	75.8	Heart disease	66.0	Total tuberculosis	48.6
1957	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	151.7	Malignant neoplasm	91.3	Senility	80.5	Heart disease	73.1	Pneumonia and bronchitis	59.2
1958	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	148.6	Malignant neoplasm	95.5	Heart disease	64.8	Senility	55.5	Pneumonia and bronchitis	47.6
1959	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	153.7	Malignant neoplasm	98.2	Heart disease	67.7	Senility	56.7	Pneumonia and bronchitis	45.2
1960	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	160.7	Malignant neoplasm	100.4	Heart disease	73.2	Senility	58.0	Pneumonia and bronchitis	49.3
1961	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	165.4	Malignant neoplasm	102.3	Heart disease	72.1	Senility	58.2	Accident	44.1
1962	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	169.4	Malignant neoplasm	103.2	Heart disease	76.2	Senility	57.5	Pneumonia and bronchitis	45.0
1963	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	171.1	Malignant neoplasm	105.3	Heart disease	69.7	Senility	50.4	Accident	40.9
1964	Blood vessel damage in the central nervous system	171.4	Malignant neoplasm	107.2	Heart disease	69.5	Senility	48.4	Accident	41.3

Source: Public Health Bureau, City of Hiroshima, *Hoken Eisei Yoran,* 1965 (Public Health Handbook 1965 edition) . 1965: p. 55.
Note: The mortality rate is per 100,000 people.

2 Trends in Medical Institutions

In categorizing medical institutions by management style, in late 1940s and early 1950s in Hiroshima Prefecture, the number of hospitals increased 20% (91 to 106) and that of clinics 10% (1,406 to 1,535) from 1948 to 1953; and the number of hospital beds increased 50% from 1950 to 1953 (4,501 to 6,718).[26)] Meanwhile, the number of hospitals in Hiroshima City increased 20% (43 to 51) from 1951 to 1955, the number of general clinics 30% (232 to 307), the number of dental clinics 10% (from 151 to 164), and the number of hospital beds 40% (from 2,176 to 3,135).[27)] Looking at this, we see that the growth rate in the number of clinics in Hiroshima City was bigger than that of the entire Hiroshima Prefecture.

Next, with regard to the medical institutions in Hiroshima Prefecture from 1956 to 1975, the number of hospitals increased 50% (168 to 246), general clinics 40% (1,397 to 2,011), dental clinics 20% (671 to 781), namely, all increased. When divided by decades, the number of hospitals increased 40% from 1956 to 1965 and leveled out from 1966 to 1975; the number of general clinics increased 30% during the first decade and 10% during the latter;

and the number of dental clinics increased 10% in both decades. [28)]

While Hiroshima Prefecture showed these changes in its medical institutions, Hiroshima City showed a 50% increase in hospitals from 1956 to 1975 (55 to 82), a 120% increase in general clinics (336 to 741), and an 80% increase in dental clinics (164 to 296). When looking at decadal trends, the number of hospitals increased 30% from 1956 to 1965 and 10% from 1966 and 1975; general clinics increased 40% and 50%, and dental clinics increased 20% and 40%, respectively.[29)] When compared with Hiroshima Prefecture overall, there were no differences found in the growth rate of hospitals, but Hiroshima City had higher growth rates in general clinics and dental clinics.

With regard to the number of beds in Hiroshima Prefecture (using the same material as the number of medical institutions), the number of beds in hospitals increased 110% from 1956 to 1975 (13,278 to 27,655) and 180% in general clinics (2,366 to 6,656). Both medical institutions showed a marked increase, but the increase was higher in clinics. When looking at trends by decade, the increase in number of beds at hospitals was 60% from 1956 to 1965 and 20% from 1966 to 1975. While the increase in the number of beds was higher in the first decade for hospitals, for general clinics the increase was 60% and 80% respectively, showing it was higher in the second decade.

Using the same methods when looking at the number of beds in medical institutions in Hiroshima City, we see a 180% increase, from 3,337 to 9,202 beds, over 20 years. They increased 80% from 1956 to 1965, and 30% from 1967 to 1975. Looking at this, the growth rate of added beds is significantly higher in Hiroshima City than in Hiroshima Prefecture, which shows that the hospitals in Hiroshima City were getting bigger. As explained above, the growth rate in the number of clinics in Hiroshima City exceeded that of hospitals. Therefore, it is probable that the growth rate of beds in clinics also exceeded that of the hospital in the city and that of all medical institutions in the prefecture as well. However, we were actually unable to get any material that could confirm this.

Finally, with regard to the number of healthcare professionals in Hiroshima City, during the 25 years from 1951 to 1975, the number of physicians increased 230% (495 to 1,626), dentists 190% (173 to 498), and pharmacists 210% (277 to 861). This indicates that the increase rate of healthcare professionals is somewhat higher than that of beds, which shows efforts were made to increase the quality of medical care. [30)]

III Trends in Public Medical Institutions

1 Public Hospitals in the Early 1950s

There were many public hospitals (74) in Hiroshima Prefecture from 1950 to 1954 without counting the hospitals seized by the occupation forces.[31)] There were many hospitals despite continued economic hardships because the government responded to the prefectural residents' request for hospitals and diverted military hospitals and the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation hospitals to national hospitals, the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical College Hospital and other prefectural hospitals. Hospitals were also established by local governments and health insurance associations to effectively implement medical insurance, by agricultural cooperatives to provide better medical services for agricultural communities, and by corporations to maintain the health of their employees. While many of these hospitals were established in Hiroshima City and other war-damaged cities, hospitals were established to cover rural communities as well.

What requires special mention for medical institutions that opened in Hiroshima City in the early 1950s is the Social Insurance Hiroshima Citizens Hospital. Since before the war, opening a city hospital was a long-standing issue for the City of Hiroshima; but with the city reduced to ashes from the atomic bomb it was difficult to realize this dream over the years. The City Council's Health and Welfare Committee, which met on November 22, 1948, requested the city authorities, specifically the Public Health Division, to conduct research and surveys to develop a plan for opening a city hospital.[32] This rekindled action for opening a "City Hospital." By 1949, however, economic difficulties had intensified, and it became difficult for bonds to be issued to establish a City Hospital. No further concrete action was taken.[33]

Hiroshima Prefecture, aware of the difficult medical situation in the City, submitted an application to the national government to bring a "social insurance hospital" to Hiroshima City. The Ministry of Health and Welfare was building social insurance hospitals to provide examinations to persons insured under the government health insurance. The City of Hiroshima was asked by the Ministry of Health and Welfare to submit information on establishing a social insurance hospital. The City proposed reorganization of the Hiroshima Municipal Funairi Hospital. As requested by the ministry, Hiroshima Prefecture presented the city with four conditions on March 25, 1950, including 1) the site should be in the center of the City, with convenient transportation access, and be 2,000 to 3,000 *tsubo* (6,612 to 9,918 square meters), and that 2) the cost for establishing it (including for medical equipment) should total 20 million yen.[34]

When the City of Hiroshima learned of these conditions, it strengthened its intention to open a social insurance hospital. It soon selected four candidate sites: 1) the Funairi Hospital site, 2) Moto-machi (green area, the current site of the hospital), 3) Moto-machi (green area, municipal housing, etc.), and 4) the planned site for building Otemachi Elementary School. The areas were inspected on August 15, 1949 by Iwao Yasuda, a Hiroshima native and head of the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Health Insurance Bureau, and he concluded that the second site, which would later be the hospital site, was the most suitable. However, the site was slated to be a soccer field for the sixth National Athletic Meet, scheduled to be held mainly in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1951. Opposition was strong, with people saying that they had conducted a careful investigation and had finally settled on Moto-machi for the soccer field, and that this was an auxiliary condition for attracting the national athletic meet.[35] However, due to its ease of transportation access, the Moto-machi site was the irreplaceable, "absolutely ideal site."[36] On October 17 the City of Hiroshima told the Ministry of Health and Welfare that they had decided on site No. 2.

The difficult problem of selecting the location was resolved, and plans for the social insurance hospital progressed. On January 21, 1951, the memorandum on the establishment of a social insurance hospital was exchanged between the City and the Ministry of Health and Welfare.[37] According to this memorandum, the City of Hiroshima would be responsible for securing 4,000 *tsubo* (13,233 square meters) of land for the site of the hospital, at Moto-machi 1-banchi; the Ministry of Health and Welfare would bear the construction costs up to the limit of 30 million yen in fiscal year 1951; and the Mayor of Hiroshima would be entirely responsible for the hospital's management.

On April 18, 1951, construction started on the entrance, examination, and administration wings and was complete on June 30, 1952. After just two months of preparation, the Social Insurance Hiroshima Citizens Hospital was opened on August 11. The hospital started small, with four departments, 89 beds, and 59 employees, but it gradually expanded its facilities and scale. It has become one of Hiroshima's iconic medical institutions.

2 Public Hospitals from 1955 to 1964

From 1955 to 1964 there were 85 public hospitals in Hiroshima Prefecture,[38] which means that only 11 were added compared to the early 1950s. This was because the massive reformation of the medical system after the war was mostly settled. However, although the number was small, national health insurance hospitals established by towns and villages, hospitals run by agricultural cooperatives and by mutual aid associations, and company hospitals continued to be opened. New kinds of hospitals also appeared with rapid economic growth, such as the Chugoku Rosai Hospital (run by the Labour Welfare Corporation), the Fukushima Hospital (run by a consumer cooperative), and the Kure City Medical Association Hospital (run by a medical association). As the increase in the number of hospitals leveled off, the number of beds of the hospitals in urban areas increased.

Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine was moved to Hiroshima City on October 1, 1957, with the closure of the National Sanatorium Hiroshima Hospital on September 30, 1956 and opening of the National Kure Hospital on October 1. These were major changes that would lead to "the establishment of a new medical structure" in Hiroshima Prefecture.[39] The prime mover behind this was the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical School, the predecessor of Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine. Prefectural residents had hoped for a medical school to be opened for many years, and it was finally approved on February 13, 1945. The opening ceremony for the school was held on August 5, and it was evacuated on the same day to Korinbo Temple in Odamura in Takata-gun. So, the majority of the teachers and students escaped the calamity of the atomic bomb on August 6. An entrance ceremony was held on August 8, and classes began. However, the Minami-machi Campus (the former site of the Hiroshima Prefecture Normal School) and the adjunct hospital in Kako-machi (the former Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital's facilities which had been transferred to the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical School on April 1, 1945) were burned down from the bomb. There was no place for the school to return to in the city.

For this reason the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical School was transferred to the site of the former location of the Yasuura Naval Training Corps in Yasuura-cho, Kamo-gun on December 6, 1945, where classes were resumed. There were few facilities for medical education, and Hiroshima Prefecture considered that it would be difficult for the school to be upgraded to a medical college in that situation and that the school could not continue. So, the prefectural government asked Kure City (where the former Navy hospital facilities remained) for cooperation. As the City of Kure, which had hosted the Navy and had lost sight of the its reason for being after the defeat in the war, attempted to convert its former naval facilities into facilities for peaceful uses, the city immediately promised to collaborate.[40] Preparations were made to establish a campus and an adjunct hospital. On March 10, 1948, the establishment of the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical College was approved, and the college opened in Kure City on April 1, 1948.

The Hiroshima Prefectural Medical College, which had secured a location in Kure City, further developed its facilities and expanded its organization. Then, when Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine was established, the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical College started a gradual process to merge with Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine on August 1, 1953. In this situation, the opinion that relocation of the campus to Hiroshima City was necessary for further development grew stronger. To this, Kure City asked relevant parties to keep the faculty in Kure and expand and strengthen it, as Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine was now "a symbol of Kure, a cultural city."[41]

Eventually, it was decided that a national hospital would be invited to Kure City, and the university's adjunct hospital in Hiro-machi would remain as a branch hospital of the

university. The National Sanatorium Hiroshima Hospital was closed on September 30, 1956, and its staff and patients were transferred to the facilities of the former Kure Naval Hospital, which had been returned to Japan in June of that year by the British Commonwealth Forces Korea. In this way, the new National Kure Hospital was opened. The Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine and its adjunct hospital were transferred to Kasumi-cho, Hiroshima City on September 30, 1957. This move shifted the center of medicine in Hiroshima Prefecture from Kure City to Hiroshima City.

3 Public Hospitals from 1965 to 1974

There were 75 public hospitals in Hiroshima Prefecture from 1965 to 1974, nine less than the preceding decade.[42)] While the overall number of medical institutions was increasing, along with the expansion of private hospitals, the number of public hospitals declined due to the closing of prefectural hospitals that specialized in tuberculosis, those run by towns and villages in rural areas, and national insurance hospitals.

While there was a decline in the number of medical institutions in this decade, the Asa Health and Welfare Co-operative Asa Seikyo Hospital opened in 1971 in Asa-gun, a suburb of Hiroshima City, which had an increasing population. This trend of concentration of medical institutions in cities and suburbs where population was increasing became more noticeable in Hiroshima after 1975. The majority of public hospitals in Hiroshima City and other urban areas added more beds to their facilities and grew larger, although the number of medical institutions did not change. As for private medical institutions, the trend of concentration in cities and suburbs was even more conspicuous. This resulted in more villages in underpopulated areas without doctors.

IV Actual Conditions and Development of Medical Care for A-bomb Survivors

1 Relief Work Directly after the Atomic Bombing

Hiroshima's air defense was inadequate, causing many casualties from the atomic bombing. Without regard for their own injuries, the healthcare professionals who narrowly escaped death treated people in bombed medical facilities and relief stations built in schools, temples, bridges, roads, and parks. Medical personnel in Hiroshima Prefecture and those from other prefectures also provided support. There was international aid as well: Dr. Marcel Junod, who had come to Japan on August 9, 1945 as the new head of the International Committee of the Red Cross' delegation to Japan, worked to provide medical supplies and conducted relief activities for four days. According to the survey conducted by Hiroshima Prefecture there were 53 relief stations. It is also reported that members of the Hiroshima Branch of the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical Association were engaged in relief activities at 102 relief stations.

At the time, Hiroshima City was home to the Hiroshima First and Second Army Hospitals, the Hiroshima Army Kyosai Hospital, the Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital, the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital, the Hiroshima Communications Hospital, the Hiroshima Railway Hospital, the hospital at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, and others. Of these, the First

and Second Army Hospitals and the Hiroshima Prefectural Hospital were totally burned down, while other hospitals served as relief stations for A-bomb survivors, despite suffering major damage.

The Red Cross Hospital was located at Senda-machi 1-chome, 1.6 kilometers from the hypocenter. Its No. 1 and No. 2 buildings (built of reinforced concrete) suffered major damage, while the wooden buildings including the south ward, the isolation ward and the dormitory were all lost in the fires that followed. Among the inpatients related to the military, five died and 105 injured, and of hospital staff members and students (including Ken Takeuchi, the hospital director) 51 died and 250 injured. In this situation, the hospital worked feverishly to provide aid. Ms. Kubo (nee Yamane), acting head nurse working in the surgery ward, provides testimony of the confusion prevailing at the time. "We finally got some precious oil that had been kept aside. We tore absorbent cotton wads into large pieces, soaked them in the oil and wiped the faces, backs, hands, and feet of our patients, one after another, using both of our hands, despite the fact that there may have been sand or glass shards stuck in their bodies. Whether it was clean or not, we used peanut oil added from the pharmacy as well, but this also ran out quickly, like sprinkling water on parched soil. Of course, we had absolutely no gauze or bandages."[43)]

Relief stations closed on October 5, 1945, as it was stipulated that relief work in war-related disasters were only to operate for 60 days. According to the survey done by Hiroshima Prefecture, 315,910 A-bomb survivors had been given some form of help at these relief stations.[44)] On October 5, there were still 479 inpatients and 1,248 outpatients receiving treatment at the relief stations. It was obvious that further measures were needed. So Hiroshima Prefecture discussed the situation with the Japan Medical Treatment Corporation and then opened Misasa Hospital, Kusatsu Hospital, Eba Hospital, Niho Hospital, Yaga Hospital, and Fukushima Clinic as the "Japan Medical Treatment Corporation Hospitals" to treat A-bomb survivors and the general public. Because of inadequate facilities, requests to return classrooms that had been borrowed to schools, and decreasing numbers of A-bomb patients, these hospitals would close one after another.

2 The Study of the Aftereffects of the Atomic Bomb by General Practitioners & the Establishment of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Council

(1) Hiroshima Physicians Working on the Medical Care of A-bomb Survivors

In the late 1940s (before the medical care for the survivors came to be systematically carried out) physicians in Hiroshima were already working to provide medical care for A-bomb survivors and to conduct research on their health conditions. Specifically, the *Doyokai* was established by eight physicians from varying specialized fields at the end of 1948: Akira Masaoka (obstetrics and gynecology) and Tomin Harada (surgery) as the primary doctors, along with Jun Makidono (Radiology), Gensaku Oho, Muneyuki Mizuno and Kiyoshi Takada (internal medicine), Hideo Goto (ophthalmology), and Ken Takeuchi (surgery). Once a month they gathered at a member's house and continued their research.[45)] Providing medical treatment for A-bomb survivors naturally became a common research subject, as the group continued to meet. They studied whether the survivors' immune systems were weaker, whether they were more susceptible to anemia and other illnesses, whether they had shorter lifespans, and other questions. Using his own funds, Oho investigated the causes of death of A-bomb victims; and in 1951 at the *Doyokai*, he made a presentation of his findings on the significant increase in cancer incidence among A-bomb survivors. He

continued his research, which he presented at the third meeting of the Hiroshima Nagasaki Subcommittee of the Liaison Council for Research Study on Countermeasures for Atomic Bomb Damage, held in Hiroshima City on July 12, 1955, and at other places. His research created a major sensation.

(2) Establishment of the Hiroshima City Atomic Bomb Survivors' Treatment Council & the Treatment of A-bomb survivors

Coverage of issues related to the atomic bombings, which had been suppressed under the "press code," began when Japan regained its independence in 1952. There was news on young female A-bomb survivors, called "Hiroshima Maidens," receiving treatment in Tokyo, Osaka, and the United States. Following this, physicians in Hiroshima made efforts to provide free treatment for A-bomb survivors, saying that "treatment should be available in Hiroshima, conducted by local doctors."[46] The City of Hiroshima learned of this, and with the help of the Hiroshima City Medical Association, decided to implement treatment for A-bomb survivors. In this way, the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Survivors' Treatment Council (ABSTC, today's Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Casualty Council) was established on January 13, 1953 and began treating A-bomb survivors for free.[47]

3 Legislating Medical Treatment for A-bomb Survivors

(1) Enacting the A-bomb Survivors Medical Care Law and its Problems

On March 1, 1954, more than a year after the ABSTC began treating A-bomb survivors, the Daigo Fukuryu Maru (Lucky Dragon No. 5), a Japanese fishing boat, encountered nuclear fallout ("the ashes of death") from a hydrogen-bomb test conducted by the United States at Bikini Atoll. Twenty three crew members in the boat were exposed to radiation. When the ABSTC and the Hiroshima City Council learned that the national government was going to provide the crew members compensation and treatment at national expense, they began action to petition the national government to cover all A-bomb survivors' medical treatment expenses and to assist with their livelihoods.[48]

Thanks to this action, medical expenses for A-bomb survivors were to be covered by the national budget from fiscal 1954 to 1956—although this was not sufficient. Then in 1956, the A-bomb Survivors Medical Care Law passed the Diet. It was promulgated on March 31 and implemented on April 1.

With this law, A-bomb survivors obtained an Atomic Bomb Survivor's Certificate, which enabled them to receive medical examinations and treatment on national funds. However, this law did not provide medical allowances or other livelihood support. The law also limited the scope of medical treatment expenses covered by the government. As the law was inadequate in many ways, it was amended on August 1, 1960 and a new special A-bomb survivors system was established. Under this system, medical expenses for certified survivors were covered by the government, including for A-bomb diseases and for other diseases. In addition, medical allowances were provided to those who were certified by the Minister of Health and Welfare that they needed medical treatment for A-bomb diseases.

(2) Concerning the Enactment of the A-bomb Survivors Special Measures Law

The A-bomb Survivors Medical Care Law made medical examinations and treatments payable by national funds, which was a major step forward for the treatment of A-bomb survivors. However, even with the creation of the special A-bomb survivors system and the expansion of the applicable scope, there were patients left outside this system. This

raised the question of the grounds on which the survivors were certified to be eligible to these benefits. And even though medical allowances were paid and the amount was increased twice, it was not enough to support the survivors' livelihoods if they lacked other sources of income. The biggest problem was that the livelihood support that had been requested from the beginning did not see any progress.

People continued tenacious negotiations to overcome these problems. In 1968 the A-bomb Survivors Special Measures Law was promulgated on May 20 and enacted on September 1. This act provided survivors with medical allowances as well as a new special allowances, health management allowances, and nursing allowances. While it was still not enough, it was another step forward for medical care and welfare for A-bomb survivors. However, there were still limitations on the scope of eligibility of this law in terms of diseases, age, income, and other factors.[49)]

4 Medical Care of A-bomb Survivors & Research Institutions

(1) Opening of the Hiroshima Atomic-bomb Hospital and its Activities

The ABSTC, which was providing free medical treatment for A-bomb survivors, urged the Ministry of Health and Welfare to establish a hospital specialized in treatment of A-bomb survivors at the Hiroshima Citizens Hospital. Around the same time, the Japanese Red Cross Society, which was planning to establish hospitals specialized in treatment of A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, asked the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications to allocate 30 million yen in donations from New Year's lottery postcards. The relevant people met on January 15, 1955 to hold discussions and coordinate the opinions of the two parties. Those representing the Japanese Red Cross Society proposed 1) that the hospital be managed by the Red Cross, and 2) administered by the City and the ABSTC; and that 3) the facility be built inside the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital. The ABSTC replied that they would further study proposals 1 and 2 in Hiroshima, while they urged the Red Cross to reconsider proposal 3.[50)]

Discussions were mediated by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and on February 5, 1955 the Ministry proposed a mediation plan: the facility be built on the premises of the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital but be structurally separate from the hospital; the building be maintained and managed by the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital; a steering committee (provisional name) be established, and the hospital be administered based on the committee's decisions; and the hospital for A-bomb survivors introduce an open system to allow all physicians to freely use the A-bomb disease hospital facilities.[51)] This was agreed on by all parties.

Construction began on January 15, 1956, costing 69.97 million yen (plus 3.4 million yen in medical equipment expenses), and completed on September 11. It was a three-story (120 beds) reinforced concrete hospital. Meanwhile, the first meeting of the Steering Committee was held on August 23 with 17 members to decide various matters including the name of the hospital (Hiroshima Atomic-bomb Hospital). Thus the hospital opened on September 20. The facilities were improved over the years, and from its opening through fiscal 1975 it admitted 5,681 inpatients (actual number).

(2) Opening of the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Survivors Welfare Center

While it was evident that healthcare facilities and livelihood support facilities for A-bomb survivors were needed to improve medical care for A-bomb survivors, as mentioned earlier, the A-bomb Survivors Medical Care Law did not provide these measures. The

Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Casualty Council (former ABSTC) submitted a petition in September 1958 on the method of allocating the donations from New Year postcards when it learned that donations of New Year's lottery postcards could be allocated to organizations that provided treatment and support to A-bomb survivors. This resulted in the allocation of 17.3 million yen in fiscal year 1958 and 35 million yen in fiscal 1959, and with this, a three-story reinforced concrete Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Survivors Welfare Center opened on July 1, 1961 on the north side of the Hiroshima City Hall at a cost of 55.84 million yen.

The basic policies of the Welfare Center developed by the Council were that the center would be a comprehensive welfare facility providing health guidance, livelihood consultation, and vocational training. However, as allocated funds shrank, the concept had to be reconsidered. Respecting the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications' opinion, the Council's secretariat offered a proposal focusing on vocational training since the Atomic-bomb Survivors Hospital had been already established for survivors' healthcare. The directors representing physicians persuaded the secretariat by advocating the importance of medical examinations, which was an important part of the A-bomb Survivors Medical Care Law, and it was decided that the focus of the Center would be on health guidance. In this way, a clinical laboratory was established at the Center and run by the Hiroshima City Medical Association. This Center has played a key role to conduct medical checkups for A-bomb survivors.[52)]

(3) Surveys and Research on the Aftereffects of the Atomic Bomb

Based on the order given by the U.S. President to the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council, the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) was established to study the medical and biological effects of the radiation on A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The ABCC started its activities in Hiroshima in March 1947. Later it was decided that the research would be continued based on equal cooperative relations between Japan and the United States, and the ABCC was reorganized as the Radiation Effects Research Foundation (RERF) in April 1975. The Atomic Bomb Casualty Research Meeting was founded to establish measures for diagnosis and treatment of various ailments caused by the atomic bombs. The first meeting was held on June 13, 1959 and has been periodically held to this day.

The Hiroshima Prefectural Medical College was involved in research on A-bomb survivors from early on. It established a radioisotope committee in 1952. This policy was succeeded by the Hiroshima University's Faculty of Medicine, which established the Institute for Nuclear Radiation Research on April 1, 1958. On April 1, 1961 the Research Institute for Nuclear Medicine and Biology (today's Research Institute for Radiation Biology and Medicine) opened with four divisions: Basic Research on Radiation Damage; Pathology and Oncology; Epidemiology and Social Medicine; and the First Clinical Department (internal medicine). The Research Institute has expanded its organization and assumed a role as a comprehensive research institute on the medical care of A-bomb survivors.[53)]

5 Internationalization of the Medical Care for A-bomb Survivors

While there were many Korean A-bomb survivors, for many years, there were no measures to support them after they returned to Korea. Korean A-bomb survivors formed the Association for the Relief of Korean Atomic Bomb Victims in 1967, and on August 10, 1970 Shin Youngsoo, president of the association, came to Japan to seek support. In response, a Japan-Korea joint council was established to provide relief for Korean A-bomb survivors in

October 1971. Around the time Korean A-bomb survivors began to be invited to receive treatment in Japan, and a delegation of four physicians was sent to South Korea to conduct medical examinations. In December 1973 the Hapcheon A-bomb Survivors Welfare Center was opened in Gyeongsangnam-do to treat A-bomb survivors in Korea.

Following this development, medical examinations started for A-bomb survivors in other countries as well, and from March to April 1977, the first delegation of physicians was dispatched to conduct medical examinations on A-bomb survivors living in the United States. Although it has a slightly different purpose, the Hiroshima International Council for the Health Care of the Radiation-exposed (HICARE) was established in 1991 to make use of the expertise that Hiroshima had accumulated through treating A-bomb survivors. It has conducted a wide variety of activities, such as accepting trainees, including those involved in treating radiation victims of the Chernobyl disaster. While not directly related to medical treatment of radiation victims or A-bomb survivors, the First World Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) was held in March 1981. The Japanese Affiliate of IPPNW was established in the same year, and the Hiroshima chapter was established in 1982. IPPNW's World Congress took place in Hiroshima in 1989 and in 2012. In this way, the physicians in Japan, which suffered from the atomic bombings, have continued calling for prevention of nuclear war.

Hiroshima lost many medical institutions and healthcare professionals from the atomic bombing, but the physicians of Hiroshima rose up, even though they were also A-bomb survivors, and promoted medical care for A-bomb survivors with the support of people from all around the world. Today they contribute to the medical care for radiation victims around the world.

(Takeshi Chida)

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Column

The Physicians' Struggle—Confronting Unprecedented Tragedy

Introduction

"The 'pika-don' bomb that dropped on Hiroshima is strange. People who are fine suddenly drop dead. I wonder why…"[1] Keiji Nakazawa, a manga artist, portrayed this as one of his earliest memories of the hypocenter in his autobiographical work *Barefoot Gen*. There were enormous numbers of dead people, people with near-fatal injuries, and people who looked healthy at first glance but then lost their hair, developed red blotches on their faces and bodies, coughed up blood, and suddenly died. The sight that Gen and others saw was what many people who witnessed the bombing saw. These unprecedented abnormal situations also gave a profound shock to the physicians providing treatment.

1 War and Physicians

In November 1944, toward the end of the Pacific War, building demolitions started in Hiroshima City to create firebreaks in preparation for American air raids. Residents also started evacuating from the city. This raised concerns in the prefectural government that relief measures during air raids would be compromised, so the Air Defense Work Order was issued, preventing physicians from evacuating from the city. Thus, just before the bomb dropped, there were 298 physicians still in Hiroshima City.[2]

2 Physicians' Experience Being A-bombed

Michihiko Hachiya, director of the Hiroshima Communications Hospital, was injured from the atomic bomb while at home in Hakushima and received stitches at his hospital. On the following day, August 7, 1945, one of his subordinates came from Hatsukaichi (located west of Hiroshima City) to visit him in the hospital and told him of the tragedy in the city. "In the south, everything has burned down up to the Takanobashi area, and a few houses around the Red Cross Hospital remain unburned. The Red Cross Hospital wasn't burned, and the Ujina area escaped the fire. I visited the Red Cross Hospital. It was flooded with patients both inside and outside the hospital buildings. Dead bodies lined the roadsides along the streetcar track in front of the hospital, all the way from that area to the Miyuki Bridge. Charred bodies were crouched in the streetcars around Kawaya-cho and Kamiya-cho. There were many charred bodies in that area. There was still smoke coming from building windows, and there are charred bodies in all directions. It's horrible; water tanks are filled with dead people. They probably failed to escape."[3]

His story was even more gruesome than Hachiya had imagined. Like Hachiya, many physicians in Hiroshima suffered from the bomb. Of the 298 physicians in the city at the time, 60 died and 90% were affected.[4] Of the physicians who provided relief for the injured, there were only 28 physicians who were uninjured. Dentists, pharmacists, and nurses also suffered as well. The healthcare professionals who were to be in charge of providing treatment for the injured and sick suffered catastrophic damages.

3 Confronting "A-bomb Diseases"

There was a plan during the war to create first-aid stations at elementary schools in case of air raids, but many schools in the city were badly damaged. In this situation, the Public Health Division of the Hiroshima Prefectural Government designated the areas where many critically ill patients had gathered as temporary relief stations and dispatched relief staff and medicine. Fifty three of these relief stations were hurriedly set up directly after the

bombing. Rescue teams came to help, not only from rural districts in the prefecture but also from the neighboring prefectures such as Yamaguchi and Shimane, and all the way from Hyogo, Osaka and other prefectures, and provided aid for the injured.[5)]

The majority of the private medical practitioners in the city were seriously affected, so the injured flooded major hospitals such as the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital and the Hiroshima Communications Hospital.[6)] The injured physicians fulfilled their duties and treated their patients. In the confusion following the bombing there was a serious shortage of medicine. At first, applying Mercurochrome or oil was the only treatment they could give to burned and injured people. It was impossible to provide any appropriate care.[7)]

Meanwhile, seemingly healthy persons with no injuries were suddenly dying both inside and outside the hospitals, and soon a rumor spread in the city that one would die if they breathed in the gas in Hiroshima. Even physicians suspected that the American forces had dropped poison-gas bombs.[8)] Tsurayuki Asakawa, director of the Department of Internal Medicine at the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital, said that it was initially unknown why persons without injury were dying. Then, he was startled by blood tests showing a sharp drop in white blood cells. It was an acute radiation syndrome, or a so-called "A-bomb disease." Fumio Shigeto, deputy director at the same hospital (he had also suffered injuries to his head from the bomb at the east exit of Hiroshima Station), had studied radiology since his graduate school days and had treated leukemic patients, but even he could not immediately connect the symptoms of his patients to radiation.[9)] The physicians in Hiroshima were forced to treat "A-bomb diseases," which humanity had never experienced before. It was "a continual fight for the physicians, who had started late and always fell behind." [10)]

In Closing

Of the 2,370 healthcare professionals in Hiroshima City, 91% of them (2,168) were impacted by the bomb. Though they were also injured, they continued to offer treatment. In treating the wounded with limited medical supplies, they groped their way forward to deal with the "A-bomb diseases," symptoms that humanity had never known. The passionate efforts of the physicians in Hiroshima, who examined A-bomb survivors every day while continuing to patiently search for effective treatment methods, led to the establishment of the Atomic-bomb Survivors Hospital in September 1956, and promoted medical care for A-bomb survivors. Today, the Monument for the A-bomb Victims, also called "Hands in Prayer," erected in August 1960 by the Hiroshima City Medical Association for the physicians and medical professionals who died from the atomic bombing, stands on the Peace Boulevard in the center of the city. It continues to quietly tell the history of the hardship these physicians faced.

(Hitoshi Nagai)

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Chapter 8
Media and Reconstruction

Introduction

Hiroshima's ability to function as a city was destroyed by the atomic bombing. The media also suffered a catastrophic blow. Coverage of the damage from the bomb began amidst unprecedented confusion. However, this coverage was hampered by censorship and pressure from the General Headquarters of Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (GHQ). Survivors had lost their dearest family members and their livelihoods and were suffering the aftereffects of radiation. Still, they had to work to rebuild their lives. They continued to face unbearably difficult years.

This chapter will look at how the Chugoku Shimbun and other Japanese and foreign media covered the disaster wrought by the atomic bombing, and in what form the foundation was laid for the media coverage that has continued to this day. It will also study various materials on the media, children's essays and governments' documents to try to bring out the truth, interwoven with both light and shadow, of how people rebuilt their lives and how their lives changed over the years in the process of Hiroshima's reconstruction.

I The Chugoku Shimbun before the War and after the Atomic Bombing

As a local Hiroshima newspaper founded on May 5, 1892, the Chugoku Shimbun has played a major role in covering news of the atomic bombing and peace.[1)] It was originally issued daily as "The Chugoku," but when it reached its 5,000th issue in 1908, the newspaper changed its name to "The Chugoku Shimbun," which it has retained to this day.

Due to the reduction in paper rations for newsprint during the Second Sino-Japanese War, formerly 14 pages of the newspaper (including morning and evening editions) shifted to 12 pages (eight pages for the morning edition and four pages for the evening edition). Even afterwards, the number of pages continued to shrink. The evening edition of the Chugoku Shimbun was discontinued in March 1944 as newspapers across the country discontinued their evening papers. Starting in November of that year, the morning paper shrunk to two pages, or 14 pages a week.

With regard to the paper's circulation, in 1916 it was said to have been 40,000 copies (the actual number was about 35,000 copies), but it doubled to 107,000 copies by December 1941. With the war and its expanding theaters of operation, war correspondents and photographers were dispatched to war zones, and the Chugoku Shimbun aggressively covered the war. Through these efforts, the Chugoku Shimbun expanded its circulation and became an "area newspaper" for the wider area of the Chugoku District. The sales network included not only Hiroshima, in which the head office was located, but also Iwakuni and Yanai, which are within Hiroshima's economic sphere, and Tokuyama, Hofu and other areas in Yamaguchi Prefecture.

There were about 1,200 newspaper companies nationwide around 1936, but they were consolidated under the policy of the national government and the Ministry of Home Affairs that stipulated "one newspaper company per prefecture." By October 1942, they were

consolidated into 54 newspapers; and by April 1944, the Chugoku Shimbun was Hiroshima Prefecture's only newspaper. Its circulation reached 380,000, and its reporters gathered news and wrote articles under restrictions on the freedom of speech and pre-censorship during the war.

The atomic bomb dropped by the American bomber Enola Gay on August 6, 1945 exploded almost directory above the employees of the Chugoku Shimbun as well. More than 100 employees instantly lost their lives while on their way to work or in the head office building (900 meters from the hypocenter). The following is an account from an employee who was in the office building. "All the glass windows shattered as the bomb exploded, and the exterior tiles on the new building were ripped off and scattered in all directions. One employee was blown from the second floor by the bomb blast. It became momentarily pitch dark from the dust and flying debris. Soon it seemed that the chemicals in the storage on the fourth floor had caught fire, and burning debris falling down the walls lit up the area." [2)]

Many of the surviving employees had suffered various degrees of injuries. Directly after the bomb, the Chugoku Shimbun building was totally burned out, including the rotary presses and other facilities, leaving only the exterior walls. However, one rotary press and its associated equipment had been evacuated to Nukushina in the eastern part of the city. This press played an important role in restarting operations.

The Chugoku Shimbun and its employees suffered catastrophic damages, just like the citizens of Hiroshima. As this media organization based in an A-bombed city, the Chugoku Shimbun faced this great adversity and looked for ways to overcome its hardship.

(Seiichi Koike)

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II Coverage of the Atomic Bombing

1 The Lost Reports

When the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima City by the U.S. Forces on August 6, 1945, it caused catastrophic damage to people and buildings; and news organizations were no exception.[1)]

The Chugoku Shimbun had continued to issue the only newspaper in Hiroshima Prefecture.[2)] The head office of the company was located in Kaminagarekawa-cho (now Ebisu-cho, Naka-ku) some 900 meters east of the hypocenter. The three-storied main building (equipped with two rotary presses) and the seven-storied Chugoku Building to its west were completely incinerated. The Chugoku Shimbun lost 114 employees or one out of every three

employees of the head office.[3] Many of the surviving employees had also lost their families.

News of the A-bomb began to be reported from Hiroshima in the midst of unprecedented confusion. Reporters of various news organizations struggled hard to send out their first-hand reports of the destruction of Hiroshima, but they became "lost reports."

At 8:15 a.m., Satoshi Nakamura, chief editor of the Domei News Agency's Hiroshima branch, was in Itsukaichi-cho (now part of Saeki-ku), an area on the west side of the city where employees lived. He saw tornado-like black smoke rise up over the skies of Hiroshima City and went by his bicycle. Around 11:20 a.m., he transmitted the following from the Hiroshima Central Broadcasting Station's Hara Station in Gion-cho (now part of Asaminami-ku) to the north of the city.[4]

"Hiroshima has been completely destroyed by fire, with some 170,000 dead." The Domei's Hiroshima branch was located in the Chugoku Building, but in preparation for air raids the Hara Station had been designated as their evacuation point.[5] The broadcasting station in Kaminagarekawa-cho (now Nobori-cho, Naka-ku) near Shukkeien was burned to the ground; and the surviving staff members (including an engineer) made their way to the Hara Station on foot and by boat. There, they tried to call the Osaka Central Broadcasting Station using the Osaka business line (used between stations for the planning of broadcasts) .[6]

The transmission was transcribed by an employee at the Domei Okayama Branch at the Okayama Broadcasting Station, which took the call from Hara Station.[7] However, the Domei's head office in Tokyo did not immediately believe the massive scale of the damages and expressed doubts.

Yoshie Shigetomi, a reporter at the Mainichi Newspaper's Hiroshima Bureau, was at home in Tate-machi (now part of Naka-ku) when the bomb dropped; and he evacuated with his wife to Kabe-cho (now part of Asakita-ku), where he arrived around noon. He asked the head of the Kabe Police Station to use the police phone to send the following transmission: "The city has been completely annihilated; countless dead."[8] However, it did not reach the Mainichi's Osaka head office.[9]

Haruo Oshita, chief proofreader at the Chugoku Shimbun, finally made it to the head office little after 2 p.m. from his house in Itsukaichi-cho.[10] Soon, Shigetoshi Itokawa (manager of the research department) who was at home in Ushita-machi (now part of Higashi-ku) when the bomb was dropped, and others arrived. Itokawa said, "Let's ask another company to distribute our paper." He had already discussed the matter with President Jitsuichi Yamamoto, who had evacuated to Fuchu Town on the east side of Hiroshima City.

The Chugoku Shimbun's head office building after completely destroyed by the fire of the atomic bombing. Toshio Kawamoto, a Hiroshima Prefectural Police photographer, took this photo in the fall of 1945.
(Collection of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum)

Telephone and telegraph services were interrupted. So, they split up and headed out to the Second General Army Headquarters in Futaba-no-Sato (now part of Higashi-ku) and the Army Marine Headquarters in Ujina-machi (now part of Minami-ku). The radio message from the Marine Headquarters went to the Osaka and the Seibu (Western Japan) head offices of the Asahi Shimbun and the Mainichi Newspapers through the Government-General of the Kinki District and that of Kyushu.[11]

The message sent out via the Army's wireless system requesting that their paper be

printed by another newspaper company became the first report by the Chugoku Shimbun on the destruction of Hiroshima, delivered by reporters who walked through the town of corpses.

After the bombing, newspapers were once again delivered to Hiroshima starting on August 9.[12] That day's edition, entitled "Chugoku Shimbun" ran an article on air raids in Kitakyushu and Nagasaki as announced by the Western Military District on the top of the front page, along with other reports on the left-hand side of it, including the "war death" of Yi Wu, a member of the Korean Royal Family, announced August 8 by the Ministry of the Imperial Household; and an announcement from the Ministry of Home Affairs' Air Defense General Headquarters.[13] It called for reinforcement of air-raid shelters for an "attack with a new type of bomb."[14]

The national government and the military authorities hid the enormity of the damages from the atomic bombing and continued to tightly control the press in order to maintain morale among the people.

2 Covering the Disaster

Yoshito Matsushige, a photographer at the Chugoku Shimbun, was also a member of the news team of the Chugoku Military District Headquarters established on the grounds of Hiroshima Castle. He was on standby at the headquarters overnight because of the intermittent air-raid warnings, but as the standby was lifted, he returned to his home in Midori-machi (now Nishi Midori-machi, Minami-ku), where he was caught up in the bombing.

He was some 2.7 kilometers southeast of the hypocenter. The window frames of his house-cum-barbershop were blown out, but both he and his camera, a Mamiya 6 fastened to his waist by a leather band, were unharmed.

Just after 11 a.m., he took his first photo, of the men and women, young and old, who "seemed not of this world" at the Miyuki Bridge, some 2.2 kilometers from the hypocenter. He got closer to take his second shot, with "his viewfinder clouded with tears." As he headed for the head office in Kaminagarekawa-cho, he caught sight of a person on a streetcar, incinerated but still clutching the strap, but he could not bring himself to take any photos of it.[15] Even so, by just after 4 p.m. he had taken five photos.[16]

These photos came to represent the atomic bombing of Hiroshima; but as the head office of the Chugoku Shimbun was completely burned, he could not run these photos in the newspaper.[17]

The first photo Yoshito Matsushige took by Miyuki Bridge just past 11 a.m. on August 6, 1945. (Collection of the Chugoku Shimbun)

Kunso Yoshida, a reporter from the news department of the Asahi Shimbun's Seibu Head Office, was in Hatsukaichi-cho (now part of Hatsukaichi City) on the west side of Hiroshima City. He had returned to his parents' home after being driven out of his own by fire caused by air raids in Moji City (now part of Kitakyushu City).[18] He got a lift on a military truck heading for the Hiroshima delta.

"What about this disaster? Each and every person in the crowd has ripped clothes to the point of nakedness. What is more, their faces, arms, and legs were covered in burns to

the point where I cannot tell whether they are male or female." This disaster was covered in the August 22 Seibu edition. During the war, reporters were unable to give eyewitness accounts on what they saw.[19)]

An article sent by Eijiro Kishida, a reporter for the wire service department at the Asahi Shimbun's Seibu Head Office,[20)] who came in from Kokura City (now part of Kitakyushu City) on August 7, was published at the top of the second page of the Seibu edition on August 10. The headline read "There shall be revenge for these piles of corpses – a pledge of wrath against our enemies for this atrocity." It was to be an article to lift the fighting spirit of the people.

Goro Ogura, a reporter at the Asahi Shimbun's Hiroshima branch, who was in the north of the city and thus avoided being caught up in the bombing, later wrote about his state of mind directly after the bombing. "I knew I should write a long piece and try to find a way to submit it, but I just did not at all have it in me to do it."[21)] The reporters onsite at these dreadful places were overwhelmed with a sense of hopelessness.

Yukio Kunihira, a reporter from the photography department of the Mainichi Newspapers Osaka Head Office, arrived in Hiroshima with Mr. Nishio, a reporter from the news department and took photos on August 9. Two photos were featured in the August 11 Osaka edition: one showing canned food being brought into the Hiroshima Higashi Police Station, in which the temporary prefectural government office was set up, and another of a neighborhood association's office set up in an underground air-raid shelter.[22)] However, the headline of the article read "Danger for only an instant when the light flashed – Residents of Hiroshima are bravely fighting this atrocity."

Control over the press did not loosen. Since there was no paper or ink, the reporters of the Chugoku Shimbun formed the "*kudentai*" (Verbal Reporting Corps) on August 7.[23)] They gave verbal reports on emergency relief policies for victims of the bombing; temporary relief stations for the wounded; emergency provisions, and various other situations.[24)] Hirokuni Dazai (then head of the Prefectural Police Department's Special Political Police Section) warned, "The term 'atomic bomb' must not be used; just saying the word is punishable."[25)] However, the word "*pikadon*"[26)] used as a stand-in for "atomic bomb" quickly spread. Dazai did not ban this word, saying, "People have a knack with words."

3 Communiques

"The first news report of the atomic bombing was a 6 p.m. radio broadcast on August 6."[27)] While it is unclear whether the report was broadcast nationally or not,[28)] its details can be found in the following announcement by the Chubu Military District Headquarters (Osaka) featured in the August 7 Osaka edition of the Asahi Shimbun. "Around 7:50, August 6, two B29 bombers were moving north from the seas southeast of Shikoku. Signs of some damage around Hiroshima City."[29)]

The Imperial Headquarters released the following communique around 3 p.m. on August 7.[30)]

"1. Yesterday, August 6, Hiroshima City suffered considerable damage from a strike by a small number of enemy B29 bombers. 2. It seems that the enemy used a new type of bomb in this attack. The details are still under investigation."

Following the radio coverage[31)] all papers reported on it in four-line headlines at the top of their front pages on August 8.

The Cabinet Intelligence Bureau listened in on U.S. radio broadcast in the early hours of August 7. In it, President Truman announced that the U.S. had dropped an "atomic bomb."[32)]

However, the military authorities opposed using the term "atomic bomb" because of the major negative impact it would have on the morale of the Japanese people. The government also called it a "new type of bomb." [33] By changing the wording, they tried to cover up the severity of the situation.[34] The government simultaneously lodged a protest against the United States through its envoy in Switzerland on August 10.

By the time they sent the message, "We strongly request that the use of such inhumane weapons be immediately abandoned," [35] another atomic bomb had already been dropped on Nagasaki.

The August 11 Tokyo edition of the Asahi Shimbun ran an article on the government's protest with a headline reading, "A Cruel New Type of Bomb." But the headline for President Truman's radio address featured in the Asahi Shimbun's Zurich special dispatch of August 9 read, "A Display of Power with the Atomic Bomb." The headline of the article in the Osaka edition on the government's protest read "Atomic Bombs – More Barbaric than Poison Gas." [36]

Then the people heard the Emperor's radio announcement of Japan's surrender at noon on August 15 and learned that Japan had lost. The imperial rescript announcing the end of the war could not help but mention the horrible damage wrought by the atomic bombing, stating, "Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the destructive power of which is indeed, incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives." After Japan lost the war, there was a torrent of articles on the destruction caused by the atomic bombs.

4 The Early Coverage

The August 16 Tokyo edition of the Asahi Shimbun featured an explanation by Dr. Yoshio Nishina of the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research, who had arrived in Hiroshima on August 8,[37] and Tsunesaburo Asada, professor at Osaka Imperial University who worked as a member of the Osaka naval investigation team,[38] and reported on the U.S. Army's announcement, in the Zurich special dispatch of August 8. "Approximately a 10 square kilometer area has been completely destroyed." The article took up two-thirds of page two. The August 16 Asahi Shimbun's Osaka edition introduced news from Britain in their Stockholm special dispatch of August 14.[39] "The entire world has changed instantly. The atomic bomb can annihilate the Earth. However, if used for peaceful purposes, it marks the start of a new era."

People reading the August 12 Chugoku Shimbun stuck to the exterior wall of the Sumitomo Bank Hiroshima Branch. The newspaper was printed at the Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office. Photo taken by Yotsugi Kawahara, a member of the Army Marine Headquarters photographic team.
(Collection of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum)

The Domei News Agency sent a wire from Lisbon (dated August 19) saying that "a British pastor" had "severely criticized the inhumanity of the atomic bombing."[40]

The atomic bomb is a weapon of mass destruction that can destroy the world. And the idea that the power of the atom could be used for "peace" also came to spread after "August 6."

On August 10, Satsuo Nakata, a reporter at the Domei's Osaka branch, arrived in Hiroshima with the Osaka naval investigation team and began taking photos.[41] His photo of the ruins taken from the Chugoku Building was featured in the Asahi Shimbun

and the Mainichi Newspapers' Tokyo and Osaka editions, the Yomiuri Hochi (Yomiuri), the Chubu Nihon (Chunichi) and other newspapers on August 19. The tragic image from Hiroshima, showing only one chimney left standing, was reported nationwide. The people of Japan saw a part of the catastrophe wrought by the atomic bomb with their very own eyes.

During the confusion that came with defeat, the strict press regulations from military authorities collapsed. After reporting on the power of the atomic bomb, the press began reporting on the effects of radiation sickness.

The headline of the August 23 Mainichi Newspaper's Osaka edition read "Lingering horrors of the atomic bomb – Uninhabitable for seven decades – The ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, monuments to war," expressing the seriousness of the situation. "The Americans are also reporting the horrible truth that Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be uninhabitable for grass, trees, and all forms of life for 70 years." [42] The news from the United States had even reached mainland China.[43]

According to an August 27 Chugoku Shimbun report (with a substitute printing by the Mainichi Newspaper Seibu Head Office), people were coughing up blood, losing their hair, and dying, and so were their parents and wives and children. Facing this reality, the survivors were once again confronted with the horror of the atomic bombing. [44]

With its head office completely burned, the Chugoku Shimbun tried to resume printing and issuing its papers as soon as possible. Even as employees were fighting acute radiation sickness, they traveled to a dairy farm in Nukushina-mura (now part of Higashi-ku), where one rotary press had been evacuated. They spent the night in tents as they continued to work.[45]

The Chugoku Shimbun resumed printing its papers on September 3.[46] In that issue, the headline on the top left of the front page said, "With damage from the war, request to the government," appealing for assistance from the A-bombed city.

"The terrible state of Hiroshima, which suffered an A-bomb attack, is totally beyond description... We hope for the swift implementation of aggressive, concrete relief measures for the citizens."

On September 3, the day after Mamoru Shigemitsu (Minister of Foreign Affairs and representative of the government) signed the Instrument of Surrender aboard USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay, a group of about 20 people including the U.S. correspondents visited Hiroshima from Kure (with Japanese-American soldier-linguists as their interpreters).[47] American and European reporters wanted to be the first to enter Hiroshima and send out their reportage. In fact, on August 27, Leslie Nakashima (a Japanese-American from Hawaii, assigned to the UP's Tokyo Bureau until the start of the U.S.-Japan war) had sent a wire through a UP reporter who had entered Tokyo with the advance troop of the Allied Forces.[48]

The U.S. war correspondents asked the aforementioned Hirokuni Dazai, head of the Prefectural Police Department's Special Political Police Section, Ichiro Osako of the Chugoku Shimbun news department, and Yoshie Shigetomi of the Mainichi Newspaper's Hiroshima Bureau to detail their August 6 experiences. This was the first dialogue between Japanese and American civilians over the atomic bombing.

The September 5 edition of the Chugoku Shimbun featured "Question-Answer Dialogue between American and Japanese Reporters" on the top of page two.

"The reporters from the Kisha (press) Club at Hiroshima Prefectural Government Office: How did you feel when you saw the damage in Hiroshima City?" "American correspondents: We have been to war fronts in Europe and the Pacific and, Hiroshima has suffered the worst damage of all cities."[49]

W.H. Lawrence, dispatched from the New York Times, had the following to say in his Hiroshima coverage published on September 5:

"The atomic bomb still is killing Japanese at a rate of 100 daily in flattened, rubble-strewn Hiroshima, where the secret weapon harnessing the power of the universe itself as a destructive agent was used for the first time on Aug. 6....the stench of death still pervades and survivors or relatives of the dead, wearing gauze patches over their mouths, still probe among the ruins for bodies or possessions."[50)]

Special correspondent Wilfred Burchett of London Daily Express, who had arrived in Hiroshima alone, wrote on September 5: "People are still dying (snip) from an unknown something which I can only describe as the atomic plague."[51)]

It was impossible for American and European reporters who traveled to Hiroshima to miss the cruelty of the atomic bombing. At the same time, films taken in Hiroshima were used by the U.S. government and military to support the claims that the use of the atomic bomb was legitimate.[52)]

The September 4 Osaka edition of the Asahi Shimbun said "Atomic bomb – savagery that one cannot bear to look upon" and featured four photos including one of a young boy receiving treatment at the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital. This was the first report with photos that focused on people exposed to the A-bomb. Hajime Miyatake, a reporter in the photography department of the Osaka Head Office, went in to take these photos on August 9 as a photographer in the propaganda team from the Chubu Military District Headquarters.[53)]

Full reporting of the enormity of the damage began in Japan after its defeat in the war, and overseas after American and European correspondents arrived Hiroshima. However, report ended short, and once again reporting was prohibited.

Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, touched down at the Atsugi Airfield in Kanagawa Prefecture on August 30 to start the Japanese occupation. On September 6, he ordered the Japanese government to assist with an investigation into the atomic bombing.[54)] Brigadier General Thomas Farrell, number two of the Manhattan Project to develop the atomic bomb, led the Manhattan District investigation team and entered Hiroshima via Iwakuni on September 9.

5 Information Control

The U.S. Department of War denied the effects of residual radiation from directly after the bombing.

A comment by Dr. Harold Jacobson (a scientist on the Manhattan Project) was distributed by the International News Services on August 7: "Actually tests have shown that the radiation in an area exposed to the force of an atomic bomb will not be dissipated for approximately 70 years. Hence, Hiroshima will be a devastated area not unlike our conception of the moon for nearly three-quarters of a century."[55)] The next day, another announcement was made completely denying this.

The Department of War emphasized an observation by Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, who directed development of the atomic bomb. According to Oppenheimer, "...there is every reason to believe that there was no appreciable radioactivity on the ground at Hiroshima and what little there was decayed very rapidly."[56)]

The first U.S. coverage of Hiroshima, by Leslie Nakashima, appeared in the (August 31 edition) New York Times and other papers. However, when one compares the article with the original manuscript[57)] you will find deliberate omissions and additions.[58)]

The Manhattan District investigation team, led by Brigadier General Farrell, measured the residual radiation of the hypocenter and visited the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital and other places on September 9. They were accompanied by Dr. Marcel Junod, head of the

delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to Japan, and Professor Masao Tsuzuki of the Tokyo Imperial University Faculty of Medicine.[59)]

In response to Professor Tsuzuki's comment "The press has said that the effects of the toxins from the atomic bomb will last for 75 years," Brigadier General Farrell completely denied it, saying that there would be no effects two or three days after the bombing.

The following day, in the Chugoku Shimbun's September 10 edition, the four-line headline for the top of page two stated that the theory of 75 years was a lie. Following that, on September 15, the top headlines reported "Losses surpass 110,000: the power of the atomic bomb is still wreaking havoc," and "Even far removed from the hypocenter, people cannot escape atomic bomb sickness." The Chugoku Shimbun also ran articles about the effectiveness of old-fashioned folk remedies, such as "Pumpkins can also be medicine" (September 4) and "Moxibustion, Right Away!" (September 8).[60)] Both American and Japanese physicians were in the dark about the effects of the radiation. [61)]

Brigadier General Farrell held a press conference when he returned to Tokyo on September 12. He reported that the explosive power of the secret weapon was greater than what its inventors had envisaged and that it was his opinion that there was no danger to be encountered by living in this area at present.[62)] Both U.S. and Japanese media went along with the U.S. Army's observations.

"The use of atomic bombs and the murder of innocent civilians is undeniably a greater violation of the international law, and a war crime, than attacking hospital ships or poisonous gas." In response to these comments by Ichiro Hatoyama run in the Asahi Shimbun's (September 15) Tokyo edition, GHQ lost no time in ordering a 48-hour suspension of the newspaper, suspending the September 19 and 20 editions. [63)]

Further, GHQ issued a press code on September 19 applying to all newspaper reports, editorials, advertisements, and all publications. Newspapers, publications, radio broadcasts, and movies were censored and monitored for content "inimical to the objectives of the Occupation." The full censorship started on October 8.[64)]

With this, coverage of the atomic bombing was blocked.[65)]

6 Press under Censorship

Censorship was instituted in line with the political interests of the occupying countries. These were, in fact, the political interests of the United States, which advanced its policies as virtually the sole occupying country.[66)] In principle, national newspapers based in Tokyo and Osaka were censored pre-print, while regional newspapers were censored post-print.

The Chugoku Shimbun and its evening edition, the Yukan Hiroshima (which began publication by a separate company on June 1, 1946)[67)] were monitored by the Third District Censorship Station of Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), located in Fukuoka City. This does not mean that the word "atomic bomb" was excised from the pages of the morning and evening editions of the paper. The report on the atomic bombing, however, was focused on reconstruction aimed at recovering from the destruction and on making "Hiroshima an international city of culture." This was also the earnest wish of not only the A-bomb survivors who were working hard to rebuild their lives, but also for the repatriates from the overseas (from Korean Peninsula and elsewhere) returning without possessions, and for those newly arriving in the city.

As the one year anniversary of the bombing approaching, the Chugoku Shimbun held an essay contest with the theme of building a "Hiroshima Utopia." [68)] The editorials urged the

government and encouraged citizens to rouse.

The Chugoku Shimbun also supported the programs related to the Peace Festival (today's Peace Memorial Ceremony) held on August 6, 1947, organized by the Hiroshima Peace Festival Association (headed by Mayor Shinzo Hamai, who acted as president). The association was comprised of the City of Hiroshima, the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Hiroshima Tourist Association.[69] The day following the Festival, the morning edition of August 7, featured a message sent by General MacArthur[70] in the center of the front page, and the editorial expressed "profound gratitude for his mentioning the deep significance of this festival."

Reporting the misery brought on by the atomic bombing in a straightforward manner was viewed as inimical to the objectives of the Occupation, but focusing on reconstruction and appealing for the construction of "a nation of peace, democracy and culture" was in line with the occupational policy. GHQ had an interest in Hiroshima's reconstruction and supported the local government's requests.[71]

Incidentally, how did the people who were censored react to this? Looking back on it, Shigetoshi Itokawa, then managing editor, noted, "We felt we could publish our newspaper quite freely, so we made it our policy to observe the press code."[72] Compared to the strict press regulations they had faced during the war, he said there was much to learn from the American way of making newspapers.

The October 3, 1949 morning edition reported that the Hiroshima Congress of Partisans for Peace was held on the previous day at the Hiroshima Jogakuin's auditorium, where some 200 citizens adopted a call for banning the production of atomic bombs. While only a brief, 14-line note, this was the first paper to carry the phrase "ban" atomic bombs.[73]

However, articles directly criticizing atomic bombs were rare. Photographer of the Chugoku Shimbun, Yoshito Matsushige's photos titled "Hellish Scenes at Miyuki Bridge," taken directly after the bombing were first featured, not in the morning edition of the Chugoku Shimbun, but on page two of the Yukan Hiroshima, on July 6, 1946, as the "Documentary Photos of the Century."[74] The article said the reason for posting them was because an American magazine had introduced those photos to the world, but the *LIFE* magazine only featured them in its September 29, 1952 edition. This was seen as a way of slipping through censorship.

Censorship ended on October 31, 1949 along with the abolition of the CCD.[75] Yet due to the overt pressure from GHQ (particularly evident during the Red Purge during the Korean War), the press could not report on the reality of leukemia or other serious problems resulting from the bombing nor carry appeals against the development of hydrogen bombs, developed after the atomic bombs.

7 Overt Pressure

The Korean Peninsula erupted into war on June 25, 1950. The Soviet Union had conducted an atomic bomb test in August 1949; and in October 1949, the People's Republic of China had been established. While the Cold War intensified, GHQ's occupational policy shifted to "fighting communism."

On June 26, 1950, the day following the outbreak of the Korean War, "MacArthur's letter" ordered that publication of the Akahata, issued by the Japanese Communist Party, be halted for 30 days. On July 28, 336 employees at five Tokyo newspapers, two news agencies and NHK were the first to be fired for being "communists or their sympathizers."[76] The Red Purge raged through newspaper companies nationwide.[77]

Twenty-one people at the Chugoku Shimbun were fired on August 5.[78] The editorial of August 6 entitled, "Five years after the bomb and a prayer for peace" stated, "Radical demonstrations and merrymaking festivals with singing and dancing should definitely be discreet." Due to pressure from the Chugoku Region Civil Affairs Section, the August 6 Peace Festival was suspended right before it was held, and the Hiroshima City Police Department prohibited assembly of the Hiroshima Committee of Partisans for Peace and other organizations. [79]

The editorial on August 6, 1951, when the Peace Festival was revived as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony, entitled "Six years after the bombing," shows the anguish of the times under the occupational rule of the U.S. Forces. "However much Hiroshima or Japan holds an ardent wish for peace (snip) it cannot be permitted to go beyond the limits of the current conditions. It is agony for Hiroshima and sorrow for Japan." Twenty-four aviators who had made sorties to the Korean frontlines attended the ceremony that year from the U.S. Iwakuni Base, and a U.S. military aircraft dropped a wreath of flowers onto the grounds.[80]

With the restoration of sovereignty, the press threw off its yoke and self-imposed regulations.

8 Establishing Foundations

After the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into effect on April 28, 1952, publications that addressed the catastrophe of the bombing were issued one after another.

The August 6 edition of the *Asahi Graph* said that this was "the first public disclosure of atomic bomb damage"[81]; Iwanami Shashin Bunko published *Hiroshima: Senso to Toshi* (Hiroshima: War and the City); Asahi Press published *Genbaku Dai Ichi Go: Hiroshima no Kiroku Shashin* (The First Atomic Bomb: A Photographic Record of Hiroshima).[82] The August editions of the monthly publications *Sekai* and *Fujin Koron* featured single women from Hiroshima who received treatment at the University of Tokyo Hospital Koishikawa Branch Hospital.[83] Further, the November special edition of *Kaizo* was a special number dedicated to "This affliction from Atomic Bomb." [84] The movie *Genbaku no Ko* (Children of Hiroshima), directed by Kaneto Shindo, had already begun filming in Hiroshima in June.[85] The year 1952 was the year the "atomic bomb taboo" was lifted.

The media dubbed single women that still had keloid and functional disorders from the bombing "Hiroshima Maidens," and often featured stories on these women and on the children who had lost their parents, or the "A-bomb orphans."[86] However, most of the media took up these stories out of pity.

One major turning point was the Bikini Atoll incident. On March 1, 1954, during the hydrogen bomb testing by the U.S. military in the Bikini Atoll in the middle of the Pacific, "ashes of death" rained down upon the Daigo Fukuryu Maru (Lucky Dragon No. 5), a tuna fishing boat that had come from Yaizu Port in Shizuoka Prefecture. The chief radio operator died in September. A national movement began demanding to ban atomic and hydrogen bombs, and some 32.16 million people participated in the signature drive.

On August 6, 1955 the World Conference against A and H Bombs was held at the city's public auditorium, which appealed for relief for the radiation victims and to promote an end to atomic and hydrogen bombs, transcending differences in political parties, religion, and social systems.[87] The following year the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Nihon Hidankyo) was inaugurated.

A-bomb survivors, who had been forced into the sidelines of society, stood up and

took action. They asked for support based on state reparations and started a movement to question the country's war responsibilities. The Chugoku Shimbun responded to these rising waves and increased the breadth of its coverage and deepened the focus.

"Let's look into what the atomic bombing did to human life and thought." "Testimonies of Hiroshima" of 1962 (33-part series) examined the reality faced by A-bomb survivors, the bereaved families, and healthcare professionals. This series created a model for the Chugoku Shimbun's coverage of atomic bombings and peace.[88] In 1964, the series was followed by an 11-part series entitled "The Atomic Bomb Survivors of Okinawa," which was under the control of the U.S. military.

In the early 1960s, the movement protesting atomic and hydrogen bombs fell into deeper disarray due to the opposition between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party as to whether or not to protest nuclear testing in all countries. In this situation, the Chugoku Shimbun's editorials came to deal with the issue of nuclear weapons from a human perspective, as people are the ones who suffer from the effects of nuclear weapons.

The paper's March 20, 1964 edition criticized the political parties' tug-of-war, saying, "Using Hiroshima as a stage for political propaganda is an unforgiveable insult to the hundreds of thousands of voiceless participants." Further, the August 6 edition stated, "The reason the world knows of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is really because of the power of the atomic bomb, and not the tragedy of the atomic bombing." It called for a comprehensive survey to compile a white paper on the atomic-bombing casualties in Japan to be published worldwide through the United Nations.

A series of appeals by editorial writer Toshihiro Kanai were supported by people from Hiroshima University and Yamaguchi University; Kenzaburo Oe, a writer who visited Hiroshima to do research for his book *Hiroshima Notes*; and the Science Council of Japan. These appeals led to a 1965 survey of A-bomb survivors by the Ministry of Health and Welfare.[89]

In the summer of 1965, 20 years after the bombing, the Chugoku Shimbun made a revolutionary page in its atomic bombing and peace coverage. Under the titled "20 Years after the Bombing," it ran three series of articles: "Share These Voices with the World," focusing on the reality of the bombing; "Journey from the Fire," which verified progress made from the ruins and anti-nuclear movements; and "Record of Hiroshima," a chronicle. The one-page features, consisting of these three titles, were continuously run 30 times in the morning edition,

Page from the first run of "20 Years after the Bombing"
The Chugoku Shimbun, July 8, 1965 edition

starting on July 8.[90] This "20 Years after the Bombing" reportage won the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association Award.

Seiji Imahori, a Hiroshima University professor who wrote *Gensuibaku Jidai* (The Age of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs), gave the following evaluation: "Respecting the human dignity of A-bomb survivors, this feature attempts to draw compassion from people who were not victims of the atomic bombing."[91]

Although the Chugoku Shimbun also suffered from the atomic bombing, it took 20 years of unbearably difficult times to gain this standpoint and perspective, together with the people of Hiroshima. The misery caused by the atomic bombing should be treated as a human problem. Possession of nuclear weapons (which are weapons of mass destruction) and intention of acquiring them must be protested. What are the actual efforts for creating peace? To this day, the Chugoku Shimbun has continued its ceaseless efforts, in a trial-and-error manner, to report the atomic bombings and peace.

(Masami Nishimoto)

Notes and References

1. City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi:* Dai San Kan (Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb War Disaster, Vol.3). City of Hiroshima, 1971: p. 431. Other than the Chugoku Shimbun, the Hiroshima Branch of Domei News Agency and the Hiroshima Central Broadcasting Station (current NHK Hiroshima Station), the following newspaper companies had offices in Hiroshima City at the time: the Asahi Shimbun, the Mainichi Newspaper, the Yomiuri Hochi (currently the Yomiuri), the Osaka Shimbun, the Kanmon Nippo, the Godo Shimbun (currently the Sanyo), and the Nishinippon Shimbun. Also, according to Ichiro Osako's *Hiroshima Showa Niju Nen* (Hiroshima 1945) (Chuokoron-sha, 1985, p. 175), a Sankei Shimbun's reporter was also in the city.
2. Under the "Guidelines on Interim Measures Concerning the Emergency Preparations of Newspapers," (a March 1945 cabinet decision by the government), distribution of national newspapers was limited to Tokyo, Osaka, and Fukuoka in anticipation of an interruption of transportation from air raids. Local papers were commissioned to handle the printing and distribution of the number of copies allocated by these nationwide newspaper companies. This system to commission printing was called "Mochibun Godo." According to the April 10, 1945 edition of the *Chugoku Shimbun Shaho* (Chugoku Shimbun Company Newsletter), starting on April 21, there was only one paper distributed in Hiroshima Prefecture, under the joint masthead of the Asahi Shimbun, the Mainichi Newspaper and the Chugoku Shimbun.
3. Chugoku Shimbun. *1945 Genbaku to Chugoku Shimbun* (Hiroshima 1945: The A-bombing and the Chugoku Shimbun). Chugoku Shimbun, 2012: p. 15.
4. Nakamura, Satoshi. "Manjushage: Genshigumo no Shita no Hiroshima" (Spider Lilies: Hiroshima under the Atomic Cloud). In *Hiroku Daitoa Senshi:* Genbaku Kokunai Hen (Secret Records of the Greater East Asia War: Atomic Bombing in Japan). Fuji Shoen, 1953: pp. 272 – 281.
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5. There were 23 people working at the Domei News Agency's Hiroshima Branch, where there were four deaths from the atomic bombing, including Tokuho Kobayashi, the branch manager. Dozoe, Yoshimizu and Kobayashi, Noriaki. "Genbakushi Shomeisho" (Atomic Bomb Death Certificates). *Shimbun Tsushin Chosa Kaiho,* 412 Go, 1997.
6. Diary of Hiroshi Morikawa: "*Tofunroku*" (Record of Rabbit Droppings), entry og August 6, 1945: Mr. Morikawa, an engineer injured by the atomic bombing while at the Hiroshima Central Broadcasting Station, arrived at the Hara Station and immediately called Osaka on short and medium wave frequencies, using the business line. Luckily, he received a reply from Okayama. He immediately communicated the overall situation and requested a shortwave broadcast from Osaka issuing orders to each station and asking for assistance. The diary is now owned by Takaaki, his eldest son. August 5, 2013 edition of the *Chugoku Shimbun*.
7. Hiroshima Hoso Kyoku Rokuju Nenshi Henshu Iinkai. (Ed.) *NHK Hiroshima Hoso Kyoku Rokuju Nenshi* (The 60-Year History of NHK-Hiroshima). NHK Hiroshima Station, 1988: p. 79. Akira Miyake, an employee at the NHK Okayama Station, testified that it was around 2 p.m.
8. Shigetomi, Yoshie. *Rakugaki Zuihitsu* (Graffiti Essays). Mainichi Kokoku Hiroshima Branch, 1956: p. 65.
9. Mainichi Newspapers. *Mainichi no San Seiki:* Jokan (Three Centuries of the Mainichi, Vol. 1). Mainichi Newspapers, 2002: p. 916. According to this book, while there was no proof that Mr. Shigetomi's article reached the Osaka Headquarters, this was the only information sent by reporters in Hiroshima on the day of the bombing. However, as mentioned in this chapter, reporters from the Domei News Agency's Hiroshima Branch and from the Chugoku Shimbun also sent information.
10. Oshita, Haruo. "Rekishi no Shuen" (The End of History). In *Hiroku Daitoa Senshi:* Genbaku Kokunai Hen (Secret Records of the Greater East Asia War: Atomic Bombing in Japan). Fuji Shoen, 1953: pp. 311-318.
11. Chugoku Shimbun Shashi Hensan Iinkai. *Chugoku Shimbun Hachiju Nenshi* (Eighty Years' History of the Chugoku Shimbun). Chugoku Shimbun, 1972: p. 163. According to this book, the first report was sent from the Army Marine Headquarters, using its wireless system, a little after 9:30 p.m.
12. Hiroshima Prefecture. "Hiroshimashi Kubaku Chokugo ni Okeru Sochi Taiyo" (Overview of Measures Taken in Hiroshima City Immediately after the Aerial Bombing). Collection of Hiroshima Municipal Archives. Journal entry entitled "First Report, Records of War Damage by Hiroshima Prefecture," August 7, 1945, in which was a description on newspaper: "Contacted regarding the 100,000 copies of newspapers are to be delivered from Osaka, 150,000 from Moji, and 12,000 from Matsue. They should arrive on August 8." Osaka and Moji indicate the Osaka and the Seibu Head Offices of the Asahi Shimbun and the Mainichi Newspapers. "Matsue" indicates the Shimane Shimbun (now the San-in Chuo Shinpo), which distributed its newspapers in the northern part of Hiroshima Prefecture, starting from August 11. Nihon Shimbun Hyaku Nenshi Kanko Iinkai. *Nihon Shimbun Hyaku Nenshi* (100-Year History of Japanese Newspapers). Nihon Shimbun Hyaku Nenshi Kanko Iinkai, 1960: p. 922.
13. Yi Wu was the son of a stepbrother of Emperor Sunjong (of the Yi Dynasty of Korea). In June 1945 he assumed a post as staff officer

(lieutenant colonel) of education for the Second General Army. Directly after the bombing he was taken to the Ninoshima Army Quarantine Station, where he died on August 7. A documentary entitled *Konichi – Hangil – Nikkan Heigo no Kage ni* (Anti-Japanese, in the Shadow of the Japan-Korea Annexation) (produced by Hidemi Matsunaga, televised on March 21, 1994 by RCC broadcasting) described his life.

14. The August 9 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun*, the first to reach Hiroshima after the bombing, was an early edition printed by the Mainichi Newspapers Seibu Head Office in Moji City (now part of Kitakyushu City).
15. Umeno and Tajima. *Genbaku Dai Ichi Go: Hiroshima no Kiroku Shashinshu* (The First Atomic Bombing: A Photographic Record of Hiroshima). Asahi Press, 1952: pp. 86-88.
16. In a feature article entitled "Hiroshima no Kiroku" (Record of Hiroshima) of the March 11, 2004 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun*, the word of Yoshito Matsushige was introduced; "It was my fate to live. That's why I was able to take those photos." He had to use the toilet while on the way to work, and the bomb dropped when he returned home again. After taking the five photos, he took his wife and badly injured niece and headed to Omishima Island, Ehime Prefecture, where his parents and eldest daughter had evacuated.
17. Photos Yoshito Matsushige took at the Miyuki Bridge were first published on page two of the July 6, 1946 edition of the *Yukan Hiroshima* (which was published by a separate company). In 1952, when the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) lifted their occupation of Japan, his photos were used in *Hiroshima: Senso to Toshi* (Hiroshima: War and the City) (Iwanami Shoten) and in the aforementioned *Genbaku Dai Ichi Go: Hiroshima no Kiroku Shashinshu* (The First Atomic Bombing: A Photographic Record of Hiroshima) as well as on page 19 of the September 29, 1952 edition of *LIFE Magazine*, saying, "published here for the first time in the U.S." The same edition also featured a photo of the mushroom cloud taken from the entrance of the Mikumarikyo Gorge in Fucho-cho by Seiso Yamada, who worked for the Planning Division of the Chugoku Shimbun.
18. Chugoku Shimbun (2012). op. cit., p. 27. Testimony of Yachiyo Omoto, Kunso Yoshida's younger sister. After the war, Yoshida worked as a member of town assembly in his hometown of Hatsukaichi-cho.
19. The top of page two of the August 22 Asahi Shimbun Seibu edition featured on-site reports by Kunso Yoshida, Eijiro Kishida (of the wire service department), and Masaaki Watanabe (who worked at the Fukuoka General Bureau and went to Nagasaki).
20. With preparations to establish the Second General Army, in February 1945, the Seibu Head Office was assigned to cover Hiroshima which the Osaka Head Office had been in charge of. The Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office. *Asahi Shimbun Seibu Honsha Goju Nensh*i (50-Year History of the Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office), Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office, 1985: p. 83.
21. *Asahi Shimbun Seibu Honsha Hennenshi* 4 (Chronicle of the Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office Vol. 4). Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshushitsu, 1985: pp. 39-40.
22. The photos were posted in the August 11 Osaka edition of the Mainichi Newspapers showing the temporary prefectural government office situated in the Hiroshima Higashi Police Station in Shimoyanagi-cho (currently Kanayama-cho, Naka-ku) on August 7. Canned foods were being brought there, and female residents were receiving goods in front of a bomb shelter. Yukio Kunihira took 41 photos, which are owned by the Osaka Head Office.
23. Chugoku Shimbun Shashi Hensan Iinkai. op. cit., p. 168. Shuitsu Matsumura, chief of staff of the Chugoku Military District, sent a message through the military police, requesting that a "Verbal Reporting Corps", consisting of the Chugoku Shimbun editing staff, be organized and make announcements issued by the Imperial Headquarters. Matsumura (later a member of the House of Councillors) does not mention about the Verbal Reporting Corps in his article entitled "Genbakuka no Hiroshima Shireibu – Sambocho no Kiroku" (Records of a Hiroshima Headquarters Chief of Staff after the Bomb). on p. 66 – 85 of the August 1951 edition of the *Bungei Shunju.*
24. Aforementioned Eijiro Kishida also joined the Verbal Reporting Corps. Looking back, he said, "The members of the Verbal Reporting Corps knew all too well that 'Don't worry' we always mentioned at the end was just an attempt to make people feel better." *The Asahi Shimbun*'s Hiroshima edition, August 5, 1987.
25. *Hiroku Daitoa Senshi:* Genbaku Kokunai Hen (Secret Records of the Greater East Asia War: Atomic Bombing in Japan). Fuji Shoen, 1953: p. 322.
26. In the 1969 interview, Masao Maruyama, a political scientist, reflected on the situation at the Army Marine Headquarters when the bomb dropped. He said, "I heard people call it *pikadon*, *pikadon* on August 8." Tatsuo Hayashi, a reporter at the Chugoku Shimbun, recorded the interview, which was later published in "Maruyama Masao to Hiroshima" (Masao Maruyama and Hiroshima). *IPSHU Kenkyu Hokoku Series* No.25 (IPSHU Research Report Series (in Japanese), No. 25). Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University, 1998. Audio tapes are owned by his eldest daughter, Kaori Hayashi. See the March 4, 2013 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun*.
27. Hiroshima Prefecture. *Genbaku Sanju Nen* (30 Years after the Atomic Bombing). Hiroshima Prefecture, 1976: p. 99.
28. Shirai, Hisao. *Maboroshi no Koe: NHK Hiroshima Hachigatsu Muika* (Phantom Voices: NHK Hiroshima, August 6). Iwanami Shoten, 1992: pp. 126-127. According to this book, the radio report on the attack on Hiroshima was repeated that evening between 18:00 and 21:00 without any explanation; however no surviving material on the report could be found at NHK.
29. The Asahi Shimbun Osaka edition featured "Nishinomiya and Hiroshima, serious damage by bomb" with a three-line headline, but the Tokyo edition reported on Hiroshima with only four lines in a single column, while there was no article at all in the Seibu edition.
30. The Chugoku Military District Headquarters made the following announcement at noon on August 7, earlier than the Imperial Headquarters' announcement: "1. Four B29 bombers dropped a high-performance tracer bomb over the skies of Hiroshima City around 8:10, August 6. 2. Surface houses suffered considerable damage, but fires were mostly put out that same evening." August 9, 1945 Seibu edition of *the Asahi Shimbun*.
31. Osaragi, Jiro. *Osaragi Jiro Haisen Nikki* (Diary on Losing the War by Jiro Osaragi). Soshisha, 1995: p. 296. Diary entry for August 7, Osaragi wrote, "Yoshiko said that the 7 o'clock news said something strange. The news mentioned that a new type of bomb was used and that countermeasures are under review."
32. Branch office of the Cabinet Intelligence Bureau in the Domei News Agency. "(Hi) Tekisei Joho" (Confidential Information on Hostilities). In Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshima Kenshi:* Genbaku Shiryo Hen (History of Hiroshima Prefecture: Resource Materials on the Atomic Bombing). 1972 a: p. 653.
33. Shimomura, Kainan. *Shusenki* (Record of the End of the War). Kamakura Bunko, 1948: pp. 97-98. His real name was Hiroshi Shimomura. He had worked as vice-president of the Asahi Shimbun, and president of the Japan Broadcasting Association (current NHK), and at that time he was president of the Intelligence Bureau.
34. Osaragi, Jiro. *Osaragi Jiro Haisen Nikki* (A Diary on Losing the War by Jiro Osaragi). Soshisha, 1995: p. 297. Having read the August 8 morning paper that featured the announcement by the Imperial Headquarters, Osaragi wrote, "As usual, it was simple: just 'small damage.' The fact that a revolutionary new bomb has appeared in this war and that this is incomparable to the V-1 flying bomb is something that the people should remain unaware of."
35. The August 12 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun* (printed by the Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office) reported in Hiroshima on the protest made by the government. There is a photo of residents looking at the newspaper posted on the wall of the Sumitomo Bank Hiroshima Branch. The Photo was taken by Yotsugi Kawahara, a member of the photographic team of the Army Marine Headquarters.
36. The word "atomic bomb" was first used in Hiroshima on page two of the August 16 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun* (printed by the

Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office). While the headline read "A Violent, Cruel New Bomb," the article mentions "This violent, cruel new atomic bomb has, in the end, reduced all our war efforts to ashes."

37. Yoshio Nishina of the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research arrived in Hiroshima together with the Imperial Headquarters investigation team on August 8. At the Army-Navy joint meeting held at the Hiroshima Army Ordnance Supply Depot the party concluded: "It was an atomic bomb." Niizuma, Seiichi. "Tokushu Bakudan Chosa Hokoku" (Investigative Report on Special Bombs). August 10, 1945. Collection of Hiroshima Memorial Peace Museum.
38. "Asada Tsunesaburo Memo" (Memorandum of Tsunesaburo Asada). In Hiroshima Prefecture (1972). op. cit., pp. 578-581. Tsunesaburo Asada, a professor at Osaka Imperial University, arrived in Hiroshima on August 10 as part of the Osaka naval investigation team.
39. Stockholm Special Dispatch of August 14 was not featured in the August 16 Tokyo edition of *the Asahi Shimbun*.
40. Featured in the August 21 Tokyo edition of *the Asahi Shimbun*, amongst others.
41. The line, "Nakata, member of the news team from Domei" was found in the aforementioned *Asada Tsunesaburo Memo* (Memorandum of Tsunesaburo Asada). Satsuo Nakata took at least 32 photos. His photos of the ruins of Hiroshima and of a cargo train that had derailed on the Kandagawa railway bridge on the Sanyo Line, as well as others, were used by various newspapers. An overview of events can be found in detail in the feature article of *the Chugoku Shimbun* September 24, 2006 titled "Hiroshima no Kiroku: Umoreteita Domei no Hodo Shashin" (Record of Hiroshima: Forgotten Domei news photos).
42. It was reported by the International News Service from New York that Harold Jacobson, who worked on the Manhattan Project to develop the atomic bomb, said, "Hiroshima will be a devastated area...for nearly three-quarters of a century." See the August 8, 1945 edition of *the Atlanta Constitution.*
43. Agawa, Hiroyuki. *Naki Hahaya* (My Deceased Mother). Kodansha, 2007: p. 17. Agawa (a naval lieutenant at the time) was born in Hiroshima City and was in Hankou, Hubei Province, China when Japan lost the war. He remembers, "News from Japan for Japanese expatriates on *Tairiku Shinpo* as well as on Chinese and English newspapers all had big headlines that said that Hiroshima would be uninhabitable to living things for 75 years due to residual radioactivity."
44. Ogura, Toyofumi. *Zetsugo no Kiroku* (Letters from the End of the World), 1948. Paperback edition, Chuokoron-sha, 1982: p. 196. Ogura, who was an associate professor at the Hiroshima University of Literature and Science, wrote a letter to his wife Fumiyo, who had died 13 days after the bombing. "I was secretly worried about the Hiroshima infertility theory, and I was especially nervous for the health of (our son) Kinji."
45. Yamamoto, Akira. "Mune ni Moyuru – Anohi no Kimochi" (With a Fire in My Heart – My Feelings on That Day). Nihon Shimbun Kosha. *Nihon Shimbunho*. October 2, 1945 edition, Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.
46. According to aforementioned *Chugoku Shimbun Hachiju Nenshi* (Eighty Years' History of the Chugoku Shimbun). p.171, it mentions that the Chugoku Shimbun printed its own newspaper for the first time after the bombing on August 31. Kunio Yanagita's *Kuhaku no Tenkizu* (Void of the Weather Charts) (Shinchosha, 1975, p. 155) also says that finally from August 31 onwards, the Chugoku Shimbun was able to publish its newspapers on its own. However, the August 31 edition, archived in the form of microfilms at Chugoku Shimbun and the Hiroshima City Central Library, was actually printed by the Asahi Shimbun Seibu Head Office. *Chugoku Shimbun Hyaku Nenshi* (100 Years' History of the Chugoku Shimbun) (Chugoku Shimbun, 1992, p. 200) mentions that the first paper was printed on the September 3.
47. James C. McNaughton, *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II.* Washington DC., Department of the Army, 2006: p. 436. According to this book, Thomas Sakamoto, who was in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS), escorted a group of American correspondents to Hiroshima. The book says this was "9 September" but the correspondents visited Hiroshima on September 3 on a day trip.
48. Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, *20 Years of History*: 1945-1965. Tokyo. Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, 1965: pp. 14-16. The book introduced the entire article by Leslie Nakashima as the first report from Hiroshima sent to Western countries. It was also mentioned in the book that *TIME Magazine* quoted the special dispatch in the summer of 1945. Part of his article was quoted on page 58 of the September 10 edition of *TIME Magazine.*
49. Osako, Ichiro. op. cit, pp. 224-225. Osako wrote what it was like to meet the American correspondents, saying, "Compared to their nice clothes and Eyemo, we wore shabby national uniforms, rubber-soled cloth footgear and gaiters. No one had a camera."
50. The article by W.H. Lawrence starts with "Hiroshima, Japan, Sept. 3 (Delayed)" was featured on pages one and four.
51. Even research papers treat Wilfred Burchett's article as the first on-site report on Hiroshima for overseas, but Leslie Nakashima's report was featured earlier. It is seen as having become entrenched after the introduction of Burchett's article on Imahori, Seiji's *Gensuibaku Jidai: Gendaishi no Shogen* (Jo) (The Age of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs: A Testimony of Modern History, Vol. 1). San-ichi Shobo, 1959. On p. 143 of his book, he writes that it was the first report on the atomic bombing written by a reporter for the Allied Forces but makes no reference to Nakashima's article. *The Daily Express* September 5 edition is archived at the Hiroshima Prefectural Archives.
52. FIRST PICTURES INSIDE BOMB BLASTED JAPAN 1945. The film taken by a cameraman among the U.S. correspondents who arrived in Hiroshima on September 3 was used by the United News newsreel. The narration says, "Hiroshima … a city of three hundred and forty thousand people burned to earth. As far as the eye can see, stretches scenes of desolation and ruin, four square miles leveled by one bomb, the product of a live science and the climactic answer to the aggression let loose upon the world by Japan. … There was no direct hit, no gaping crater, exploding in the air above this former Japanese army deployment center, the first of two atomic bombs used against Japan, caused this area of destruction, only a few isolated structures still standing. …" The United States National Archives and Records collection. ARC Identifier 39080/Local Identifier 208-UN-172.
53. Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. *"Miyatake Hajime, Matsumoto Eiichi – Shashinten – Hibaku Chokugo no Hiroshima o Toru"* ("An Exhibition of Photographs by Hajime Miyatake and Eiichi Matsumoto—Hiroshima after the Atomic Bombing"). (An exhibition catalog). Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, 2006: p. 3. Miyatake took 121 photos. Later, the August 6, 1952 edition of *the Asahi Graph* ran four of his photos with the caption "First Exposé of A-bomb Damage," but two photos, of a boy receiving medical treatment and a seriously injured soldier, had already been featured in the September 4, 1945 Osaka edition of the Asahi Shimbun. They were not featured in the Tokyo edition. Nishimoto, Masami. "Genbaku Kiroku Shashin – Umoreta Shijitsu o Kensho Suru" (Images of the Atomic Bombing – Verifying Obscure Historical Facts). *Hiroshima Heiwa Kinen Shiryokan Shiryo Chosa Kenkyukai Kenkyu Hokoku* No. 4. 2008: p. 7.
54. Sasamoto, Yukuo. *Beigun Senryoka no Genbaku Chosa* (Investigating the Atomic Bombing under American Military Occupation). Shinkansha, 1995: p. 52.
55. *Atlanta Constitution*, August 8, 1945 edition.
56. *New York Times*, August 9 edition.
57. Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan. op. cit, pp. 14-16.
58. "Warnings that people would take sick from the effects of uranium, which had seeped into the ground, kept people away from the destroyed area." "Thousands of middle school boys and girls were accordingly victims and the number of those missing is astounding." Descriptions of acute radiation sickness and noncombatant victims were erased. "United States scientists say the atomic bomb will not

have lingering after-effects in a devastated area" was added, something that was not in the original. New York Times, August 31 edition. Leslie Nakashima's life was covered in "Hiroshima Daden Ichigo" (First News Dispatch from Hiroshima), an article on page one and the feature article of the October 5, 2000 edition and a special running story from October 6-12, 2000 editions of *the Chugoku Shimbun*.

59. Marcel Junod, head of the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross to Japan brought some 15 tons of medical supplies with him as he arrived at Hiroshima.
60. Among the photos taken in mid-October by photographer Shunkichi Kikuchi, there is an image of an acupuncture and moxibustion clinic with a caption saying, "Acupuncture for A-bomb diseases." Kikuchi was in charge of stills in the documentary film produced by Nippon Eigasha, which accompanied the Special Committee for the Investigation of A-bomb Damages, formed by the Ministry of Education.
61. Koyama, Ayao. "Watashi to Genbaku" (The Atomic Bombing and I). *Hiroshimashi Ishikai Dayori,* August 1981, the special feature on "The Atomic Bombing and I." Koyama, who was a doctor at the Hiroshima Communications Hospital, wrote that patients who had passed blood dozens of times were not believed to have anything by dysentery and were quarantined.
62. *New York Times*, September 13, 1945 edition.
63. Publication of the Tokyo and the Seibu editions of *the Asahi Shimbun* was suspended, but the September 19 and 20 the Osaka editions were published featuring the same article.
64. Yamamoto, Taketoshi. *GHQ no Kenetsu, Choho, Senden Kosaku* (Censorship, Intelligence, and Propaganda Efforts of GHQ). Iwanami Shoten, 2013: p. 63. "On October 8 a team of censors occupied the Hibiya Municipal Research Building, and all major newspapers and news agencies in Tokyo were censored by the Newspaper and News Agency Department.
65. With the Makurazaki Typhoon, which killed 2,012 people in Hiroshima Prefecture alone, striking on September 17, 1945, the Chugoku Shimbun suspended publication from September 18 due to damage to its Nukushina printing plant. For a time, the paper was once again printed by the Asahi Shimbun Osaka headquarters instead. Then, on November 5, the Chugoku Shimbun began printing and publishing again, when the company returned to the head office in the burned-down city. Yamamoto, Akira. *Shinrai* (Trust). Chugoku Shimbun, 2012: pp. 85-94.
66. Ariyama, Teruo. "Senryogun Kenetsu Taisei no Seiritsu – Senryoki Mediashi Kenkyu" (The establishment of the Occupation Forces Censorship System – Research into the History of Media during the Occupation). Seijo University Faculty of Arts and Literature. *Communication Kiyo*. March 1994: p. 44.
67. Chugoku Shimbun Shashi Hensan Iinkai. op. cit., p. 185. The Chugoku Shimbun was commissioned to print *the Yukan Hiroshima* and dispatched 31 employees to do so. On December 1, 1948, the *Yukan Hiroshima* was renamed *the Yukan Chugoku*, on October 1, 1950, *the Yukan Chugoku Shimbun;* and finally on October 1, 1952 it became the evening edition of the Chugoku Shimbun.
68. June 27, 1946 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun*. Sponsored by the head office, it solicited essays for the one-year anniversary of the atomic bombing, for which it received 171 submissions. The first prize was Sankichi Toge's "1965 Nen no Hiroshima" (Hiroshima in 1965) which was Featured for three days in the August 2 – 4 editions. Later, Toge became known for his *Genbaku Shishu* (Poems of the Atomic Bombing).
69. On August 5, together with the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Hiroshima Prefecture Trade Association, the Chugoku Shimbun held the Chugoku Regional Trade and Industry Exposition at the chamber of commerce and industry building. The Chugoku Shimbun also held Hiroshima Prefecture Bon Odori Dance Festival at Shintenchi Plaza on the evening of August 6.
70. MacArthur's message said that the suffering of that fateful day would serve as a warning to all peoples. City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Shiryo II (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Resource Materials Vol. II). City of Hiroshima, 1982: p. 401.
71. Lisa Yoneyama noted that GHQ supported the reconstruction of Hiroshima because they "determined that their interests would be furthered." "Their interests" were to show that "use of the bomb was unavoidable if the war was to end" "by connecting the atomic bomb to the idea of peace." Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space and the Dialectics of Memory*. University of California, 1999. (Ozawa, Hiroaki. et. al., trans., *Hiroshima – Kioku no Poritikusu*. Iwanami Shoten, 2005: p. 28.)
72. Chugoku Shimbun Shashi Hensan Iinkai. op. cit., p. 176.
73. Matsue, Kiyoshi. *Hiroshima no Genten e* (To the Origin of Hiroshima). Shakaihyoronsha, 1995: pp. 137-138. "The declaration adopted at the Hiroshima Congress of Partisans for Peace was the first request from Hiroshima and Japan to abolish atomic bombs." Matsue had planned the conference and worked as one of the chairmen, was in charge of editorials at the Chugoku Shimbun, as well as the president of the Hiroshima Prefecture Labor Union Council.
74. Featured three photos including two photos taken at the Miyuki Bridge by Matsushige and one photo of the mushroom cloud by Seiso Yamada.
75. Yamamoto, Taketoshi. op. cit., p. 86.
76. Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association. *Shimbun Kyokaiho*. July 31, 1950 edition. Their dismissal was based on MacArthur's letter ordering Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida to indefinitely suspend publication of the Communist Party newspaper *Akahata* from July 18.
77. The total number of people dismissed from newspapers, news agencies, and broadcasters was 704 at 50 companies. Kajitani, Yoshihisa. *Reddo Paji* (Red Purge). Tosho Shuppansha, 1980: p. 75 and others.
78. Yamamoto, Akira. op. cit., pp. 109-112. The executive director of the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association visited Hiroshima and explained that dismissals due to the Red Purge were "outside the realm of Japanese law."
79. Ubuki, Satoru. *Heiwa Kinen Shikiten no Ayumi* (History of Peace Memorial Ceremonies). Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1992: pp. 22-23.
80. Twenty four U.S. military aviators participated, invited by the Chugoku Shimbun, Hiroshima Prefecture, and the City of Hiroshima. They were accompanied by a television crew from CBS. August 7, 1951 edition of the *Chugoku Shimbun*.
81. The August 6, 1952 edition of *the Asahi Graph* sold a total of 700,000 copies over four reprints. *Asahi Shimbun Shashi:* Showa Sengo Hen (History of the Asahi Shimbun: Postwar Showa Period), Asahi Shimbun, 1994: p. 155. The name of the photographer was not clearly stated, but at the top were photos taken by Masami Onuka, who was a member of the photographic team of the Army Marine Headquarters. He headed to Ninoshima Island the day after the bombing and took photographs. A photograph of a soldiers and another photograph of a woman, showing burns covering their bodies were featured in the *Asahi Graph*, on the top page.
82. Aforementioned books *Hiroshima: Senso to Toshi* (Hiroshima: War and the City) and *Genbaku Dai Ichi Go: Hiroshima no Kiroku Shashinshu* (The First Atomic Bombing: A Photographic Record of Hiroshima) featured photos by Yoshito Matsushige, Masami Onuka, Shigeo Hayashi and Shunkichi Kikuchi. Hayashi and Kikuchi were in charge of stills in the documentary film on the atomic bombing by Nippon Eigasha.
83. The August 1952 edition of *Sekai* featured "Hiroshima kara Kita Musumetachi" (The Girls who Came from Hiroshima) by Yoko Ota. *Fujin Koron* (the August 1952 edition) featured "Genbaku no Musumetachi o Sukue" (Save the Girls of the Atomic Bombing) by Kojiro Serizawa.
84. The November 1952 special issue of *Kaizo* carried the report by the physicist Mitsuo Taketani, "Ikinokotta Juni-mannin" (120,000

Survivors) as a top article.

85. Following the movie, *Children of Hiroshima*, based on *Genbaku no Ko: Hiroshima no Shonen Shojo no Uttae* (Children of the A-Bomb: Testament of the Boys and Girls of Hiroshima), edited by Arata Osada and published from Iwanami Shoten in 1951, Hedeo Sekikawa directed *Hiroshima* in 1953. Both films were released overseas and were a means of telling the world about the horrors of the atomic bombing. Hiroshima Prefecture (1986). op. cit., p. 214.
86. Five students who had lost their parents to the atomic bombing unveiled the Atomic Bomb Cenotaph, which was erected in Peace Memorial Park at the August 6, 1952 Peace Memorial Ceremony. Chugoku Shimbun. *Kensho Hiroshima* (History of Hiroshima). Chugoku Shimbun, 1995: p. 41.
87. "8.6 Sekai Taikai Junbi Nyusu (Sekai Taikai Saishu Hokoku)" (News on Preparations for the 8/6 World Conference [Final Report of the World Conference]). In *Gensuibaku Kinshi Undo Shiryoshu* Dai Ni Kan (Reference Material on the Movement against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, Vol. 2), Ryokuin Shobo, 1995: pp. 364-365.
88. According to the September 1, 1962 edition of the Chugoku Shimbun Shaho (Chugoku Shimbun Company Newsletter), there was an unwritten rule that the political department of the Chugoku Shimbun was in charge of planning A-bomb-related articles. But with a Hiroshima gubernatorial election followed by the House of Councillors election, the political department was too busy, and the social department took on that role. Yoshio Asano, who was in charge of the series titled "Hiroshima no Shogen" (Testimonies of Hiroshima), saw the lack of a large-scale plan to take up the issue of the atomic bombing because its scars and shadows were so familiar to those in the company that people were not surprised or impressed by what they were witnessing. Asano himself was exposed to the atomic bombing in the summer of his second year at Hiroshima Second Middle School (current Hiroshima Prefectural Hiroshima Kanon High School) but he had never spoken on his experiences. He said that he had visited one venue more than 10 times to write an article. As the articles were based on thorough research, the series got a hugely positive response from the readers. When "Hiroshima Orizuru no Kai" (Hiroshima Paper Crane Club) called for sending the series of articles to peace organizations around the country, the club received some 10,000 old newspapers and clippings. August 27, 1962 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun.*
89. Toshihiro Kanai created the Hiroshima Society for the Research of Atomic Bomb Materials in 1968, and the society published Vol. 1-3 of *Genbaku Hisai Shiryo Somokuroku* (Comprehensive Record of Information about the A-bomb Damage). He also wrote *Kakukenryoku: Hiroshima no Kokuhatsu* (Nuclear Might: Accusations from Hiroshima), Sanseido, 1970.
90. Takashi Hiraoka (Hiroshima Mayor from 1991-1999), who wrote "Honoo no Keifu" (Journey from the Fire), said that Toshihiro Kanai and Toru Kanei played major roles in the formation of the Chugoku Shimbun's atomic-bombing and peace-related coverage. Kanei was in charge of "Hiroshima no Shogen" (Testimonies of Hiroshima) as general news editor and "Hiroshima Niju Nen" (20 Years after the Bombing) as associate editor. In November 1965, during his years as a general news reporter, Hiraoka visited Korea just after the restoration of diplomatic ties, and ran a serial (ten times) between November 25 and December 4, titled "Tonari no Kuni Kankoku" (South Korea, Our Neighbor). He pointed out the need to support neglected A-bomb survivors in Korea, saying, "When we consider Hiroshima together with Korea, we must recognize the problems of the Japanese people." The issue that Hiraoka raised almost half a century ago is not limited to the Japanese colonial rule or war responsibility; his serious question is still applicable to today's media as well as to the successive governments that have continued to take vague attitudes toward nuclear disarmament while saying that Japan is "the only country to have been attacked with atomic bombs."
91. *Chugoku Shimbun*, September 11, 1965 edition.

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III The People's Lives: Rebuilding and Changes

1 Restarting from Ruins

Hiroshima was reduced to ruins by the atomic bombing. Many of its citizens had to rebuild their livelihoods on their own. They experienced unspeakable suffering. A census of the city's population on November 1, 1945 shows that the population had dropped to one-third its pre-bombing level. As of November 1, there were 137,197 people living in the periphery of the city, which had escaped the fires.[1)]

"Three months on and still not fully recovered." The Chugoku Shimbun had returned to its head office, in Kaminagarekawa-cho (today's Ebisu-cho, Naka-ku) in Hiroshima City, which had been completely burned. It resumed printing and publishing on its own from the November 5, 1945 edition, which featured a photo of the city center with rubble everywhere. The coverage filled almost the entire second page of the morning edition to this article. It made the following appeal:

"Rather than some elaborate, grand, esoteric concept of recovery, what citizens long for is no more than homes that will protect them from the cold and supplies of food to stave off hunger."

In those days, survival was the greatest concern. Electric lights were now starting to light up,[2)] but there was no prospect for gas supplies to be restored.[3)] The Housing Corporation's Hiroshima Branch had just begun their housing construction plan and ordered materials from the former munitions factory.[4)] Make-shift huts were being built, but people had to rely on ground water for potable water.[5)]

Even with the arrival of "peace" that followed defeat in the war, the rationing of staple foods did not increase but continued to decrease. The amount of rations distributed during the war was about 345 grams a day per person, but decreased by 10% directly before the end of the war. Roughly 315 grams continued to be distributed until November 1946.[6)] People could only rarely eat cooked rice; instead, their main staples were potatoes and thin rice gruel consisting of a little rice mixed with vegetables and wild grasses.

A fifth-grade boy at Noboricho National School (a primary school in today's Naka-ku) wrote the following about living in the extreme poverty.[7)]

"My mother tells our neighbors all the time that the hardest thing is not having any food or clothes for family. We live in a hut that my father built, but there are a lot of cracks, and drafts come whistling in. It's so cold that I can hardly sleep at night. There is no electricity, so we burn wood in a *hibachi* (brazier) for light. We have to travel far to find firewood. We also have to go far to get water. I cannot take a bath so I am dirty from head to toe."

The urban area three months after the bombing. Left to the back is the Hatchobori district. (Photo by the Chugoku Shimbun, November 1945)

According to a survey on the livelihood of 1,000 residents as December approached, 86 % actually responded that their starvation was inevitable.[8)] Agricultural villages, which would play key roles in increasing food production,

were exhausted from the all-out effort to win the so-called "holy war." In Hiroshima Prefecture alone, more than 2,000 people were either dead or missing as a result of the Makurazaki Typhoon, which had raged in September, the month after the bombing.[9)]

The government and local municipalities did not have any plans to immediately rectify the situation, so the citizens had to ensure their survival by themselves. As a result, black markets sprouted up immediately and thrived in the ruins of Hiroshima.

2 Reconstruction Starts with the Black Market

In the wake of the bombing, at around the end of August 1945, small stalls appeared here and there in front of Hiroshima Station.[10)]

Michihiko Hachiya, director of the Hiroshima Communications Hospital, wrote about what he saw in the area around the station on September 15. He went there after hearing that "Occupation Forces" were in the vicinity of the station."[11)]

The black market, stretching out south from Hiroshima Station. (Photo by the Mainichi Newspaper, February 1946)

"On the roadside people were selling a variety of things on wooden boards ranging from a half to a full *tatami* mat in size. Small huts were also built there. At storefronts there were *substitute foods* like seaweed noodles (*udon* noodles made of seaweed), *oden* hodgepodge, *mugwort* cakes, and cakes made of whatever ingredient could be used. The shops looked shabby but they all looked to be prospering.... I could not bear to look at the poor street children, so I left the station area and went home."[12)]

Stretching out at the intersections of the delta streets, black markets were also called the "free markets." "Hiroshima's reconstruction started with black markets." An article in December 19, 1945 edition of the Chugoku Shimbun described the energy of the black markets.

"It does not matter where the money comes from: it could have been a 100-yen bill from a rich man's pocket, or insurance money that someone has just received, or a ten-yen bill that felt cheap in the businessman's wallet. Once it comes to this market, it is all busily passed from one stall to the next. The shoe store keeper who receives money for repairing shoes buys candies, and the candy store keeper buys tangerines."

The Prefectural Police Department in charge of keeping security initially considered the black markets helped people to live better lives, and tacitly approved of them to some extent.[13)] Some 1,500 "instant merchants" appeared in front of Hiroshima Station, as well as over 500 at each black market set up in Tenma, Koi and Yokogawa (those are parts of today's Nishi-ku), and the market in Ujina (part of today's Minami-ku).[14)] As of June 1946, the black markets had expanded to 21 locations with 1,863 shops in Hiroshima Prefecture, because of a shortage in rationed goods and the increasing number of returning soldiers.[15)]

However, while one could freely buy daily necessities at the black markets, they also caused vicious inflation. There were also various illegal activities (such as gambling) going on in the open, so the police decided to conduct nationwide crackdowns on black markets.

The Hiroshima Prefectural Police Department started their crackdowns in February

1946.[16] In the early morning of June 13, they surrounded the five black markets (including the one in front of Hiroshima Station) "blocked traffic and inspected the possessions of shoppers, merchants, and people hanging around the market," and arrested over 1,000 people.[17] Two hundred British Commonwealth MPs (in charge of the occupation of Hiroshima) were also dispatched. After this crackdown, which was the largest of the six crackdowns that occurred before and after this one, the black markets in Hiroshima fell into rapid decline.

Local municipalities also implemented their own countermeasures. The City of Hiroshima planned to create public markets to safeguard the daily lives of residents. The city government opened 19 shops in Koi on June 5, 14 shops in Minami-machi (part of today's Minami-ku) on June 20, and 23 shops in Yokogawa on July 15.[18]

The thriving black market in front of Hiroshima Station was gradually transferred to the open space in front of the Management Division of the Japanese National Railways Hiroshima Railway Bureau and to Kojin-machi (part of today's Minami-ku). Starting that July, these markets were referred to as the "people's markets." Nameplates were displayed in front of every shop to clarify responsibility for the goods sold.[19]

3 Food Crisis

"People around the country must renew their resolve to share what little they have and their hardships. We must help each other to overcome this predicament."

These were the words of the Emperor Showa broadcast over the radio on May 24, 1946.[20] A big rally to protest the delay in rice rationing (called the "Food May Day") took place in front of the Imperial Palace on May 19. One participant was arrested for lèse-majesté (under the former Constitution of Japan).

In Hiroshima City on May 21, when the distribution of rations had been delayed for 11 days, the citizen representatives of the Nakajima school district (part of today's Naka-ku) had a face-to-face negotiation with Governor Tsunei Kusunose to demand that rations be supplied.[21] It was not uncommon for juveniles to defraud people of rice or steal lunches from students on their way to school.[22]

Facing unprecedented food shortages, Hiroshima Mayor Shichiro Kihara called for self-sufficiency on June 27 in his address, "To Hiroshima Citizens!"[23]

"If you have your own land or families or friends in rural areas, return there for the time being and help increase agricultural production. If you remain in the city, save your rice by eating vegetables and edible wild grasses, and stretch these provisions out as much as possible starting today. In preparation for the next crisis, make every use of the burned-out land and other vacant lots.... Make utmost efforts. We must make our own way with our own hands."

The bottoming-out of the food crisis continued.

"We also ate frogs at the *grass festival*." On June 24, before Mayor Kihara made the appeal, the City of Hiroshima held an "edible wild grass tasting event" in front of Hiroshima Station.[24] In this event, skinned, deep fried pond frogs were also offered. Wild grass recipes were taught at municipal elementary schools.

Hiroshima Prefecture organized teams that visited town and village leaders and the heads of agricultural associations to ask for rice. The City of Hiroshima created groups of blacksmiths to repair farm implements and asked farmers to kindly offer their stock of rice to the suffering people. On July 12, a truck loaded with a supply of two million cigarettes left city hall. These cigarettes were sent in thanks for the relief rice that was a lifeline for

Hiroshima's 180,000 citizens. City councilors went to the northern Hiroshima Prefecture to express their gratitude.[25)]

Every day people staved off starvation with precarious relief rice and rice bought at black markets. From July 17, however, food rationing was suspended for three days every month, and the destitute were told that they would be supplied with only two *dango* balls per person per day.[26)] Virtually no rice, vegetables, or fish was rationed. By the end of August mugwort and dried sweet potato vines were powdered and distributed unprocessed. This was the worst point of the food shortage.[27)]

The government requested that the General Headquarters (GHQ) import provisions. Wheat, corn and canned pineapple were then sent to five cities in Hiroshima Prefecture. The Hiroshima City Council unanimously approved a resolution to thank GHQ and expressed their gratitude to General MacArthur.[28)]

The food crisis struck children hardest as they need to eat to grow. In a survey of 1,460 children attending Hijiyama National School (a primary school in today's Minami-ku), only 180 brought lunches, and only 78 of them had lunches with rice cooked with barley.[29)]

At the end of July 1946, the City of Hiroshima conducted a physical examination on the 19,800 students at 31 schools in the city. Compared with the 1940 survey, conducted before Japan went to war against the U.S., boys were on average 5.5 centimeters shorter, and girls were 3.0 centimeters shorter. Thirteen-year old first-year students in the advanced course of elementary school were as much as 12.9 centimeters shorter. Health department technicians pointed out that this was not only due to insufficient intake of calories but also the atomic bombing that had greatly weakened the children's bodies, internally and externally. Psychologically, the children were diagnosed as being easily irritated and restless due to inflation, starvation, and dire social unrest.[30)]

Around the beginning of 1948, the food situation slowly began to improve. Rationing of sweet potatoes, synonymous with "stable foods," became shunned, and the people of Ujina-machi held a "town meeting to reject potatoes."[31)] The amount of staple foods rationed increased to some 390 grams per person per day from November of that year, but 82 % of Hiroshima residents thought it was still insufficient.[32)] Rationing of clothes was also scarce, and high prices continued at the free markets.

Even in these difficult situations, children went to schools, which had resumed. They were now able to dream of tomorrow.

4 Open-air and Borrowed Classrooms

Noboricho National School (a primary school in today's Naka-ku), which was destroyed in the fires that followed the atomic bombing, borrowed the ferroconcrete building of the Hiroshima Central Broadcasting Station, which had remained standing in the fire, and resumed classes on October 5, 1945. Desks and chairs from the former Corps of Engineers were hauled in by large hand-drawn carts.[33)] The classrooms were moved from the broadcasting station to the Hiroshima Central Telephone Bureau, but with the start of repairs there, they had no choice but to return to the school's playground. The following comes from a fourth-grade boy's essay titled "Our School."[34)]

"We started having class outside. We even have class on rainy days. And on really hot days when we feel dizzy, we put on hats while we study. Soldiers from the occupation forces were interested in us studying here and there in the burned city, so they often came by to look at us and take pictures. One day, during our morning assembly, the principal said a school building was going to be built soon. I was so happy to hear this."

The ten-classroom, one-story temporary school-building was finished at the end of June 1946, but classes were held in two shifts except for the sixth grade as there were not enough classrooms. After the Fundamental Law of Education was promulgated, Noboricho National School became Noboricho Elementary School in April 1947. But because of the increase in the number of students, outdoor classes under simple reed roofs continued.

Outdoor classes at Noboricho Elementary School. 1948.
(Collection of the Hiroshima Municipal Archives)

In this situation, a committee to promote reconstruction and conducted fundraising was established at the Noboricho Elementary School by parents and alumni of the school district. In March 1949, a two-story wooden school building with 13 classrooms was built in the first phase. In the second phase, another building with 15 classrooms was built in October to accommodate the remaining 400 students from the temporary building. The cost of five million yen for the first phase and six million yen for the second phase was split between the school and the city government.[35)]

The Noboricho Elementary School was not the only school that faced difficulties in reconstruction. There were 37 National Schools (primary schools) before the bombing, but after the bombing, only 11 schools had usable buildings, including the ferroconcrete buildings with twisted window frames at Honkawa and Fukuromachi National Schools.[36)] Nakajima, Kojin, and other National Schools resumed classes in the open air.

In 1947, seven municipal junior high schools opened under the new education system, but they inherited or borrowed the elementary school buildings that were not burned down in the fire. The Fifth Junior High School (now Noboricho Junior High School) borrowed the third floor of the ferroconcrete building at Fukuromachi Elementary School. When the junior high school opened, it had only three buckets, five brooms, and two pieces of white chalk.[37)] The following is an article on a classroom scene at the junior high school.[38)]

"As there are no textbooks or mimeographs to make printed materials, lessons are conducted in a very primitive way: verbally from teachers to students. But the education method that focuses on discipline with long lists of restrictions for teachers and students was done away with. Instead, teachers encourage various sports and fostered students' emotional development in many ways. They are making tremendous efforts to make up for the insufficient facilities."

The number of junior high schools following the new educational system increased to 12 in April 1949, and the number of junior high school students increased to a total of 8,761 in 1950. From around this time, full-scale construction of permanent school buildings and installation of school equipment began, including those for elementary schools.

5 The Rise of Entertainment and Culture

Soon, a sense of liberation that came with the end of the war was in the air; it was even present in the ruins of the delta. Sales of beer began at the burned-out Kirin Beer Hall on

September 4, 1945, one month after the bombing. There the customers drank beer while standing. The Chugoku Reconstruction Foundation opened a tea room at the Municipal Asano Library, which had withstood the fires, serving a glass of sugar water for 10 sen (0.1 yen).[39)]

Restaurants and eateries counted on hungry residents, and their numbers increased by 50% to 767 (10 restaurants, 750 eateries, and 7 meal-coupon cafeterias) by the following summer, when there were some 10,000 new buildings in an atomic desert. "Eating places" revived as quickly in Hiroshima as in other cities.[40)]

People were also hungry for entertainment. All movie theaters except for the Minato Theater in Ujina were destroyed by the bomb. However, the Hiroshima Theater, affiliated with Shochiku, opened at the east end of the Kojin Bridge in front of Hiroshima Station in February 1946, and the Meiga Theater opened on the seventh floor of the Fukuya Department Store in May. In 1946 alone eight theaters opened.[41)] In 1949 there were 14 movie theaters, and six theaters for theatrical performances and other purposes.[42)] Even if they had to stand, the citizens went to the theaters about 13 times a year on average, which was higher than the nationwide average of 10 times a year per person.[43)]

Social dancing also became popular. There were no dance halls before the war, but in July 1946 the Hiroshima Hall opened behind the Hiroshima Theater.[44)] The hall had a floor space of 20 *tsubo* (66 square meters) and hired 17 dancers. By 1949, the number of dance halls and dance studios offering lessons had increased to 19.

Three years after the bomb more and more women preferred wearing long skirts than *mompe* work pants. Relief packages began to arrive from relatives who had immigrated to the mainland U.S. and Hawaii, and "*hakuraiya"* shops also increased in number. These stores were unique to Hiroshima and sold goods from overseas.[45)]

Setonaikai Bunko was the first bookstore.[46)] It opened in the spring of 1946 in a temporary building located in Shimonagarekawa-cho (in today's Nagarekawa-cho, Naka-ku). The owner, also a board member of the Hiroshima Prefecture Tourism Association, launched *Hiroshima*, a general magazine, in June 1948. In May of the following year, he published an all-English photobook, *LIVING HIROSHIMA*. In September 1946, a store with a sign "Bookseller Atom," written in English and Japanese, opened in a make-shift hut near the former Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, later called the A-bomb Dome.[47)]

The Hiroshima City Asano Library, which had been completely burned, was temporarily reopened in October 1946 at the Sanyo Buntokuden in Hijiyama. Once some repairs were finished, the library returned to Ko-machi (part of today's Naka-ku) in June 1949.

The Hiroshima City Children's Library opened with donations from Japanese Americans. (Photo by the Chugoku Shimbun, 1952)

The CIE (Civil Information and Education Section) Library opened in a one-story mortared building in Naka-machi (part of today's Naka-ku) in November 1948. It became popular with young people. It played records and showed movies; and those who were attracted to American culture used the library. In 1950, the number of users rose to 76,552.[48)] The Prefectural Children's Library (which later became Prefectural Library) was opened next to the CIE Library in November 1951.[49)]

"Give dreams to the children of an A-bombed city." The first cultural facilities built in the ruins of Hiroshima

were the Children's Cultural Hall, built in May 1948 on the former military ground stretching in Moto-machi (part of today's Naka-ku), and the Hiroshima City Children's Library, which opened in December 1952. The former was built with funds raised mainly by teachers and was operated by the city from 1950, while the latter was built with a four million-yen donation from the Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California in the United States.

People of Japanese origin, "overseas kin," immediately offered support to the citizens of Hiroshima City and Hiroshima Prefecture who suffered from the atomic bombing. Hiroshima was the "emigrant prefecture" with the largest number of people emigrating overseas.[50)]

6 Support from Overseas Japanese Communities

On March 26, 1948, the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry received a letter from Los Angeles saying that the Kenjinkai had established an organization to assist the reconstruction of Hiroshima. They decided to do so after Toshinori Kumamoto told them about the situation in Hiroshima, using movies he had taken with his 16-mm camera when he returned to purchase Japanese goods. He also told them about Hiroshima Governor Tsunei Kusunose's request for support of the reconstruction of Hiroshima.[51)]

The Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California[52)] raised $3,000 at the meeting in February when they decided to support Hiroshima.[53)] "To Kenjinkai members: Donate to the A-bomb victim relief fund." Giichi Takata, president of the Kenjinkai, made this call for donations in the local Japanese paper.[54)]

With the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese military, 121,000 first-generation Japanese and the second generation Japanese-American citizens living in the West Coast of the United States were ordered to move inland and sent to 10 internment camps.[55)] After the war, Japanese Americans with ancestry from Hiroshima were also in the midst of rebuilding their livelihoods. Their lives were not easy, either. However, the Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California raised $12,000 within half a year from its call for support. The letter also noted that a portion of it was to be sent in the form of relief goods to 548 children and mothers at five facilities, including the Ninoshima Gakuen, a foster home in today's Minami-ku, and the Hiroshima War Orphans Foster Home in Itsukaichi-cho (now Minaga, Saeki-ku) on the outskirts of the city.[56)]

The Hawaii Society for Relief of Hiroshima War Victims was formed in Honolulu, Hawaii in April 1948.[57)] Kyuzo Terada, who was an executive of the board, and others visited Hiroshima as buyers in October 1947. During their visit, Yutaka Terada, Kyuzo Terada's younger brother and then chairman of the Hiroshima City Council, and Mayor Shinzo Hamai asked them for support. The fundraising activity spread to Oahu, Kauai and other islands, and five months after the formation of the society, they raised the enormous sum of $48,114.70.[58)] By June 1949 that sum had risen to some $113,000.[59)] In those days, one dollar was 360 yen, and the average salary of a factory worker in Hiroshima City was 8,175 yen for men and 3,484 yen for women.[60)]

With GHQ's permission, $90,000 was first sent in July 1949. It was divided evenly between the city and the prefecture.[61)] With its $45,000 (16.2 million yen), the City of Hiroshima built four more dormitories for widows with small children in Moto-machi, a maternity clinic in Ujina, a nursing home for elderly persons in Kannon-mura (now part of Saeki-ku) on the outskirts of the city, among other facilities.[62)] With an additional $20,000, the City established a sheltered workshop for the physically-disabled and other facilities.

The Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California sent four million yen to the City of

Hiroshima in May 1950 to build a children's library.[63] The Hiroshima City Children's Library was built using the funds from this donation and some funds from the city government. This glass-walled circular building became a landmark of Hiroshima. Kenzo Tange, who designed the Peace Memorial Park, also designed this building. In June 1954, the Seattle Hiroshima Kenjinkai (now Seattle Hiroshima Club) sent 762,000 yen[64], which was used to purchase books.

Support from overseas Japanese communities came not only from the United States. The Relief Group for A-Bomb Orphans was established in 1950 in Sao Paolo, Brazil by people from Hiroshima Prefecture and sent relief supplies to eight facilities.[65] In June 1951, the Hiroshima Kenjinkai Argentina sent some 670,000 yen for reconstruction funds to the City of Hiroshima.[66] Hiroshima also received funds and goods from individuals who returned home, visiting their family graves, or as tourists.

Furthermore, the *Save Hiroshima* campaigns in Hawaii did not only garner support from Japanese Americans but also from Americans of various ethnic backgrounds. Even the English language media also reported this eagerly.[67] The activities of Japanese Americans spread to other American citizens. Floyd Schmoe led the "Houses for Hiroshima" project. Norman Cousins promoted the "Moral Adoption Program" for supporting A-bomb orphans. In this way, the Japanese Americans helped the expanding activities to support Hiroshima.

7 Reconstruction Accelerated

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, promulgated on August 6, 1949, gave financial impetus to Hiroshima's reconstruction by increasing subsidies for postwar reconstruction and by transferring the land owned by the national government to local governments for free.[68] And the creation of a professional baseball team, the Hiroshima Carp, carried the people's dreams.

"The team's name is the 'Hiroshima Carp'." On September 28, 1949, the Chugoku Shimbun printed the name "Hiroshima Carp" for the first time. Two months later, on November 28, the entry of the Carp into the Central League was aprroved.[69]

A ceremony for the formation of the team was held on January 15, 1950 at the municipal baseball stadium with wooden stands built on the former Western Drill Ground (around today's prefectural government office). Some 20,000 people celebrated the start of the team, which was led by Manager Shuichi Ishimoto, a Hiroshima native.

The Hiroshima Carp had no parent company, unlike the other teams in Tokyo, Osaka, and other cities, and its capital funds were contributed to by local influential people in the government and private sectors.[70] However, there were continued delays in paying the salaries to the players. The team also finished last in regulation games in 1950, with 41 wins, 96 losses, and one tie. Before the start of the following season in 1951, the team was on the brink of being sold off or merged with another team. Manager Ishimoto proposed forming a fan club to raise funds. He busily went around to ask people to support this idea, and some 13,000 people agreed.[71] Under these circumstances, support grew feverishly for this "citizens' team." People overlapped the improvement of the team with Hiroshima's reconstruction and development.[72]

The Hiroshima Carp were able to survive this difficult time, when the team was referred to as "broke," because the city's reconstruction was well underway.

The Korean War, which erupted in June 1950, brought with it a boom in special procurement around the country. The U.S. military was buying military goods in dollars, and the dollar-based revenue rapidly increased.[73] In Hiroshima, export of shipbuilding products,

automotive parts, lumber, rayon, needles, and other goods increased. The economy began to improve instantly.[74] Citizens began to feel tangible improvements in their daily lives, including having more food and clothes.[75]

The population of the City of Hiroshima exceeded 280,000 at the end of June that year,[76] and the daytime population exceeded 400,000. Housing construction progressed from make-shift huts to permanent houses, and there were 65,000 buildings in the city, including people's homes, company buildings, restaurants, stores, public housing and others. On average, the power consumption in the city accounted for 22% of the total power consumption in the prefecture. The remarkable revival of the entertainment district brought back neon signs, which were reminiscent of the "good old days."[77]

Although most of the streetcars were incinerated in the fires of the atomic bombing, by this time, the number of streetcars had increased to 115 to alleviate overcrowding. People used to ride on over-packed streetcars, hanging on to them despite the risk of being injured or killed, but this situation was resolved.[78]

In December 1952, after the occupation ended, the citizens Engel's coefficient (which shows the ratio of food expenses in total spending) had dropped to 50.4, showing that family budgets had finally moved out of dire destitution.[79] The Radio Chugoku Company (RCC), Hiroshima's first commercial radio station, also started in October of that year.[80]

In March 1955, 10 years after the bombing, the City Public Hall, a 1,200-seat auditorium complex, to which a hotel with 25 rooms was attached, was completed in the Peace Memorial Park. This was followed by the opening of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in August. The population continued to grow and reached 370,000. On the other hand, reconstruction controversy surfaced, and how to best advance projects for constructing a Peace Memorial City became a campaign issue in the April 1955 Hiroshima mayoral election.

8 Light and Shadows

Mayor Shinzo Hamai, who had led the reconstruction, lost in the April 1955 election, when he tried for the third consecutive term.[81] Tadao Watanabe, a lawyer, made a bold speech, saying that the planned 100-meter wide road (Peace Boulevard), running from east to west through the middle of the delta, should be 50 meters wide to create extra spaces to build ferroconcrete apartments, and he defeated the incumbent mayor.[82]

With land readjustment projects to promote the war-damage reconstruction under the five-year plan to build a Peace Memorial City, roads would make up 31 % of the city area, while parks and green areas, virtually absent before the war, would make up seven percent.[83] The increase in public land forced the residents in the target areas to be relocated. People with nowhere to go moved to various places, including riverbanks, on which greenbelts were to be created. It was said that there was a housing shortage of about 13,000 housing units.[84]

The entire area in front of Hiroshima Station, a gateway to Hiroshima, was densely packed with hovels and major fires occurred continuously. In April 1955, 48 houses were totally or partially destroyed, and in July 1956, 70 were totally destroyed.[85] This area was also to be vacated; but every time a fire broke out, temporary buildings were put up, and citizens criticized them as unfair. In September 1956, the City of Hiroshima forcibly evicted people from this area, and residents had scuffles with the police.

In 1956, the year in which an economic white paper said that it was no longer the "postwar period," the average net monthly income for working families in Hiroshima City had risen 10.4% over the previous year. In 1958, this rose by 19.5%.[86] The city's population

exceeded 410,000, and was restored to the highest level of population in the prewar years.

In 1958 the City of Hiroshima marked its 70th anniversary, and the Hiroshima Reconstruction Exposition was held for 50 days starting on April 1. The tower of Hiroshima Castle, lost in the bombing, was rebuilt and used as a venue for exhibition of history and traditional Hiroshima crafts ("Kyodo Kan") of the Exposition. At the Peace Memorial Park, "Venue 1" of the Exposition, there were various pavilions such as the "Reconstruction Pavilion" and the "Television Electric Wave Pavilion" as well the "Atomic Energy Science Pavilion"[87] under the theme of the "peaceful use of nuclear energy." The "magic hands" made in the United States were exhibited in the pavilion. The "Artificial Satellite Pavilion" was opened with the Soviet Union's cooperation. The exposition attracted a total of 877,000 visitors, which was more than the organizers had expected.[88]

Hiroshima was riding a wave of rapid economic growth. In July 1957, the Hiroshima Municipal Baseball Stadium, outfitted with equipment for night games, and the *Bus Center* (which ran 700 buses a day) were built in Moto-machi. Mayor Watanabe withdrew his proposal to narrow the 100-meter road, and between 1957 and 1958, asked the towns and villages in Hiroshima Prefecture to donate trees to be planted in Hiroshima. Citizens also donated seedlings, including those for rose gardens. This greatly changed the look of the Peace Boulevard (the 100-meter wide road). People used to say, "The boulevard was so thick with weeds that it was dark even during the day,"[89] but the entire boulevard was opened in May 1965.

Improvements progressed in the area in front of Hiroshima Station, which had become extremely congested with passengers, buses and taxis. In December 1965, the same year when the Peace Boulevard opened, Hiroshima Station was newly opened as a "station for the people." The seven-story building with a basement level was jointly invested in by the Japanese National Railways, the City of Hiroshima, the local business community and others.

The previous year, the population had reached a milestone of 500,000, and with the large population the citizens faced new problems in their lives such as how to treat ever-increasing garbage and sewage. In Hiroshima, many corporate branch offices were being established. About 80% of the 500,000 citizens were not A-bomb survivors.[90] The income gap between those who had ridden the wave of the economic growth following the recovery of the city and those who did not also widened.

The City of Hiroshima was led once again by Mayor Hamai, who had made a comeback. The A-bomb Survivors Medical Care Law was amended in April 1965 with a supplementary resolution to establish comprehensive measures for addressing their housing problems. Based on this resolution, the City of Hiroshima worked with the prefectural government to remove the "A-bomb slums" on the planned riverbank greenbelts.[91]

According to the survey conducted by the city and the prefecture in November 1966, 6,256 families lived in 5,449 houses in the 63 A-bomb slums in the city, and one-third of the households were those of A-bomb survivors.[92] In Moto-machi, 3,453 families lived in 3,141 houses densely-built on the bank of the Ota River. In this area, 532 people from 171 households suffered from a large fire on July 27, 1967.[93]

Decrepit houses crowding the left bank of the Ota River
(Photo by the Chugoku Shimbun, 1962)

The redevelopment of Moto-machi began in 1969. With an investment of 22.6

billion yen, 2,600 decrepit houses were removed from the target area of 33.36 hectares. Afterwards, high-rise apartment buildings were constructed in Moto-machi. With this, the environment and the landscape of this area changed completely.[94)]

"The postwar period in Hiroshima will not be over until this district is renovated." These words were inscribed on the monument erected in October 1978 in the green area south of Hiroshima Castle, commemorating the Moto-machi district redevelopment project.

The reconstruction of Hiroshima was made possible through each citizen's efforts and various kinds of support, overcoming many difficulties and contradictions. As former Mayor Hamai, also called the "A-bomb Mayor," once wrote: "We've lived through it." This sentiment is shared by the citizens who made tremendous efforts to rebuild their lives from the ashes of the atomic bombing.[95)] The shared challenge for the people of today, and of tomorrow is whether or not we can make Hiroshima into "a symbol of hope to realize a lasting peace," as called for by our predecessors.

(Masami Nishimoto)

Notes and References

1. City of Hiroshima. Showa Gojuni Nen Ban – *Shisei Yoran* (Municipal Handbook, 1977 edition). City of Hiroshima, March 1978: pp. 66-67. According to the Statistics Bureau of the Cabinet Office, there were 343,034 people living in Hiroshima City as of February 22, 1944.
2. The Chugoku Haiden (the Chugoku Electric Power Distribution Company) lost almost one-third of its employees at its headquarters, or 102 people. It began restoration work the day after the bombing to restore power and completed the restoration in all damaged areas by the end of November. Chugoku Denryoku Goju Nenshi Shashi Henshu Shoiinkai. *Chugoku Denryoku Goju Nenshi* (50-Year History of the Chugoku Electric Power Company). Chugoku Electric Power Company, 2001: p. 68. However, chronic power shortages continued, and complete power outages were not uncommon.
3. Hiroshima Gas lost 69 people, but it began supplying gas to 235 remaining customers in Ujina-machi on April 11, 1946. Hiroshima Gas Shashi Hensan Iinkai. *Hiroshima Gas Hachiju Nenshi* (80-Year History of the Hiroshima Gas). Hiroshima Gas, 1990: p. 10.
4. According to "Year-end economic and financial report on the December 31, 1945" of Bank of Japan's Hiroshima Branch, "It is currently difficult to procure lumber, and therefore there had been considerable fanfare about the Housing Corporation's plan to build 3,500 houses in this year. However, only a small number of the houses (which are just for show) have been built thus far." City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Keizai Hen (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Economy). City of Hiroshima, 1984: p. 34.
5. Shibata, Shigeteru. *Genbaku no Jisso* (The Facts of the Atomic Bombing). Bunkasha, 1955: pp. 73-74. The water supply in Hiroshima flowed out from broken water pipes everywhere in the burned city. While this quenched the thirsts of people looking for missing relatives under the blazing sun and of workers engaged in cleanup activities, such water leaks caused a severe water shortage. Shibata was deputy mayor when the bomb hit.
6. Hiroshima Prefecture. *Genbaku Sanju Nen* (30 Years after the Atomic Bombing). Hiroshima Prefecture, 1976: p. 135.
7. December 6, 1945 edition.
8. "Sensaisha Issen Nin no Koe" (A Thousand Voices of War Victims). December 19, 1945 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun.*
9. Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshimaken Sabo Saigaishi* (Record of Sediment Control and Disasters of Hiroshima Prefecture). Sediment Control Division, Public Works and Architecture Bureau, Hiroshima Prefecture, 1997: p. 33. The Makurazaki Typhoon struck Hiroshima on September 17, 1945. A total of 2,012 people were missing or dead, mostly along the prefecture's coastal areas. "Due to the damage from the A-bomb, the telephone line to the meteorological observatory (at the time the Hiroshima District Meteorological Observatory) had been cut," and "there was no system to inform relevant institutions or to alert the general public by radio."
10. Hiroshimaken Keisatsushi Henshu Iinkai. *Shinpen Hiroshimaken Keisatsushi* (History of the Hiroshima Prefectural Police Department, New Edition). Hiroshimaken Keisatsu Renraku Kyogikai, 1954: p. 951.
11. Hachiya, Michihiko. *Hiroshima Nikki* (Hiroshima Diary). Asahi Shimbun, 1955; New Ed., Hosei University Press, 1975: pp. 245-246.
12. The advance element of the Sixth United States Army entered Kure City from Osaka on September 26, 1945. Hiroshima Prefecture. *Hiroshimaken Sensaishi* (History of War Damage in Hiroshima Prefecture). Dai-Ichi Hoki, 1988: p. 481.
13. Hiroshimaken Keisatsushi Henshu Iinkai. op. cit., p. 952.
14. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 6, 1946 edition.
15. Hiroshimaken Keisatsushi Henshu Iinkai. op. cit., p. 956.
16. Yukan Hiroshima, February 7, 1946 edition. The first crackdown on black markets in Hiroshima City took place on February 6, with 111 violators (of them 50 women) placed in custody.
17. *Yukan Hiroshima*, June 15, 1946 edition.
18. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 6, 1946 edition.
19. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 1, 1946 edition.
20. Inoue, Makoto. *Shodo kara no Saisei* (Recovery from the Scorched Earth). Shinchosha, 2012: pp. 48-49. "While it has mostly been forgotten now, but this was what Emperor Hirohito said in his second radio broadcast. The emperor needed to make an appeal by radio, just as he needed to at the end of the war. This shows that the people's lives had reached utter destitution." In this book Inoue explains the content of the radio broadcast on May 24, 1946.
21. *Chugoku Shimbun*, May 22, 1946 edition.
22. *Yukan Hiroshima*, June 24 and June 26, 1946 editions.
23. City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Shiho:* Fukkatsu Dai Go go (Hiroshima City Newsletter – No. 5 after printing resumed). July 20, 1946. Collection of Hiroshima Municipal Archives.
24. *Yukan Hiroshima*, June 26, 1946 edition.
25. *Chugoku Shimbun*, July 12 and July 17, 1946 editions.

26. *Chugoku Shimbun*, July 15, 1946 edition.
27. City of Hiroshima. *Hiroshima Shinshi:* Shimin Seikatsu Hen (History of Postwar Hiroshima: Civil Life). City of Hiroshima, 1983: p. 25.
28. Hiroshima City Council. *Hiroshima Shigikai Kaigiroku* (Hiroshima City Council Meeting Minutes). September 18, 1946.
29. *Chugoku Shimbun*, February 1, 1946 edition. Survey on lunches brought by students of Hijiyama National School was conducted on January 17.
30. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 31, 1946 edition.
31. *Chugoku Shimbun*, February 24, 1948 edition.
32. *Chugoku Shimbun*, November 3, 1948 edition. According to a poll conducted in Hiroshima City by the Prime Minister's Office (currently the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan).
33. Noboricho Shogakko Soritsu Hyaku Shunen Kinen Jigyo Iinkai. *Satsuki*. Noboricho Elementary School, 1973: pp. 80-81.
34. *Yukan Hiroshima*, June 3, 1946 edition.
35. Noboricho Shogakko Soritsu Hyaku Shunen Kinen Jigyo Iinkai. op. cit., p. 92.
36. City of Hiroshima. *Shinshu Hiroshima Shishi:* Dai Yon Kan, Bunka Fuzoku Hen (History of the City of Hiroshima: New Edition, Vol. 4, Culture and Customs). City of Hiroshima, 1958: p. 639.
37. Ibid., p. 644.
38. *Chugoku Shimbun*, May 22, 1947 edition.
39. *Chugoku Shimbun*, September 5, 1945 edition. According to the Chugoku Shimbun, November 11 edition, the practice of tachi-nomi (allowing customers to stand while drink beer) at the Kirin Beer Hall was stopped due to a shortage of beer bottles.
40. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 4, 1946 edition.
41. City of Hiroshima (1958). op. cit., pp. 668-669.
42. City of Hiroshima. *Shisei Yoran* (Municipal Handbook). City of Hiroshima, 1950: p. 87.
43. City of Hiroshima (1958). op. cit., p. 669.
44. *Chugoku Shimbun,* July 15, 1946 edition.
45. City of Hiroshima (1958). op. cit., p. 670.
46. Hiroshima Prefectural Archives. "Tanaka Tsuguzo Shiryo Karimokuroku" (Temporary Index of Documents by Tsuguzo Tanaka). April 21, 2009. As for the circumstances surrounding publication of *LIVING HIROSHIMA*, refer to Masami Nishimoto's "Hiroshima o Meguru 'Shinwa' to 'Jijitsu'" (Myths and Facts of Hiroshima). *Hiroshima Heiwa Kinen Shiryokan Shiryo Chosa Kenkyukai Kenkyu Hokoku* Dai Nana Go*,* May 2011.
47. Mainichi Newspaper. *Mainichi Graph,* October 13, 1985 edition. Mainichi Newspaper: p. 9. Yutaka Sugimoto, a former student soldier, displayed his collection of books from his student days as he wanted to show the Occupation Forces that the Japanese would soon make a comeback. Taro Susukida, who continued to write how Hiroshima had changed since the prewar time, wrote about at his surprise when he saw the Bookseller Atom appear by the streetcar track covered with horseweeds. Source: *Chugoku Shimbun,* August 2, 1956 edition.
48. City of Hiroshima (1958). op. cit., pp. 671-672.
49. Hiroshimaken Shakai Kyoiku Iinkai Renraku Kyogikai. *Shakai Kyoiku Sanju Nen no Ayumi* (30-Year History of Social Education). Hiroshimaken Shakai Kyoiku Iinkai Renraku Kyogikai, 1977: pp. 14-15.
50. According to the cumulative number of emigrants by prefecture, there were 96,848 emigrants from Hiroshima Prefecture between 1899 and 1941 (the highest in Japan, followed by Okinawa Prefecture with 72,227). The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). *Kaigai Iju Tokei* (Overseas Immigration Statistics). JICA, 1990: p. 119.
51. *Chugoku Shimbun*, March 27, 1948 edition.
52. Nanka Hiroshima Kenjinkai Nanajugo Shunen Kinenshi Iinkai. *Nanka Hiroshima Kenjinkai Nanajugo Shunen Kinenshi* (The Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California 75th Year Commemorative Publication). Nanka Hiroshima Kenjinkai, 1985. "Hiroshima Kenjinkai Nanajugo Nen no Ayumi" (75-Year History of the Hiroshima Kenjinkai). The Los Angeles based Hiroshima Kenjinkai was suspended during World War II. It held the One Year Anniversary Memorial Service for the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima in August 1946, and changed the name to the Geibi Kyokai the following year. Finally, it changed its name to the Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California in 1948, and Giichi Takata, born in Hiroshima City, became the first president.
53. *Rafu Shimpo*, February 18, 1948 edition. The Rafu Shimpo (based in Los Angeles) ceased publication during the war, and restarted publication on January 1, 1946.
54. *Rafu Shimpo*, February 27, 1948 edition. In the Rafu Shimpo, Giichi Takata, president of the Kenjinkai, made the following call for donations, "as for suffering caused by the war, we here in America are the same as our countrymen back home. Fortunately, we live in a country rich in materials resources. Even though we are also reconstructing our lives, our situation is hugely different from that of Japan…We at least want to extend a warm hand to the aforementioned orphans, to those in homes for widows with children, and for any other less fortunate people."
55. Wilson, Robert and Hosokawa, Bill. *East to America: A history of the Japanese in the United States*. Quill Publishing, 1980. (Trans., *Japanizu Amerikan.* Yuhikaku, 1982: p. 227.) Both of Hosokawa's parents came from Asa-gun (now Asa Minami-ku), Hiroshima Prefecture.
56. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 4, 1948 edition. According to page 30 of the aforementioned *Nanka Hiroshima Kenjinkai Nanajugo Shunen Kinenshi* (The Hiroshima Kenjinkai of Southern California 75th Year Commemorative Publication), they raised $15,000 at the time, but with Japan under occupation by the U.S. Forces they could not remit the money. They sent $5,000 in goods to the dormitories for widows with children and orphanages in Hiroshima City as they were only allowed to send relief supplies.
57. *Hawaii Hochi*, April 5, 1948 edition. (The Hawaii Hochi is based in Honolulu.)
58. *Chugoku Shimbun,* September 18, 1948 edition.
59. *Hawaii Hochi*, June 27, 1949 edition.
60. City of Hiroshima (1950). op. cit., p. 78.
61. *Chugoku Shimbun*, July 20, 1949 edition.
62. City of Hiroshima. "Shisei Koho Hiroshima" (Hiroshima City Publicity Paper). December 1, 1950. Collection of Hiroshima Municipal Archives.
63. *Chugoku Shimbun*, May 10, 1950 edition.
64. *Chugoku Shimbun*, June 13, 1952 edition.
65. Brazil Hiroshima Kenjinkai. *Brazil Hiroshima Kenjin Hattenshi narabi ni Kenjin Meibo* (History of Development of the Brazil Hiroshima Kenjinkai and Member Roll). Brazil Hiroshima Kenjinkai, 1967: pp. 38-39.
66. *Chugoku Shimbun*, June 28, 1951 edition.
67. *Chugoku Shimbun*, April 14, 1948 and September 22, 1949 editions.
68. Hiroshima Toshi Seikatsu Kenkyu Kai. *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi, Toshi no Fukko* (Reconstruction of HIROSHIMA, Pictorial History of Forty Years since Atomic Bombing). City of Hiroshima, 1985: pp. 56-57. Thirty four hectares of nationally owned land was

given to Hiroshima for free, upon which was built the Hiroshima Citizens Hospital and other public facilities.

69. The Japanese Baseball League was dissolved and divided into the Central and Pacific Leagues. The Hiroshima Carp called themselves the "Hiroshima Carps" with an "s" when it was approved to join the Central Baseball League. November 29, 1949 edition of *the Chugoku Shimbun*. Directly after this there were letters from Hiroshima University professors and students saying that the plural form of "Carp" is also "Carp," so the team's name was changed back to the original name, the "Hiroshima Carp."
70. Tsunei Kusunose, governor of Hiroshima Prefecture, as well as the chairman and vice chairman of the prefectural assembly, Hiroshima Mayor Shinzo Hamai, and the representatives of various local businesses applied for the stocks. Chugoku Shimbun. *V1 Kinen – Hiroshima Toyo Carp Kyudanshi* (Celebrating V1 – History of the Hiroshima Toyo Carp Baseball Team). Hiroshima Toyo Carp, 1976: p. 171.
71. Ibid., p. 337-340.
72. The Hiroshima Carp changed their name to the Hiroshima Toyo Carp in 1967 and won their first pennant in 1975. The Peace Boulevard, where the pennant parade was held on October 20, was packed with 300,000 citizens.
73. Nakamura, Takafusa. *Showashi II 1945-1989* (History of Showa II: 1945-1989). Toyo Keizai Shimbunsha, 1993: p. 439.
74. City of Hiroshima (1984). op. cit., pp. 295-296. Total order volume for the special procurement throughout Hiroshima Prefecture was estimated to be some 400 million yen for the first four months alone, and the accumulated amount until June 1951 rose to 1.256 billion yen in one year.
75. According to the questionnaire survey conducted on 3000 households in Hiroshima Prefecture (of which 2,951 households responded), the highest number of responses said that "food" had improved (48%), followed by those who said "clothes" had improved (38%). September 24, 1950 edition of the Chugoku Shimbun.
76. According to the seventh national census on October 1, 1950, the City of Hiroshima had a population of 285,668, which was the 11th highest in Japan. City of Hiroshima. "Shisei Koho Hiroshima" (Hiroshima City Publicity Paper). December 1, 1950. Collection of Hiroshima Municipal Archives.
77. *Chugoku Shimbun*, August 6, 1950 edition.
78. Due to the atomic bombing, there was a shortage of streetcars in the city and that they were overloaded with passengers. There were 12 deaths and 120 injuries in 1946 because people were hanging onto the streetcars from outside or jumping on or off the cars. *Chugoku Shimbun*, January 10, 1947 edition.
79. City of Hiroshima. *Shisei Yoran,* 1952 (Municipal Handbook, 1952 edition). City of Hiroshima, 1953: p. 227.
80. Chugoku Hoso Goju Nenshi Hensan Iinkai. *Chugoku Hoso no Goju Nen* (50 Years of the RCC Broadcasting). RCC Broadcasting, 2002: p. 34. When the RCC radio broadcasting station opened, the RCC broadcast used the sound of the Peace Bells at the Memorial Cathedral for World Peace (Nobori-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima City) for its opening.
81. After losing the election, Shinzo Hamai's "Hiroshima Shisei Hiwa" (Untold Stories of the City Government) was run on the Chugoku Shimbun as a 74-part series from July 15 to October 5, 1955. *Genbaku Shicho* (A-Bomb Mayor) (Asahi Shimbun, 1967) was based on these articles.
82. Tadao Watanabe received 57,335 votes, while Hamai received 55,758 votes.
83. "Hiroshimashi Kensetsu Ju Nen no Ayumi" (10 years of Constructing Hiroshima City). Chugoku Shimbun, July 22, 1955 edition.
84. *Chugoku Shimbun*, July 24, 1955 edition.
85. Sensai Fukko Jigyoshi Henshu Iinkai and City of Hiroshima. *Sensai Fukko Jigyoshi* (Record of War Damage Reconstruction Projects). City of Hiroshima, 1995: p. 131.
86. City of Hiroshima. *Shisei Yoran, 1959* (Municipal Handbook, 1959 edition). City of Hiroshima, 1960: p. 77.
87. The Nuclear Energy Science Pavilion was located at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. After the Hiroshima Reconstruction Exposition, part of the exhibits on the theme of the peaceful use of nuclear energy continued to be displayed at the museum, such as a model of a nuclear ship provided by the United States, but these exhibits were removed in 1967. *Chugoku Shimbun*, May 5, 1967 edition.
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Column

Hiroshima Carp: The Citizens' Baseball Team, and a Guidepost to Reconstruction

Introduction

What symbolizes Hiroshima? The people of Hiroshima tend to think of the world heritage sites of the A-bomb Dome and Miyajima (Itsukushima Shinto Shrine), oysters and *okonomiyaki*, and the three professional organizations: the Hiroshima Symphony Orchestra, the Sanfrecce Hiroshima Football Club, and of course the Hiroshima Carp baseball team.[1)] Among the three, the Hiroshima Carp (officially the "Hiroshima Toyo Carp") has the longest history.

1 The Citizens' Baseball Team

Since before the war, high school baseball teams in Hiroshima were among the best in Japan, such as the Hiroshima Prefectural Hiroshima Commercial High School team. In the past, they have won first place at national high school baseball tournaments. Baseball has long been a popular sport among the people in Hiroshima. When the professional baseball games restarted after the war, the baseball stadium in Hiroshima was packed with fans; and when professional baseball teams were reorganized into two leagues in 1950, a team founded in Hiroshima applied to join the league. On January 15, a ceremony was held to celebrate the inauguration of the Hiroshima Carp, and their first game was held on March 10. The team was named the Hiroshima "Carp" because many *koi* (carp) were caught in the Ota River in Hiroshima, and carp are believed to bring good fortune, and symbolize success. Another reason is that Hiroshima Castle, built by Terumoto Mori, was nicknamed "Carp Castle."[2)]

Unlike other baseball teams, the Carp did not have a parent company. The baseball team was founded with investments by the City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture, and other local municipalities. The citizens of the City of Hiroshima and of Hiroshima Prefecture also became shareholders and raised funds to support the team. The Hiroshima Carp had serious financial difficulties from the start, but the people formed supporters' groups at their workplaces and donated money in the big *sake* cask (Hiroshima is home to many *sake* brewers) placed in front of the stadium to save the team from its financial predicaments.[3)] This is why the Hiroshima Carp is referred to as the "citizens' baseball team."

2 Burdened with the Shadows of War

Of the Carp players active in the early years, there were many from Hiroshima, who had the "shadow of war". One such player, Kenshi Zenimura (a Japanese American from Hawaii), joined the team together with his elder brother Kenzo in 1953. During the Pacific War he suffered the bitter experience of being interned with his family at a Japanese internment camp in Arizona. When he joined the team, he received a passionate welcome from the people of Hiroshima (his father's hometown). He became famous as an outfielder and for his base running skills. In July 1954, he participated in the All-Star Games at the recommendation of the manager.[4)]

The Carp also had players who were survivors of the atomic bombing. One of them was Takashi Harada, who was exposed to the atomic bombing at the age of 13 while working as a mobilized student in Minami-machi. His face and hands and feet were burned. The clothes that he was wearing at that time have been preserved at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.[5)]

3 As Goodwill Ambassadors

The Hiroshima Carp's first overseas tour was to the Philippines. It was January 1954, the fourth year since the team was created. The Philippines had been occupied by the Japanese military during the Pacific War. It had suffered enormous damages, and there was a strong anti-Japanese sentiment. In the previous year, in 1953, over 100 Japanese war criminals in a prison on the outskirts of Manila (the majority of them were on death row) were pardoned and released by the president of the Philippines. Although there were signs of a cordial mood, the team toured to the Philippines at a time when anti-Japanese sentiments were still strong among the people in the Philippines.[6)]

This tour was made possible at Takizo Matsumoto's request to the Philippines. Mr. Matsumoto used to be a member of the baseball team at Koryo High School in Hiroshima, and he had also taught as a professor at the University of the Philippines before the war.[7)] The Carp played a total of 12 games at the Rizal Memorial Stadium in Manila from January 16 to 31, 1954, with the Cap winning 11 games. Almost every day, local newspapers reported the games with the Carp from Hiroshima, an A-bombed city. The members of the Carp were described as "Japan's goodwill ambassadors" by a local newspaper and behaved with the composure of professional players in front of the people of the Philippines at the games.[8)] President Ramon Magsaysay and all the people who met the Carp players welcomed them warmly and gave the players good impressions.[9)] After their last game on January 31 with the Canlubang Sugar Barons, the Philippine spectators gave a warm round of applause to the Carp players, who waved their caps to say goodbye.

4 Symbol of Reconstruction

The Hiroshima Carp, which came about when there were still many scars of the atomic bombing,[10)] became a symbol of Hiroshima's reconstruction. The Hiroshima Municipal Baseball Stadium was completed in July 1957, facing the A-bomb Dome across the street. This was the first stadium in Hiroshima equipped for night games, and the first night game was held on July 24.[11)] However, the team ranked low in the league standing for a long time. It remained in class-B for 18 consecutive years after the team was established. However, the Carp were supported by passionate fans. Kenzaburo Oe, a famous writer, visited Hiroshima in the early 1960s and wrote in *Hiroshima Notes* about a taxi driver who enthusiastically told him about the Carp game of the night before.[12)]

Joe Lutz, who had been a Major League coach, became manager of the Hiroshima Carp in October 1974. He was the first American manager of a Japanese professional baseball team. He changed the color of the caps and helmets to red, a "fighting color." In 1975 the Carp, the "red helmets," created a great sensation in the pennant race. On October 15, the team won the game against the Tokyo Giants and won its first Central League pennant. Twenty-six years had passed since the team was founded. This was when many years of efforts were at last rewarded.

The Hiroshima Carp were founded in the wake of the bombing and grew as Hiroshima rebuilt. It became a pioneer for professional sport teams deeply rooted in their local communities. In order to express the team's wish for peace, a "peace night game" was introduced in 2008. This is a game held in Hiroshima in the pennant race closest to August 6. This represents the efforts of the Carp to pass on the experience of an atomic bombing to the next generation.

(Hitoshi Nagai)

Notes

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7. Ibid. pp. 197-199.
8. *Manila Bulletin*, Jan. 23, and 30, 1954; Chugoku Shimbun, op. cit., p. 327.
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10. According to the recollections of Ms. Horiuchi in Chugoku Shimbun, op. cit., p. 348.
11. The Hiroshima Municipal Baseball Stadium was closed in September 2010 due to the aging structure. (The Carp's last game at the stadium was held on September 28, 2008). The stadium was dismantled in 2012, with a portion of the right-field stands remaining. The new municipal baseball stadium, Mazda Zoom-Zoom Stadium Hiroshima, commonly called "Mazda Stadium," was completed near Hiroshima Station in March 2009, and has been the Carp home-field since that year's baseball season.
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Part 4
Searching for a New Identity

Chapter 9
A City in Search of Peace

Introduction

Radiation exposure from the atomic bombings caused the survivors to develop atomic bomb diseases. Acute radiation disorders continued to rage inside the bodies of the survivors for approximately two months, but the patients who were able to pull through it gradually recovered. The Hiroshima's postwar history began with these survivors.

After seeing news of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, many people intuitively felt that atomic energy would greatly impact the future of humankind. Two years after the bombing, they foresaw the eventual destruction of humankind through nuclear war, and began taking action aimed at achieving a permanent peace. In addition, people overseas who were greatly concerned about the destruction caused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki started movements to communicate the realities of the damage and to send relief to the A-bombed cities. This chapter outlines the steps taken to promote peace, carried out in various areas including the government administration, peace movements, and education in Hiroshima.

Attempts were made to shed light on the realities of the bombing immediately after it occurred. However, those attempts did not come to have an impact on society until the enactment of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Following its enactment, the experiences, thoughts and opinions of A-bomb survivors were shared in various ways. This chapter will introduce case studies that elucidate the A-bomb survivors' views on peace 60 years after the atomic bombing.

I Peace Administration

1 The Origin of the Peace Administration: The Hiroshima City Peace Festival

(1) The First Memorial Service for Those Who Died in the War

The citizens of Hiroshima who survived the atomic bombing first searched for their relatives and acquaintances and prayed for the repose of the victims. In May 1946, the year after the bombing, the City of Hiroshima established a week of memorial services, and collected the victims' ashes in collaboration with neighborhood associations. On the last day of the week, Kosho Ohtani, the head priest of Nishi Hongwan-ji Temple in Kyoto, was invited to preside over a Buddhist memorial service held in front of the temporary memorial monument under construction, in which the remains of victims would be kept. Furthermore, on August 6, the first anniversary of the bombing, the first annual memorial service conducted

for the victims began at 6:30 a.m. and was held for approximately six hours. It was organized by the City of Hiroshima, the Hiroshima Prefectural Chapter of the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations, and the Hiroshima War Victims Consolation Association. That was the beginning of memorial services that would be held every year by various religious denominations. The City of Hiroshima has called on citizens to observe a moment of silence at 8:15 a.m. on August 6 annually.

(2) Actions in Hiroshima Involving the Japanese Constitution

The Japanese government announced its draft for a revised constitution on April 17, 1946. The Constitution of Japan was promulgated on November 3 and enforced on May 3 of the following year. In Hiroshima, various actions were taken in support of the pacifism of the new constitution.

The Hiroshima City Federation of Neighborhood Associations planned a peace restoration festival and submitted their proposal to the city in April 1946. In addition, on June 28, the Hiroshima Prefectural Commerce Association and the Association for the Reconstruction of Hiroshima Hondori Shopping Street created a program for a world peace commemoration festival and proposed that it be held in Hiroshima City. In response to these citizens' requests, in early July the city began planning for a peace restoration festival to be held around August 6. The purpose was "to make August 6 a memorial day for world peace and for renunciation of war and pass it on to future generations, and to give hope to citizens striving to rebuild the city as a city of peace and culture." (The Chugoku Shimbun, July 6 edition).

The Peace Festival was held on August 6, 1947 and was organized by the Hiroshima Peace Festival Association, established on June 20 by the City of Hiroshima, the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Hiroshima Tourist Association. The occupation forces approved the festival, and General MacArthur sent a long message to the ceremony. In September that year, the Japan Culture and Peace Association was established by intellectuals in Hiroshima, including Arata Osada (president of Hiroshima University of Literature and Science) and Nobuo Hase (a physician). The Peace Festival was considered an annual event held under the slogan of promoting a lasting peace, and this organization had the mission of contributing to the research on and the realization of a lasting peace (preface by Osada in Hase, 1948). In addition, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law (enacted on August 6, 1949) was the crystallization of Hiroshima citizens' thoughts on the new constitution in a form of a law as the will of the people of Japan. As these actions show, at the start of the reconstruction of Hiroshima, there was a strong awareness of the pacifism inherent in the constitution among the citizens of Hiroshima.

(3) Development and Breakdown of the Peace Festival

The purpose of the Peace Festival is explained in various ways, such as "to convey to the world that the A-bombed city wants peace" (Hamai, 1967), "to cover the atomic wasteland with the breath of peace" (the Chugoku Shimbun, June 21, 1947), and "to eternally commemorate August 6 as a day that world peace was resurrected, like July 14 in Paris" (the Chugoku Shimbun, June 22, 1947). On July 31, 1947, the City of Hiroshima established an ordinance to suspend office work at City Hall on August 6 every year as a day to commemorate peace, so that all the employees at City Hall would commemorate the 6th day of August. As if responding to this move, members of the United States Northern Baptist Convention began calling for August 6 to be named World Peace Day. Then on April 18, 1948, the international committee for World Peace Day was organized by promoters from 26 countries; and the first World Peace Day, called for by the committee, was observed on

August 6 around the world (Hiroshima Peace Association, 1949). Furthermore, on February 1, 1949, the Hiroshima City Council passed a resolution on "the matter requesting August 6 be added as a national holiday as a Day of Peace."

Messages were sent to the Peace Festival from General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers; the commander-in-chief of the British Commonwealth Forces; the head of the United States Military Government; the Prime Minister; the speakers from both houses, and others. JOFK (NHK Hiroshima) broadcasted the ceremony live, and it was relayed to the United States through JOAK (Tokyo). This was the first postwar international broadcast from Japan. The ceremony was covered by INS and CBS and other broadcasting networks in the United States, and news film companies including the United Artists, Nippon Eigasha, and Jiji Press (The Chugoku Shimbun, August 7 edition).

Actions were also taken in Hiroshima to meet this interest and to further raise the interest in Japan and abroad. The city sent seedlings of trees to war-damaged cities in Japan to commemorate peace (1st implementation) and asked various individuals from around the country to participate in the ceremony. In 1950, the city planned to send invitations to a total of 1,567 people, including the occupation forces, the Prime Minister, the speakers from both houses, and 15 state ministers, 453 members of the House of Representatives, 256 members of the House of Councillors, 57 members of the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly, 38 members of the Hiroshima City Council, 69 members of the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 46 prefectural governors, 233 mayors from cities throughout Japan, 347 mayors of municipalities in Hiroshima Prefecture, 19 people from newspaper companies in Hiroshima, 6 people from the city war orphanages, 23 citizens of merit, and five chairmen of municipal councils in Hiroshima Prefecture (City of Hiroshima, 1982).

The content of the ceremony had improved every year, and the 4th Peace Festival in 1950 seemed likely to be the best yet. However, the festival was cancelled a few days before August 6 due to the Korean War, which broke out in June. According to the August 2 report by the standing committee of the Hiroshima Peace Association, the decision was made as a result of a "discussion between the Chugoku Regional Civil Affairs Section, the chief of the Hiroshima District Headquarters of National Police for the Provinces, and the chief of the Hiroshima City Police." (City of Hiroshima, 1982)

2 Developing the Peace Memorial Ceremony

(1) Memorial Services and Peace

The 1951 ceremony was held on August 6 from 7:30 a.m. to 10 a.m. in front of the memorial monument for war victims. Until 1949, the program for the Peace Festival had not included elements of a memorial service. However, the 1951 ceremony included singing hymns in chorus and offerings of flowers, incense and branches of sacred *sakaki* trees. The mayor did not make a "peace declaration" but gave a "message from the Mayor" this time. The atmosphere of the ceremony was like that of a memorial service. In addition, some 20 pilots who had flown over 50 missions in the Korean War attended the ceremony, invited by the Chugoku Shimbun, Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima (at the request of the U.S. Air Force Iwakuni Base). An aircraft from the Iwakuni Base dropped a wreath of flowers, and the wreath was offered to the A-bomb victims. That year was the sixth anniversary, considered as one of the most important anniversaries for Buddhists, and numerous memorial services were held to commemorate August 6 by various organizations.

The Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed in San Francisco on September 9, 1951 and came into force on April 28, 1952. The first peace memorial ceremony held after

sovereignty was returned to Japan was conducted from 8:00 a.m. for one hour at the square in front of the Cenotaph for A-bomb Victims, newly built in the Peace Memorial Park (the Cenotaph is officially named the Memorial Monument for Hiroshima, City of Peace). In addition to unveiling the cenotaph, the program included the presentation of the registries of the names of victims who died from the bombing. The peace declaration, which was brought back that year, included words suggesting A-bomb victims by saying, "We offer a pledge before their spirits." The Peace Festivals in the past did not contain elements of a memorial service, but starting this year, the ceremony came to have two characteristics: a memorial service and a call for peace.

(2) Peace Declaration

The subject of the declaration read by the mayor during the peace memorial ceremony was not "I" (the mayor himself) but "we" ("the mayor of Hiroshima, on behalf of the citizens of Hiroshima," or "the mayor of Hiroshima representing the citizens of Hiroshima who experienced the atomic bombing"). For example, the declarations say, "we, Hiroshima's citizens" (1947) and "we did experience the atomic bombing" (1955). However, the 1991 declaration proclaimed, "I would like to...pledge myself to join the people of Hiroshima in working untiringly for peace." For the first time in the English version, the subject was not "we" but "I." This was the first time the mayor appeared as an individual in the declaration.

The 1947 declaration concluded with "Here, under this peace tower, we thus make a declaration of peace," and in 1948 "On this historic occasion of the third anniversary of the atomic bombing, we vow to achieve this goal by appealing for peace to the whole world." In this way, the early declarations aimed to clarify, to Japan and abroad, the pledge of the City. From 1951 onward, however, the declarations clearly indicated to whom the declarations were addressed. In 1951, the mayor's speech announced, "We pray for the repose of the souls of the victims of the atomic bomb and....firmly pledge ourselves to build Hiroshima into a City of Peace." In this speech, the "souls of the victims" appeared, and the repose was offered to them. In 1952, the peace declaration announced "...a sincere pledge before the spirits." The spirits of the dead were clearly expressed here, and the declaration was addressed to these sprits. Furthermore, in 1954, the declaration called for an "appeal…throughout the world." Thus the declaration was addressed to the "world" as well. Since then, these three elements (pledge, prayer for the repose of the souls, and appeal to the world) have always been incorporated in the peace declarations.

The declaration of 1947 included the statement, "because of this atomic bomb, the people of the world have become aware that a global war in which atomic energy is used would lead to the end of our civilization and extinction of mankind." Though there are some differences in nuances each year, this view of the extinction of humankind has consistently appeared in the subsequent declarations. The 1991 declaration warned, "Knowing from bitter experience how very easily the use of nuclear weapons could lead to the extinction of the human race...." In the beginning, the view that the extinction of humankind was a future possibility was expressed, but after the Bikini Atoll hydrogen-bomb incident, the 1954 declaration described it as an immediate possibility, saying, "Now...the human beings are threatened to be annihilated at any moment." In addition, initially the creation of absolute peace and renunciation of war were called for based on the view that not doing so would cause human beings to become extinct. The declaration has continued to call for the "abolition of nuclear weapons" since1958.

Expressions related to the damage caused by the atomic bombing in the Hiroshima have changed over the years. The 1947 declaration depicted it with two elements: destruction of the city and the massive number of fatalities. In 1953, the declaration expressed it as

"unimaginably terrible" and added "aftereffects" of the bombing, saying, "The scars of the crime perpetrated by that single bomb still linger among us."

(3) Attendance

Until 1953 the ceremony was attended by several thousand people. In 1954 the number of attendees reached approximately 20,000 and since then has usually been in the tens of thousands. The reason why the number jumped from several thousand to tens of thousands was because rallies against atomic and hydrogen bombs came to be held on the prefectural and the national scale in Hiroshima City each year around August 6, and the participants in these rallies have taken part in the ceremony since 1954.

From the start, the national government showed interest in the ceremony. In the early stage, prime ministers sent a message to the ceremony, and diet and cabinet members elected from Hiroshima acted on behalf of the prime minister. Cabinet members began to attend the ceremony from the mid-1960s, and in 1971 Prime Minister Eisaku Sato became the first prime minister to attend the ceremony in person. In addition, the national treasury came to subsidize the ceremony from 1979. In 1981, the national government started a subsidy from the national treasury to invite from each prefecture a representative of the bereaved families of the A-bomb victims to the ceremony. Due to such changes in the ceremony, since around the tenth anniversary of the atomic bombing, the ceremony grew from a local event to a nationwide event; and gradually, it became an established national event as of the twentieth anniversary.

In 1960, the then Crown Prince (the present Emperor) attended the ceremony. Kenzaburo Oe, who attended the ceremony for the first time, wrote immediately afterwards, "The gravity of this experience is likely to gradually grow and have a great impact on me." His famous *Hiroshima Notes* was written on his experiences in Hiroshima in 1963 and 1964.

In the (1st) World Conference against A and H Bombs held in 1955, there were 52 foreign representatives from 14 countries. Attending the peace ceremony was part of the conference program, and since then participants of the conference have always attended the peace ceremony. Mayor Setsuo Yamada planned to invite prominent figures from around the world to the ceremony in 1967, but this idea did not come to fruition when he was in office. This was realized by the next mayor, Takeshi Araki, in the form of inviting relevant officials from the United Nations. Nonaligned countries and international peace organizations became more interested in nuclear disarmament from the mid-1970s and began to demand the United Nations to take concrete initiatives. In December 1976, the mayors of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki visited the United Nations Headquarters and urged Secretary-General Waldheim and President H. S. Amerasinghe of the General Assembly to take measures toward the total abolition of nuclear weapons. Moreover, both mayors sent them invitations to the following year's ceremony. In response to the efforts made by both cities, President Amerasinghe and M. Clark (director of the United Nations Information Centre) attended the ceremonies in both cities in 1977, the latter attending on behalf of the UN Secretary-General. Since then, high officials from the UN Secretariat have often attended the ceremony on behalf of the Secretary-General.

3 Opposition and Harmony Involving Peace and Memorial Services

(1) Hiroshima Prefecture's Peace Memorial Ceremony

The citizens of Hiroshima and the bereaved families of the A-bomb victims had a deep-rooted desire for the 6th of August to be spent as a day of solemn prayer. This desire

became more evident in 1959 when the 5th World Conference against A and H Bombs was held. In July, the Hiroshima Prefectural Chapter of the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations decided not to participate in the World Conference as an organization and proposed hosting a flag at half-mast at every home in Hiroshima City on August 6. In addition, on December 15 the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly requested that the prefectural government hold a large memorial ceremony in 1960 for the victims of the atomic bombing. Later, after many twists and turns, this request was realized through the "Memorial Service and Peace Memorial Ceremony on the 15th Anniversary of A-bombing" jointly organized by the prefecture and the city governments.

Approximately 40,000 people attended the ceremony on August 6, 1960, including the Crown Prince (of the time), the Prime Minister (represented by the Minister of Health and Welfare), the speaker of the House of Representatives, the vice-president of the House of Councillors, the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party Public Relations Committee, the Director of the Japan Socialist Party Public Relations Bureau, the secretary-general of the Democratic Socialist Party, and the acting chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. More than 100 bunches of flowers, offered by the National Governors' Association, the National Association of Chairpersons of Prefectural Assemblies and others, were laid in front of the cenotaph. Incense sticks were relayed by families unable to attend the ceremony, starting from Shobara, Fuchu, Otake and Takehara, and were placed in front of the cenotaph just before the ceremony. This ceremony was the only Peace Memorial Ceremony that was organized by Hiroshima Prefecture.

(2) Response from Citizens' Groups

Apart from initiatives by the national and local governments, there were also independent actions taken by peace groups and other associations to offer silent prayers at 8:15 a.m., the time of the atomic bombing. The Kochi Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs called on various organizations in Kochi Prefecture to dedicate a collective moment of silence on at 8:15 a.m. on August 6, 1957. In 1959, the Japanese National Railways Workers' Union and the Japanese National Railways Locomotive Workers' Union also instructed their affiliated organizations to blow the whistle of trains and observe silence at noon on the Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Day. This call to action was suspended in the 1960s during a period of division in the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, but was reinstated in the late 1970s.

In June 1964, the national council members' meeting of the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Nihon Hidankyo) decided to raise the national flag at half-mast for Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the days of the atomic bombings and to start a citizens' movement to offer a one-minute of silent prayer at the time of the bombings. This was based on the proposal made by the executive board member representing the Kanto-Koshinestsu Regions, who said, "Nihon Hidankyo should launch a nationwide movement to fly the national flag at half-mast from August 6 to 18, which shall be a period of reflection for the entire country. This would cut across the divided anti-nuclear movements." However, objections were made to this proposal, which included a moment of silent prayer on August 15 as well, so it was decided to offer a silent prayer only on the days of the atomic bombings.

On July 26, 1978, the Hiroshima Prefectural Labor Union Congress and the Liaison Council of A-bomb Survivors of Hiroshima Prefectural Labor Union Congress requested the governor and the mayor of Hiroshima 1) to call for all workplaces and households in the prefecture to offer one minute of silent prayer at 8:15 a.m. on August 6; 2) to stop all vehicles on roads; 3) to signal the residents in all municipalities in the prefecture, using sirens or other

methods, to observe a moment of silent prayer; and 4) to ask, at least, the neighboring prefectures to join this action.

(3) Sanctifying the Peace Park

The Peace Park was not only a place for the citizens to relax but it also served as a venue for various gatherings, including the World Conference against A and H Bombs. However, right-wing organizations in 1959 and student organizations in 1963 clashed with the participants of the World Conference at the venue in the Peace Park (both on August 5). Local groups and organizations in Hiroshima responded with sharp criticism regarding these troubles. On August 17, eleven groups including the Hiroshima City War-Bereaved Families Association decided to ask the governor of Hiroshima Prefecture and the mayor of Hiroshima City to request the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) cease holding the World Congress in Hiroshima. On March 23, 1964, the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly adopted a written request to "make the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima a day of quiet prayer." On June 5, the City of Hiroshima adopted the policy of prohibiting gatherings of general organizations at the square in front of the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims in the Peace Memorial Park for a period of three days from August 5 to 7.

In May 1967, the new mayor, Setsuo Yamada announced a concept to sanctify the Peace Memorial Park. The restrictions in the usage of the Park until then had been, in a sense, for preventing troubles involving the anti-nuclear movement, but under the new concept, various other measures came to be implemented. In February 1969, permission to run outdoor stalls in the park was revoked, and strict regulations were enforced regarding the utilization of the Peace Memorial Park, including banning demonstrations and gatherings (excluding May Day) and walking on the lawn. However, there have still been some events held at the Peace Memorial Park, such as the peace gatherings to welcome Pope John Paul II in February 1981 and former President Carter in May 1984.

(4) Call for a Moment of Silence and its Implementation

At the Cabinet meeting held on April 24, 1964, the national government decided to host the 2nd Memorial Ceremony for the War Dead on August 15 on the grounds of Yasukuni Shrine and called on the citizens of Japan to observe a moment of silence at noon on August 15. In the same year, Hiroshima Prefecture asked prefectural residents to observe a moment of silence both at 8:15 a.m. on August 6 and at noon on August 15, but the call for silence on August 15 was made after the Cabinet's call.

Nagasaki City implemented a moment of silence on August 6, 1972 and asked the City of Hiroshima to observe this silence on August 9. Responding to that request, in July of the following year the City of Hiroshima decided to ask the citizens to observe a moment of silence on August 9 at the time of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. After that, the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have jointly called for a silent prayer on August 6 and 9. In 1979, the governor of Hiroshima Prefecture and the mayor of Hiroshima City successfully expanded the call for this practice of a minute of silence to six other prefectures (four prefectures in the Chugoku region and Ehime and Kagawa prefectures) in addition to Hiroshima Prefecture. In 1980, the governor and the mayor of Hiroshima sent letters to the governors of 47 prefectures and the mayors of nine ordinance-designated cities, asking for a moment of silence. The letter was titled, "Regarding a memorial service for the A-bomb victims and a moment of silent prayers for peace." Furthermore, every year since 1983 the City of Hiroshima has requested prefectural associations of city mayors and the Hiroshima Prefecture Association of Towns and Villages to observe a moment of silence.

In response to these calls from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the practice of observing silence at the moment of the atomic bombings gradually spread nationwide. In 1973, Saitama became the first prefectural government, outside Hiroshima and Nagasaki to observe silence at the moment of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In addition, in June 1982 the Japan Association of City Mayors decided to observe a moment of silence at the time of the atomic bombings in response to the request from the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

According to Kyodo News, 17 prefectures and one ordinance-designated city (Kawasaki City) responded to the call in 1980, and 25 prefectures and two designated cities in 1981. With regard to the number of municipalities that observed a moment of silence, it rose sharply to 487 in 1982 (63% of the 772 municipalities called upon), and to 703 municipalities in 1983 (81% of the 865 municipalities called upon). Since then, it has been reported that the rate of observing a moment of silence in municipalities has remained over 80%.

4 Hiroshima Peace Culture Center

(1) The Birth of the Peace Administration

Setsuo Yamada became the new mayor of Hiroshima City in May 1967. In October, Mayor Yamada launched the Hiroshima Peace Culture Center (today's Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation) as an organization of the city government. In the introduction to *Hiroshima no Shogen* (Testimonies from Hiroshima) Mayor Yamada wrote, "It was the first time this kind of organization had been established by a local government in Japan." Its objective was stipulated in Article 1 of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Center Ordinance: "to contribute to building world peace and promoting the welfare of humanity by 1) conducting comprehensive research and study on peace-related issues; 2) studying and planning the construction of an international culture hall; 3) planning and implementing peace-related projects and events; and 4) planning and implementing fundamental and comprehensive policies for developing and managing peace memorial facilities and other cultural facilities." In December, soon after the foundation of the Center, 24 people (those from academia, representatives from various fields, and city employees) were selected as members of the Council to Promote Peace Culture at the request or by appointment by the mayor. They made earnest proposals and had discussions related to the peace administration of the City of Hiroshima until the center became a foundation.

(2) Developing Events

Mayor Yamada was an enthusiastic world federalist. The first event at the center organized for the citizens was a public lecture on world federalism, held from January 23 to 24, 1968. He also promoted the concept of a world federation in the 1971 peace declaration, saying, "...all nations of the world (should) act upon the fundamental spirit in which the Japanese Constitution has renounced wars, and liquidate their military sovereignty completely by transferring it to a world organization binding mankind in solidarity."

The center made enthusiastic attempts to increase citizens' interest in peace-related issues. In August 1968, it held the first "gathering of citizens to talk about peace." It was an opportunity for citizens to discuss how Hiroshima should promote peace. The second meeting was held in August 1969 on the theme of "disseminating the A-bomb experiences to future generations and peace education"; and the third meeting in July 1970. The center also conducted a survey on peace-related organizations, soon after its inauguration. The purpose of this survey was to support new endeavors to establish liaison and coordinate among peace organizations and solicit participation of citizens who were not members of any organizations.

Initially, the outlines of 53 organizations were compiled in the Register of Peace-related Organizations (as of March 1, 1973). The Register has subsequently been updated.

(3) The Hiroshima Conference

Inspired by a proposal from the members of the Council to Promote Peace Culture, the Hiroshima Conference was held from November 29 to December 2, 1970. It was the first international peace conference held by the City of Hiroshima after the war with the cooperation of its citizens. Six participants were invited from overseas, including Philip Noel-Baker (U.K., a Nobel Peace Prize winner) and Eugene Rabinowitch (United States, one of those involved in the formation of the Pugwash Conference), and 13 from Japan, including Hideki Yukawa and Shinichiro Tomonaga (both winners of the Nobel Prize in Physics).

The center conducted various other projects as well, including drafting the peace declarations; establishing the Committee for the Map-restoration of A-bombed Areas (April 1969); producing the movie, *Hiroshima: Genbaku no Kiroku* (Hiroshima: A Record of the Atomic Bombing) (completed in August 1970); publishing books (since 1969); opening a library (June 1974); and receiving A-bomb drawings by survivors (December 1975).

(4) Restructuring of the Organization

The center became a foundation in April 1976 (its English name was changed to the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation). With this, it shifted from an organization supporting the city's peace administration to one resembling a non-governmental organization (NGO), and handled the city's peace administration in collaboration with various departments and bureaus of the City of Hiroshima. With regard to the organization, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the Peace Memorial Hall belonged to the Hiroshima Peace Culture Center from 1971 to 1975, as did the Hiroshima City Public Hall from 1973 to 1975.

(Satoru Ubuki)

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II Peace Movements

1 Peace Movements During the Occupation

(1) Campaigns against the Atomic Bombings Immediately After the Bombing

On August 10, 1945, immediately after the atomic bombings, the Japanese government came to the conclusion that the use of the atomic bombs was a violation of international law and demanded that the United States stop. Furthermore, the government called the weapon an "atrocious bomb" in the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War (dated August 14). The Japanese media reported in detail the Japanese government's criticism as well as the criticisms against the atomic bombings communicated from abroad. Moreover, in late August there was wide media coverage of theories purporting that it would be impossible for humans and animals to survive in the bombed areas for the next 70 years due to residual radiation (theory of 70 years of sterility).

The United States responded tensely to a series of actions (campaigns against the atomic bombings) that included protests from the Japanese government; and the reference to the atomic bombings in the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War; as well as the 70-year sterility theory in the bombed areas, which spread in late August. When the information related to the atomic bombings was broadcast from Japan for overseas audiences, newspapers in the United States covered most of it, but added contradictory explanations for nearly all the points made. Furthermore, on September 19, the GHQ issued a press code to strictly censor Japanese media coverage of the atomic bombings.

Until the war ended, campaigns against the atomic bombings were conducted with an aim of stirring up support for retaliation, but after the end of the war they assumed a tone (within Japan) that blamed defeat in the war on the atomic bombings, while externally trying to avoid responsibilities for actions taken in the war. The censorship by the United States to control information on the atomic bombings thwarted such intentions of the Japanese government and the military. At the same time, the press code led to suppression and distortion of information on the details of the damage caused by the atomic bombs.

(2) The World Federalist Movement

The Peace Festival (see 9-I-1) organized by the City of Hiroshima could be called the starting point of the peace movement, based on the experience of the atomic bombing. The citizens' call for world peace communicated from Hiroshima through the mayors' peace declarations and other means garnered a great deal of attention from overseas. Different global campaigns for peace zeroed in on the A-bombed cities, and some of these movements had a powerful influence on Hiroshima. The World Federalist Movement and the Partisans for Peace Movement were examples of such movements during the occupation period.

The World Federalist Movement was founded based on the concept of achieving a world without war by establishing a single world government, transferring a portion of each country's sovereignty to this new world government, and eliminating military forces in each country. The United World Federalists of Japan was founded in Tokyo on August 6, 1948. In Hiroshima, Mayor Shinzo Hamai and Governor Tsunei Kusunose were supporters of this movement, and in October 1949 a signature campaign collected 100,000 signatures from citizens to petition U.S. President Harry Truman to lead the initiative to establish a "world peace organization." In addition, the Asia Congress for World Federation was held in Hiroshima for four days from November 3, 1952. This conference was the World Federalist Movement's first international conference in Asia; and for Hiroshima, it was the first

full-fledged international peace conference after the war. This was a big event with 51 participants representing 22 countries (eight from Asia and 14 from Europe and the United States), 263 participants from Japan and 400 observers. Over 170 people sent messages to the conference from 31 countries, including Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell. The Hiroshima Declaration made on the last day of the conference included the resolution to ban the manufacture and utilization of atomic weapons as well as a recommendation to governments, calling for the freedom to publish pictures depicting the A-bomb damage and research publications.

After the City of Ayabe in Kyoto Prefecture declared itself a world federalist city on October 14, 1950, similar declarations were issued by various cities in Japan. In Hiroshima, too, the Hiroshima City Council adopted a resolution on October 30, 1954 to declare the city a world federalist city; and on March 18, 1959 the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly made a declaration that Hiroshima was a "prefecture of peace" (equivalent to the declaration as a world federalist city). Hiroshima Prefecture was the sixth prefecture in Japan to make a declaration of this kind. In earlier declarations, there was no wording on nuclear weapons, but Hiroshima Prefecture's declaration called for the abolition of nuclear weapons, stating, "We support the objective of building a world federation to abolish nuclear weapons and to bring about a lasting world peace." Hiroshima was the first city to declare itself a world federalist city among the local autonomies in Hiroshima Prefecture and the fifth in Japan (Sekai Renpo Undo Hiroshima Nijugo Nenshi Henshu Iinkai, 1972).

(3) Partisans for Peace Movement

The year 1949 was a turning point in terms of the postwar standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union (the Cold War). In April, President Truman said that he would not hesitate to use atomic weapons. In September it was confirmed in an announcement that the Soviet Union (in the socialist camp) possessed the atomic bomb, which was a significant shock to the world. Also, the People's Republic of China was established in October, and the German Republic (East Germany) was born in Europe. Meanwhile, in April of that year the 1st World Congress of Partisans for Peace was held in Paris and Prague. This peace movement became a global movement, urging people to win peace. On October 2, the Japan Congress of Partisans for Peace was held in Tokyo as part of the events related to the International Day of Peace. There was no mention of atomic weapons at the Tokyo Congress, but the Hiroshima Congress, held as part of the Japan Congress, issued the following declaration: "As citizens of Hiroshima, who were the first people in human history to experience the horrors of the atomic bomb, we demand the 'abolition of nuclear weapons.'" From then on, calls for the abolition of nuclear weapons grew frequent within Japan. In the signature drive to support the Stockholm Appeal (March 19, 1950), the damage done by the atomic bombs was brought to the fore. Several photos of the horrible scenes from the day of the atomic bombing were displayed at the signature stand for the Stockholm Appeal, set up in central Hiroshima City (*Akahata,* May 27, 1950), and the June 9 edition of the *Heiwa Sensen* (Battlefront for Peace) (a bulletin for the Japanese Communist Party Chugoku Regional Committee) published six photos taken just after the bombing of Hiroshima. An exhibition of *The Hiroshima Panels* by Iri Maruki and Toshiko Akamatsu was held in various places in Japan. From then on, the atomic bomb experience came to play an important role in the movement to abolish nuclear weapons.

2 The Movement to Abolish Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

(1) Citizens' Movements and the Atomic Bomb Experience

Mayor Hamai participated in the establishment of a citizens' group for the discussion of peace issues, which was launched in October 1951. Based on the proposal made by this group, a committee was organized to hold a citizens' peace rally on August 6, 1952. During the preparations for this event, the committee members had different opinions over whether to use the slogan, "No to the Subversive Activities Prevention Act." In the end, a unified rally was held under the following four slogans: "No more Hiroshimas," "No more war and protect the pacifist constitution," "Stop the Korean War now," and "People of the world, let's unite for peace." The rally was held on August 6 following the conclusion of the Peace Ceremony. The number of participants was a little under 2,000, but it was the first outdoor rally sponsored by a citizens' organization and adopted a declaration advocating a stop to the manufacturing and use of atomic weapons. On August 6, 1953, the Hiroshima National Peace Rally was held at the Hiroshima Citizens' Plaza organized by 48 organizations, including the Hiroshima Prefectural Labor Union Congress, Hiroshima Regional Labor Union Congress, and General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), with 950 representatives from 22 organizations across the nation in addition to 6,630 participants from 22 organizations in Hiroshima Prefecture. After adopting 13 slogans, including "Ban the use of atomic bombs, "No to rearmament and military bases," and "Stable livelihoods for A-bomb survivors," the participants marched to the cenotaph in a 1,500-meter-long procession.

In this way, prior to the Bikini Atoll hydrogen-bomb incident, in Hiroshima the experience of the atomic bombing was linked to the issue of banning atomic and hydrogen bombs and began growing into a big movement.

(2) World Conference against A and H Bombs

After the Bikini Atoll hydrogen-bomb incident in March 1954, various actions against atomic and hydrogen bombs took place spontaneously in Japan, such as adopting resolutions, signature drives, and holding meetings. Signature drives were not new as the Partisans for Peace movement had already conducted signature collections, but resolutions by the National Diet as well as by the prefectural and municipal assemblies were a new phenomenon. With the adoption of a resolution calling for the banning of nuclear weapons by the Nagasaki Prefectural Assembly on October 22, all 46 prefectures had adopted a similar resolution. As of that date, 169 cities and 92 towns and villages had also adopted a resolution of this kind. In August 1955, the World Conference against A and H Bombs took place in Hiroshima with a backdrop of such heightened movements. Though there was no plan to hold this conference in subsequent years, it has continued every year until today.

The (first) conference in 1955 focused on the issues of the damage inflicted by atomic and hydrogen bombs and of the United States military bases. The issue of relief measures for A-bomb survivors was enthusiastically called for by the preparatory committee in Hiroshima, the host city of the conference. This became an important theme and took root as an important agenda item in the subsequent conferences as well, along with the issue of banning atomic and hydrogen bombs. The issue of the U.S. military bases was, on the other hand, raised by representatives from various areas. During the second conference, subcommittees were set up to seek an organic relationship between the anti-nuclear movement and other movements such as the movement against U.S. bases; the struggles to support Okinawa; the actions to defend the Constitution; and the movement to restore diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. This indicates that various peace movements supported the conference and

attests to the fact that the conference served as a focal point for these movements. While this aspect of the conference ensured its continuation, it invited criticism against the conference as well. Later (at the fifth conference), the Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Socialist Party and other organizations left the anti-nuclear movement due to the differences in opinion over the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. In 1961 the National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons (Kakkin) was formed with the Democratic Socialist Party at its core. In addition (the ninth conference), because of the different opinions regarding socialist countries and the Partial Test Ban Treaty, organizations such as the Socialist Party and Sohyo began to hold separate conferences, and in 1965 the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikin) was created. The World Conference, which had been organized by the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo, established in September 1955), came to be held separately by the three organizations: Gensuikyo, Kakkin, and Gensuikin.

The conclusion of the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) in 1963 had a huge impact on global movements to ban atomic and hydrogen bombs. The Aldermaston Marches in Britain, well-known large-scale marches against nuclear weapons, were discontinued in 1964. In Japan, although the conclusion of the PTBT had caused a rift in the anti-nuclear movement, the anti-nuclear movement did not end. The reasons for its survival include significant changes involving the nuclear situation in Japan such as the issues of the port calls of the U.S. nuclear submarines and of nuclear tests in China. Although the three organizations differed in the issues they addressed and the methods they pursued to promote movements, they all held World Conferences around the anniversary of the atomic bombings to call for the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons, and to support A-bomb survivors.

On July 1, 1955, the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly adopted a resolution to support the World Conference against A and H Bombs held in August, and the Hiroshima City Council also adopted a similar resolution on July 28. The expectations placed on the World Conference by the local municipalities were also seen in the fourth and fifth conferences (the Hiroshima City Council supported a similar resolution on July 2, 1958 and on June 15, 1959), but their support vanished with the confusion of the fifth World Conference, and contradictory actions took place. The “request for the execution of a grand memorial service for A-bomb survivors” (December 15, 1959) and the “request to hold the ceremonies to commemorate the atomic bombing in grave solemnity” (March 23, 1964) were resolutions conveying the local community’s criticisms to the sixth and ninth conferences, respectively.

(3) Nuclear-free and Peace Declarations in Hiroshima Prefecture

From 1954 onward, the National Diet, prefectural assemblies, and municipal councils often expressed their support for banning nuclear weapons and for a nuclear-free peaceful world. The Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly adopted a resolution almost every year from May 1954 to 1962 on the banning of atomic weapons and the international management of nuclear power. The municipal councils in Hiroshima Prefecture also adopted similarly phrased resolutions to “Ban atomic and hydrogen bombs,” “Ban nuclear tests” and “Support the World Conference against A and H Bombs,” at least 38 times between 1954 and 1961. However, after 1963 when the Partial Test Ban Treaty was concluded, resolutions against atomic and hydrogen bombs by the local autonomies in Hiroshima Prefecture ceased (according to the research by the Office of Prefectural Historiography of Hiroshima Prefecture in August 1975). Interest in banning atomic and hydrogen bombs at the local autonomies grew once again in 1982 and onward. Amid heightened nationwide anti-nuclear movements in that year, on March 25 the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly adopted a statement strongly requesting the national government to maintain the Three Non-Nuclear Principles and to make utmost efforts to advance the abolition of nuclear weapons at the

Second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (SSD II). In addition, 10 cities and 16 towns and villages in Hiroshima Prefecture adopted similar resolutions by the end of April.

The March 25, 1982 the Fuchu Town Council, in Aki-gun, adopted a resolution to declare a "nuclear-free local autonomy," which was the declaration of the town's own will to work towards nuclear abolition, in contrast to the resolutions of many other local autonomies which called for the national government to make efforts in advancing nuclear disarmament and protest against nuclear weapons. The earlier "peace city" declarations that appeared one after another around 1960 also show municipal governments' willingness to make efforts, but the declaration of a nuclear-free local autonomy by Fuchu Town was a pioneering one, as it was the second municipality in Japan that made such a declaration. This movement spread throughout Japan from 1982.

(4) Sit-ins at the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims and Protest Telegrams

From March 25 to April 20, 1957, four individuals including Kiyoshi Kikkawa and Ichiro Kawamoto staged a sit-in in front of the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims at the Peace Park, seeking an end to the British hydrogen bomb tests on Christmas Island. The Sarabhai Dance Company was visiting Japan on a cultural mission from India at that time, and the head of the dance company came across the sit-in when he visited the cenotaph in Hiroshima. He encouraged the participants, saying, "In India, Gandhi took a similar approach" (Moritaki, 1997).

People sat in front of the cenotaph to protest nuclear weapons testing also in 1962 and 1973, too. On April 20, 1962, Ichiro Moritaki, the chairman of the Hiroshima Gensuikyo, and Kiyoshi Kikkawa, the executive director, sat in front of the cenotaph in protest of the actions taken by the United States to restart nuclear testing. This sit-in was enthusiastically supported by many people. During this time, a total of 5,000 people participated in this protest until the sit-in came to an end on May 1. On July 30, 1973, 130 people from 17 organizations sat in to protest nuclear testing conducted by France. There were six sit-ins until August 29. The mayor of Hiroshima City, Setsuo Yamada, also participated in the sit-in on August 27 for 10 minutes to protest France's fourth nuclear test, and drew attention. Since 1973, sit-ins have been continuously conducted and spread throughout and beyond Hiroshima Prefecture.

Telegrams were also sent to protest nuclear testing, addressed to the heads of the countries conducting nuclear testing and their ambassadors to Japan. The City of Hiroshima has continued sending telegrams to protest nuclear testing since it sent a telegram to protest the hydrogen-bomb test conducted by France on September 9, 1968.

3 From Hiroshima to the World

(1) A-bomb Survivors from Hiroshima Travel Overseas

Father Hugo Lassalle from Noboricho Catholic Church in Hiroshima traveled to Rome to attend the General Congregation of the Society of Jesus in March 1946. In September, he had an audience with Pope Pius XII in Rome, where he reported on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and shared his desire to build a cathedral dedicated to world peace. Not only did the Pope express his approval, but he also blessed the endeavor and promised to give his support and cooperation from the Holy See. After the General Congregation, Father Lassalle visited Europe, North America, and South America to explain the tragic state of the City of Hiroshima, and returned to Japan in the fall of 1947 (Ishimaru, 1988).

In 1948, two Christian Methodists from Hiroshima traveled to the United States in succession. In September, principal of Hiroshima Jogakuin, Takuo Matsumoto traveled to the United States for treatment because his health conditions began worsening again around the time the new school building in Nagarekawa-cho was completed. The trip was at the invitation of the Global Ministries of the Methodist Church in the United States. Since he was the first Japanese A-bomb survivor to travel to the United States, he "became the target of extraordinary medical curiosity, was treated like a guinea pig while hospitalized, prodded here and there, and experimentally given various treatments" (words by Matsumoto). However, he recovered his health thanks to the treatment, which lasted a little over two months. After he was discharged from hospital, various schools, churches, Rotary Clubs, and other groups wanted him to speak about his atomic bombing experience, and over a year and a half he visited numerous cities in different states in the United States to speak (Kato, 1988).

Reverend Kiyoshi Tanimoto of Nagarekawa Church graduated from an American university in 1940 and had many friends and acquaintances in the United States. His name was also widely introduced to the world through reports by John Hersey (May 1946) and a United Press correspondent Rutherford Poats (March 1948). Because of this, he traveled to the United States from October 1948 at the invitation of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church in the United States. For 15 months, until late 1949, he gave talks focusing on his experience of the atomic bombing. He spoke on 582 occasions at 472 churches and other organizations in 256 cities in 31 states, to approximately 160,000 people. He visited the United States once again for eight months from September 1950, this time speaking on 295 occasions to 242 organizations in 201 cities in 24 states, to approximately 56,200 people (Tanimoto, 1976).

Moral Re-Armament (MRA) was an international movement that conducted an action to invite many Japanese people to travel to the United States and Europe during the occupation period, when traveling abroad was difficult. On March 24, 1950, two persons from the MRA headquarters visited Hiroshima and invited the governor of Hiroshima Prefecture, Tsunei Kusunose, the mayor of Hiroshima City, Shinzo Hamai, and the chairman of the Hiroshima City Council, Seiichi Kawamoto, to MRA's World Conference in June, saying, "We firmly believe that Hiroshima is a beacon of world peace in this atomic age. It serves as a warning of future dangers and is a guidepost for what can be done." The MRA invited 60 people, and this was the first large-scale delegation after the war. In addition to the three representatives from Hiroshima, the mayor of Nagasaki City, chairman of the Nagasaki City Council, and governor of Nagasaki Prefecture joined the delegation. They left Japan on June 12 to attend the World Conference held from June 16 to 25 in Caux, Switzerland, where the headquarters of MRA were located. After the conference, the delegation visited different countries in Europe and the United States and returned to Hiroshima on September 4 (Entwistle, 1985). While they were traveling, the fourth Peace Festival in Hiroshima was cancelled (see Ch. 9-I-1).

For 75 days from April to July 1964, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki World Peace Study Mission (40 members led by Takuo Matsumoto, principal of Hiroshima Jogakuin) visited the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Belgium, East and West Germany, and the Soviet Union. This mission was proposed by Barbara Reynolds, an American peace activist living in Hiroshima City. This was when civic movements in Hiroshima started full-scale overseas campaigns. (Kotani, 1995)

(2) Hiroshima and Nagasaki Mayors Visit to the United Nations and the UN Special Session on Disarmament

In the late 1970s, interest in disarmament rapidly increased among international peace movements, the Non-Aligned Movement and UN NGOs and greatly impacted Japan. At the 19th World Conference against A and H Bombs (1973), Gensuikyo pointed out that nuclear weapons development and the nuclear arms race were extremely serious matters of grave concern and called for the conclusion of an international agreement on the total abolition of nuclear weapons. In December 1974, Gensuikyo sent a delegation to the United Nations. The term "the United Nations" appeared in the peace declaration read by the mayor at the peace ceremony in Hiroshima in 1972. The peace declaration of 1974 called for an early conclusion of a total nuclear ban agreement.

On August 1, 1975, during the Council to Promote Peace Culture meeting at the Hiroshima Peace Culture Center, Mayor Takeshi Araki expressed his intent to visit the United Nations. On December 1, 1976, the mayors from Hiroshima and Nagasaki cities and the president of the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical Association, Goro Ouchi, (and others) met with Secretary-General Waldheim at the United Nations Headquarters. During the meeting, they handed him a personal letter from Prime Minister Takeo Miki and a request to the UN Secretary-General for the abolition and complete disarmament of nuclear weapons.

The UN NGO-sponsored International Symposium on the Damage and After-effects of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was held in Japan from late July to early August 1977. This symposium was organized with an eye toward the first UN Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (the SSD I) to be held the following year, and became an epoch-making event from the perspective of widely disseminating the information both in Japan and abroad on the atomic bombings. Research on A-bomb survivors was conducted across Japan ahead of the symposium, and the reality of the damage inflicted by the atomic bombs was once again studied. Through this study, A-bomb survivors and antinuclear organizations collaborated in various parts of Japan, and their ties formed a foundation for the unification of the movements against nuclear weapons and served as a driving force for initiatives such as signature-collecting campaigns for disarmament. The number of signatures collected for the SSD I (1978) was 18 million, and for the SSD II (1982) 23.7 million. Nearly 1,000 local assemblies made anti-nuclear and disarmament statements or adopted resolutions for the SSD II.

At the SSD II, a total of 79 addresses were made by representatives of NGOs and research institutes. From Japan, four representatives made comments, including Takeshi Araki, mayor of Hiroshima and president of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation; Ohtori Kurino, director of the Hiroshima University's Institute for Peace Science; the representative of the Nation Liaison Committee for Nuclear and General Disarmament at the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament; and the representative of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Casualty Council (Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1997).

4 Preservation of the A-bomb Dome, Elucidation of Damage, and Passing on the Atomic Bombing Experience

(1) The Movement to Preserve the A-bomb Dome

After the war, some were of the opinion that the A-bomb Dome should be preserved as a monument, while others said it should be torn down because it was a dangerous building or because it was a reminder of the tragedy of the bombing. Citizens frequently discussed the topic. However, as the urban area became reconstructed and buildings damaged by the

bombing gradually disappeared, the public support for preserving the A-bomb Dome became stronger. On December 22, 1964, representatives of 11 peace organizations, including Gensuikyo, Gensuikin and Kakkin in Hiroshima, requested that Mayor Shinzo Hamai permanently preserve the A-bomb Dome. This request was the first joint action taken by the three organizations after the anti-nuclear movement had split. In response to the petition by the 11 organizations, the mayor clearly stated his intention to preserve the Dome, saying "Research funds will be allocated in the budget bill for the next fiscal year, and experts will study preservation methods." On July 11, 1966, the Hiroshima City Council unanimously passed a resolution to preserve the A-bomb Dome, and on August 6 Mayor Hamai reiterated his intention to preserve the Dome. He said he wanted to raise 40 million yen to cover the necessary costs through donations from within Japan and abroad.

The city's fundraising campaign began in November 1966, and in March 1967 it became clear that the donations had exceeded the target of 40 million yen. On the next day, Mayor Hamai announced to the public that the donations had surpassed the target and that the fundraising campaign was to be closed on that day. However, people continued to donate, and the total amount of donations reached about 66.2 million yen. Of the 11,159 donations, 8,728 (78.2%) or approximately 36.64 million yen (55.4% of the total amount) were from outside Hiroshima Prefecture, and the total number of people who contributed exceeded 1.3 million people.

The preservation work conducted with the donations began in April 1967 and finished in August. The City of Hiroshima commemorated completion of the preservation work by holding a "Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Exhibition," in six major cities including Tokyo, which was well received in all locations. It was reported that the Tokyo and Nagoya exhibitions each had 50,000 visitors.

The success of the fundraising for the preservation of the A-bomb Dome and of the subsequent A-bomb exhibitions showed that presenting the facts of the atomic bombings could arouse public interest in the abolition of nuclear weapons. Many other efforts followed these developments, including the exhibition on the materials returned from the United States (1973); the movement to disseminate survivor testimonies (1977); the 10 Feet Film Project (1980); the fundraising for the Hiroshima Monument for the A-bomb Victims (A-bomb tiles) (1981); and the second fundraising drive for the preservation of the A-bomb Dome (1989). All were met with great success.

In December 1996, 30 years after the start of the fundraising to preserve the A-bomb Dome, the A-bomb Dome was registered on the World Heritage List as the "Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)," which has a universal value as "a stark and powerful symbol of the most destructive force ever created by humankind," and "the hope for world peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons" (from the description of the world heritage site). With this, people's hope placed on the preservation of the A-bomb Dome has been passed on as a universal hope.

(2) Clarifying and Passing on the Realities of the A-Bombing

Since the late 1960s, apart from the preservation movement for the A-bomb Dome, there have been other efforts in Hiroshima to clarify the realities of the A-bombing, and share and pass on that knowledge to society and to future generations. In 1964, a movement started with the objective of asking the Japanese government to issue a white paper on atomic and hydrogen bombs. This movement heightened people's interest in data regarding the atomic bombings, from various fields including government administration and medicine, and revealed numerous materials that had been left untouched.

One such example of this trend is the TV programs broadcasted by NHK titled "Camera Report: Within a 500-Meter Radius of Ground Zero" (broadcast to the Chugoku region on August 3, 1966) and "Images of Contemporary Society: A Flash beyond the Eaves" (nationwide broadcast on August 4, 1967). These programs triggered a movement of the map-restoration of A-bombed areas; which developed into the research conducted by a group of experts at the Hiroshima University's Research Institute for Nuclear Medicine and Biology, starting from March 1968. This also led to the City of Hiroshima's project in April 1969. Through this project, efforts were made to restore maps of the A-bombed areas, eliciting numerous testimonies from citizens about the reality of the bombing. From these activities, various citizens' organizations arose with such objectives as praying for the repose of the A-bomb victims. From the late 1960s, efforts were made throughout Japan to study the damages caused by air raids. The movement of the Map-restoration of A-bombed Areas had considerable impact on these efforts in terms of methodology and ideology. Starting in June 1975 and continuing for two months, NHK called for the citizens to draw and submit pictures of the atomic bombing to be kept for future generations, and many A-bomb survivors supported this project. In total, about 900 pictures were sent to NHK. They were displayed at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum from August 1 to 6 and have subsequently continued to play a role in communicating the realities of the atomic bombing in Japan and abroad.

Furthermore, there were many efforts to publish materials to elucidate (and to pass on) the realities of the atomic bombings. The City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture, and other entities published various documents including *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi* (Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb War Disaster) (5 volumes) (1971); *Hiroshima, Nagasaki no Genbaku Saigai* (Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Damages of the Atomic Bombings) (1979); *Hiroshima Kenshi:* Genbaku Shiryo Hen (History of Hiroshima Prefecture: Resource Materials on the Atomic Bombing) (1972); *Genbaku Sanju Nen: Hiroshimaken no Sengoshi* (30 Years After the Atomic Bombing: A Postwar History of Hiroshima Prefecture) (1976); and *Hiroshimaken Sensaishi* (History of War Damage in Hiroshima Prefecture) (1988). During the compilation processes, government documents were excavated, such as lists of names of atomic bombing victims from the War Victims' Relief Bureau in the Ministry of Health and Welfare and from municipal governments in Hiroshima Prefecture. Valuable A-bomb-related materials from right after the bombing, including reports by the Ministry of the Army investigation groups and medical research by Masao Tsuzuki, were published as resource materials in the fore-mentioned books.

Many records on the experiences of the atomic bombings were also published, particularly around 1985, by government offices, schools and companies in Hiroshima City and by various groups of A-bomb survivors in the prefecture. The number of publications on the memoirs related to the atomic bombing was about several hundred a year, but from 1982 onward, the number exceeded 1,000 (Ubuki, 1999).

(Satoru Ubuki)

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III Peace Education

This section will cover the restoration of education services and the development of peace education in Hiroshima while tracing the progress of educational reform in Japan. First, this section will investigate the state of education and give historic background of education in Hiroshima and Japan prior to the bombing. Next, it will recount the bombing in Hiroshima and the reopening of schools in its wake. In addition, this section will provide explanations on the adoption of democratic education based on the new constitution; education to develop technology, prompted by the Cold War confrontation; education during the period of high economic growth that saw a rise in the percentage of students proceeding to higher education. Each topic will be addressed, explaining the situation in Hiroshima and the changes in the national curriculum that played a crucial role in the postwar education policy.

1 Hiroshima as the Western Center of Education before and during the War

Japan has striven to advance its society through education since modern times. After the Meiji period began in 1868, the Ministry of Education was soon established in 1871, and an educational system (putting in place laws and regulations on school education) was promulgated in 1872. In other words, the establishment of the Ministry of Education and the educational system predated the proclamation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1889) and the creation of the Imperial Diet (1890). These circumstances give a glimpse into the fervor for education in Japan at that time.

Before and during the war, Japan carried out education based on the Education Rescript (instituted in 1890). The Education Rescript, officially titled the "Imperial Rescript on Education" was an edict on education issued by the emperor.[1)] Imperial edicts were mandates proclaimed by the emperor. In those days, they possessed more authority than laws and ordinances. First, the Imperial Rescript on Education stated that Japan shall found education on

the national views based on the emperor system, or on the concept that Japan was established by the emperor's ancestors. Second, education shall value Confucian morals, including filial piety, and the morals of modern constitutionalism, such as compliance with the law. Third, it impelled absolute devotion to the emperor system and charged subjects to exert every effort for the emperor in times of emergency. The Ministry of Education at that time distributed copies of the Imperial Rescript on Education and a picture of the emperor (an imperial portrait) to every school and required students to 1) reverentially bow and pay homage to the picture, 2) respectfully read the Imperial Rescript on Education, 3) listen to the principal's moral discourse, and 4) sing the designated festive songs at ceremonies for national holidays.[2)] Thus, the Imperial Rescript on Education was regarded as the absolute basic criteria for education and students were obliged to abide by it.

In this period, Hiroshima became an educational center in Western Japan. Together with the development of a school system, normal schools were established one after another in various major cities from 1872 to provide teacher training. Furthermore, a higher normal school (for training teachers for middle schools) was opened in 1886. After a higher normal school was opened in Tokyo, another higher normal school was opened in Hiroshima in 1902. After this, the specialized course of Hiroshima Higher Normal School was reorganized and the Hiroshima University of Literature and Science was established in 1929, and the higher normal school was made into an attachment of the university. Thus, the Tokyo Higher Normal School and the University of Tokyo of Literature and Science (currently, the University of Tsukuba) served as the core of education to develop human resources in Eastern Japan, while the Hiroshima Higher Normal School and the Hiroshima University of Literature and Science (today's Hiroshima University) took on that role in Western Japan.[3)] Along with the establishment of these higher education institutions, various other educational institutions were established in Hiroshima, such as high schools, vocational schools, middle schools, and National Schools (which provided primary education). Hiroshima came to lead Japan's education as the center of education in Western Japan.

2 The Atomic Bombing and Resumption of School Education

The city of Hiroshima was instantly destroyed on August 6, 1945 by the atomic bomb dropped by U.S. Forces. According to records on the war damage, 78 schools were damaged in the atomic bombing, including 39 national schools, 30 middle schools, and nine high schools and universities.[4)] Of them, 34 were either completely destroyed or had burned down, seven were completely destroyed, four had completely burned down, 20 were half-destroyed, one was half-burned, leaving just 12 in usable condition. After the bombing, the majority of those schools were used as temporary relief stations for injured people, so for some time, it was impossible to conduct lessons at schools.

For example, Honkawa National School (a primary school, at approx. 350 meters from hypocenter) and Fukuromachi National School (approx. 600 meters from the hypocenter) were severely damaged by fire but their shells of reinforced concrete still stood, so they were used as temporary relief stations to accommodate the injured people brought in one after another. As the injured gradually recovered, they returned home. Or many were found by their family and relatives and taken home. Unfortunately, there were many who died. In this way, the temporary relief stations were gradually scaled down; but classes could not be resumed in a normal way.[5)]

However, the first action towards resuming classes had already been taken on August 21, 1945. In fact, on that day principals from national schools met and discussed how to restore

schools and resume classes. Based on this discussion, the prefectural government ordered schools to reopen starting on September 15, and schools in Hiroshima City gradually resumed classes between September and November.[6] In other words, within about two weeks of the atomic bombing (and less than a week after the war ended), efforts were already under way in Hiroshima to the restore schools and resume classes.

When the war ended, many children who had left their parents and evacuated to the countryside to escape air raids returned to Hiroshima. Efforts to reopen schools were redoubled for these children. However, many children had also lost their families and teachers in the atomic bombing. In fact, there were very few students who attended the day schools reopened. Although schools were reopened, classrooms and teaching materials were practically nonexistent. Teachers brought their own ink stones, ink sticks, and brushes. They collected pieces of wooden boards, painted them with black ink and pounded burned nails with stones to create blackboards. Coal boxes were put on straw mats and used as desks. Textbooks and school supplies were borrowed from relatives and from communities the schoolchildren had evacuated to. Teachers visited their acquaintances and asked them to provide teaching materials. A single textbook was shared by a group of children. In addition, pieces of used paper were bound together to be used as notebooks if the backside of the paper was not used. Of course, in such circumstances it was impossible to conduct normal lessons.[7] In fact, because of the dire shortage of food, at some schools children worked together with teachers to clear out the burned school grounds and grew vegetables.[8]

3 Reconstruction of Hiroshima and Education to Prevent Being Misled by Leaders

Japan was placed under the control of the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ) after the war ended, and it was made to shift from militarism to democracy. The United States dispatched an education mission to Japan in 1946, which wrote a comprehensive report on Japanese education, including educational aims and content, administration, and teacher training systems. Based on the report, the Ministry of Education issued a "Guide for the New Education" in 1946, and a new school system (six years of primary school, three years of junior high school and three years of senior high school system) was implemented in April 1947.

The Ministry of Education's "Guide for the New Education" stated that, "In Japan, it is said that although the state and families exist, the society does not exist. This means that although Japanese people are loyal to the state and are good family members, when they are among the crowd and away from home, they lack a sense of public morality, have a weak sense of responsibility and are not trained appropriately to keep rules and to collaborate with others. That is because individuality is not well developed." [9] Therefore, "The new education of Japan must fully develop each person's individuality so that people become qualified to be full-fledged members of the society and that they will contribute to bringing peace to the world and to the state, and happiness to their families and themselves."[10] The Guide also stated, "Japanese people are weak in rational ways of thinking and are low in scientific standards." Therefore, "Militarists and ultranationalists can easily take advantage of these weaknesses."[11] "Thus, the spirit to love truth, in other words, the attitude to seek truth, to speak of truth and to act on truth is necessary so that people would not be misled by leaders."[12] The postwar education in Japan sought to establish students' individuality, their capacity for rational and scientific thinking and to build up their personalities so that they would not be misled by leaders. This was the objective of education proposed by the Guide.

At the same time, in 1946 the new constitution (the Constitution of Japan) was promulgated. Under the former constitution (the Constitution of the Empire of Japan) enforced before and during the war, education was a "duty" for people (subjects) to fulfil, but in the new constitution, education is one of people's "rights." In keeping with the spirit of the new constitution, the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted in 1947 to establish a new basis of education in Japan. Article 1 states, "Education shall aim for the full development of personalities, striving to nurture people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, respect individual values, respect labor, have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society." [13)]

To achieve education based on such a principle, the first Courses of Study were published in Japan in 1947 as the standard for curricula throughout the school system. With this, morals, civics, history and geography were removed from the subjects taught at school, and social studies, home economics and free studies were newly included. The Courses of Study were created by referencing the curricula of the United States (courses of study). The Courses of Study at that time were announced as a tentative proposal to offer a guideline for teachers. The Courses of Study were influenced by the student-centered education in the United States, focusing on children's interests.[14)] There are basically two approaches when formulating a curriculum: one focusing on teaching knowledge in a systematic way and the other focusing on what students are interested in. In that sense, the first Courses of Study were oriented toward the latter.

"Unit learning" was introduced to school education based on the principles of the Courses of Study.[15)] In unit learning, students find issues that they are interested in, by drawing from their experiences and topics in their own lives. Students then explore these issues to find answers to their questions. The subject of social studies was newly introduced as a core subject for unit learning. Social studies served as a key subject, based on the new postwar principles. Not only did it teach the contents directly related to the subject, but it also actively incorporated knowledge from other subjects and nurtured children's skills in life and work.

Meanwhile, there were signs of reconstruction in Hiroshima. In 1946, teachers who survived the calamity of the atomic bombing formed the Hiroshima Association for Cultural Promotion for Children and carried out cultural activities for children. Through the cooperation of many, Hiroshima Children's Cultural Hall was opened in 1948 as the first cultural facility in Hiroshima, and the Hiroshima City Children's Library was opened in 1952. The occupation of Japan by GHQ ended with the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Japan at San Francisco, and just as the restrictions on the freedom of speech was gradually eased, *Genbaku no Ko* (Children of the A-bomb), a collection of essays by children, was compiled to present their A-bomb experiences,[16)] demonstrating that hope for the future and for reconstruction lied with the children. Of course, there were many children who had lost their parents and relatives. They were working hard to survive on their own by shining shoes and doing other chores, and so many could not study at all.

4 Passing Down A-bomb Experiences, and Education to Advance Science and Technology

Soon after the war ended, the Japanese education system made a fresh start under the strong influence of the United States. One of the major goals of education was to build up the personalities of children so that they would not be misled by leaders in the future. Therefore, the Courses of Study focused on children's interests rather than teaching knowledge systematically. School education adopted a method of unit learning that encouraged students

to find issues that they are interested in, from their experiences and topics in their own lives, and explore these issues to learn more about them. However, Japan was compelled to make a major change in its education policy around 1958. The Courses of Study issued in 1958 and in 1968 differed significantly from previous issues.

Revisions in the 1958 Courses of Study did not adopt unit learning that focused on children's interests. This was decided as the evaluations of students' achievements were not high. The focus was shifted to learning subjects in a systematic way, and education was going to be conducted according to children's abilities, in order to support scientific and technological development.[17] Until that time, the Courses of Study had been a tentative proposal (a proposed guideline for teachers), but from this revision, the Courses of Study became the national standard for curricula with legally binding force.[18] The Courses of Study was revised because of a decline in children's academic abilities and the escalation of the ideological confrontation in the Cold War.

In fact, in the latter half of the 1950s, the Ministry of Education and various research institutes conducted surveys on children's academic abilities, and compared the results with those of before and during the war. The outcomes revealed that the basic scholastic abilities of children after the war had obviously declined from the prewar level.[19] For example, when it came to the four basic operations of arithmetic, the sixth graders of around 1951 only had abilities equivalent to the fourth graders of around 1928.

Meanwhile, on the international front, the Korean War began in 1950, and the Cold War between the East and the West was intensifying over the ideological confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. After the 1957 Sputnik crisis, Japan modernized its curricula to strengthen math and science education.[20] When the Soviet Union in the Eastern camp succeeded in launching the world's first artificial satellite, the Western nations, including the United States, were greatly shocked, and in Japan, too, it was decided to make more efforts to improve education for advancing science and technology.

Just around that time, a movement spearheaded by university researchers was seen in Hiroshima to construct facilities to house and exhibit materials related to the atomic bombings and the war in order to present the tragedy of the atomic bombings widely to the world. At the time, the Peace Memorial Park was being developed in central Hiroshima City. It was decided that a memorial museum was to be built in the park, and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum was opened in 1955.[21] Today, the museum continues to serve as a core facility to share the facts of the atomic bombing to future generations.

At the citizen level, the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) was formed in 1955 as an anti-nuclear peace organization, which conducted a signature-collecting campaign seeking the total abolition of nuclear weapons. In the same year, the first World Conference against A and H Bombs was held in Hiroshima;[22] and with it, peace movements calling for the total abolition of nuclear weapons spread throughout Japan. These movements also led to a peace movement initiated by children after Sadako Sasaki's death, to pray for peace by folding paper cranes, and to establish a symbolic monument for children. Sadako Sasaki was two years old at the time of the bombing and developed leukemia when she was in the sixth grade. She continued folding paper cranes from medicine wrappers and other paper to pray for her recovery but passed away the following year (1955). After her death, her classmates began a campaign to build a memorial monument for Sadako and other children who died from the atomic bombing. Children's Peace Monument was built in 1958 with donations contributed from all over Japan.[23] The story of Sadako and her paper cranes spread throughout the world, and paper cranes folded by children from around the world have continued to be sent in to the monument with their prayers for peace.

5 Improving Academic Abilities Associated with Rapid Economic Growth and Hiroshima as a Base for Promoting Peace Education

Japan saw rapid economic growth in the 1960s. The Olympic Games were held in Tokyo in 1964, and the World Exposition was held in Osaka in 1970. Bullet trains and expressways were constructed one after another in association with these events. Also, in 1968, Japan's gross national product (GNP) surpassed that of West Germany and ranked the second in the world, making Japan the second biggest economic power after the United States.[24] It was truly the "Miracle of the Orient." Household appliances such as televisions, washing machines and refrigerators appeared one after another and rapidly spread to people's homes to be used in their daily lives. People found that if they studied hard, they could enter good universities, and then they could find good jobs at good companies. Then, if they worked hard in these companies, they could get higher salaries. Then the living conditions in the communities would become increasingly affluent. It was a period of constant growth.

In this situation, the Courses of Study were once again revised in 1968, and the systematic approach of teaching became emphasized even more than before. Accordingly, the content of each subject increased and became more advanced. For instance, the number of math lessons increased, and such contents of modern mathematics as sets, functions, and probability were introduced.[25] The academic abilities of Japanese children improved remarkably as a result of the educational policies introduced in 1958 to promote the systematic approach of teaching. In fact, according to an international comparative study of scholastic abilities conducted in 1964 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), Japan raked the second in math, after Israel (a survey on eighth graders in 12 countries).[26] In a later study on science conducted in 1969 (on fifth and ninth graders in 18 countries), both the fifth graders and ninth graders in Japan ranked the top in the world.[27] After these survey results were published, education in Japan became a focus of international attention. It was believed that education was a factor that enabled Japan's miraculous recovery from the tragedy of the war.

With the rapid economic growth, the ratio of students going to high schools and universities also rose. In fact, during the decade of the 1960s, the ratio of students enrolling in high schools rose from approximately 60% to 80%, and those enrolling in universities rose from approximately 10% to 30%.[28] In connection to that trend, student movements also showed a nationwide upsurge. For example, there was a movement against revising the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1960, followed by the movement against the Vietnam War. Moreover, university disputes occurred from around 1968 due to the confrontation between students and universities. These movements all started with students. According to Eiji Oguma, the generation that participated in these movements was brought up on the values of peace and democracy. At elementary schools, they learned that democracy meant freedom and equality, and at junior and senior high school, they were made to defeat others in the competitive university entrance examinations. They persevered and studied until they entered university, but instead of being able to pursue academic research at university, they were made to listen to boring lectures. Eventually they would graduate to become cogwheels for their companies. "Is university a tool of capitalism?" To challenge such deception in postwar democracy, students attempted to express this view by blocking off universities with barricades.[29] Student movements spread to universities nationwide; and in Hiroshima, a university was temporarily blocked by barricades built by students as well.

Just around that time, teachers in Hiroshima began a movement promoting peace education. Despite the fact that Japan had renounced war in the postwar constitution, in reality Japan supported the United States in the Korean War and the Vietnam War, and even created

self-defense forces and intended to expand armaments. Alarmed by these circumstances, the teachers of Hiroshima formed the Hiroshima Prefecture Hibakusha Teacher's Association in 1969 with the aim of passing on knowledge of their experiences following the A-bombing to children so that Japan would not revert to prewar circumstances. In 1971, the National Liaison Committee of the Hibakusha Teachers' Associations (Japan Hibakusha Teachers' Association) was established with the support of the Japan Teachers' Union (JTU), and in 1972 the Hiroshima Institute for Peace Education was established to conduct research on teaching materials for peace education and to share information. In 1973, the JTU and the Japan Hibakusha Teachers' Association held the first National Peace Education Symposium in Hiroshima City, and in 1974, the Japan Council for Peace Education Research was established.[30)]

In 1976, a general meeting of the Japan Hibakusha Teachers' Association was held and adopted a resolution to promote school trips to visit the A-bombed cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[31)] Thus, starting from 1979, the number of schools to visit Hiroshima rapidly increased and the movement expanded across the nation in the 1980s. In 1985, the number of students visiting the Peace Memorial Museum on school trips accounted for approximately 40% of all visitors to the museum.[32)] Hence, Hiroshima came to be positioned as the base for promoting peace education in Japan.

(Masashi Urabe)

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IV Experiencing the Atomic Bombing and Survivors' Personal Perspectives on Peace

1 What Did the A-bomb Survivors Experience? What Do They Want to Communicate? [1)]

After the so-called "lost decade" of 1945-1954[2)] and until today, the A-bomb survivors have continued to call for the total abolition of nuclear weapons and national indemnities.[3)] Though there are still some issues to be resolved, it is true that support measures for the victims have expanded through the ceaseless efforts of the A-bomb survivors themselves and their support organizations.[4)]

On the other hand, when it comes to the total abolition of nuclear weapons, nuclear powers still exist, including the United States, Russia, France, the United Kingdom and China. Collectively, the nuclear powers possess approximately 17,000 nuclear warheads.[5)] It is easy to imagine the anger, frustration, and resignation that many survivors feel, as well as their earnest hope for the abolition of nuclear weapons.[6)]

This section takes up the survey titled, "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" conducted by the Asahi Shimbun in April 2005 and examines the survivors' responses to the open-ended questions to shed light on the character of their testimonies of their experiences and their messages to future generations. This is not only a summary of their experiences and messages but also a study to clarify the main elements of their experiences, messages, and sentiments. At the same time, it is also an exploration of their personal perspectives on peace. Of course, there are other methods to analyze and examine their perspectives on peace, such as the association test conducted by Masatsugu Matsuo in 1983.[7)] However, because their individual experiences of the atomic bombings form the foundation of their views on peace and their perspectives are most clearly expressed in their messages, this analysis of the A-bomb Survivor experiences and messages is considered an appropriate method to investigate. Therefore, the examination of the details of their experiences and messages leads to more complete understanding of their personal perspectives on peace. The survivor experiences and messages taken up in this study seek to clarify the core elements as well as to summarize them. This means that the points of views on peace explored here may also show the core elements and summaries of survivors' peace perspectives. Please note that since this questionnaire study was conducted with the cooperation of A-bomb survivor organizations in various prefectures, the findings may be limited to this particular population and may not be representative of survivors as a whole. While these constraints exist, it is significant that data from approximately 7,000 A-bomb survivors was quantitatively analyzed to better understand their viewpoints on peace, which had been a mere assumption. This study confirmed that what had been previously discussed was correct. It is significant that the perspectives revealed here are considered to be applicable, to a large degree, when explaining the peace perspectives of A-bomb survivors as a whole.

2 Data and Methods

The Asahi Shimbun's "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" targeted 38,061 people who possessed either the Atomic Bomb Survivor's Certificates or the Class 1 Health Check Certificates. It was conducted from March to April 2005 as a joint project with Hiroshima University. The self-administered questionnaire was mailed to the target population through the organizations of Atomic and Hydrogen bomb sufferers in each prefecture affiliated with the Japan Confederation of A-and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations. Out of those targeted, the total number of respondents was 13,453 (a response rate of 35.3%). And out of that number, 6,782 respondents (50.4% of the respondents) filled in the open-ended questions with details of their experiences and messages. This paper analyzes the experiences and messages written by these 6,782 respondents and attempts to examine the distinctive characteristics of the identified main elements by gender, location (Hiroshima or Nagasaki), and survivor category (according to how they were exposed to radiation).

The methodology utilized in this analysis was to extract words that frequently appeared in the survivor experiences and messages and then conduct a quantitative analysis using multidimensional scaling, hierarchical clustering, and text mining. The statistical analysis software "R" was used in the quantitative analysis, and MeCab was used for a morphological analysis.[8)]

Please write freely in response to the following topics. You may choose to write about only one topic, or all topics.

1. Something you find unforgettable about your A-bomb experience
2. A message for the people who died in the atomic bombing and/or for new generations
3. Any other matter you would like to bring to others' attention/ or make known to others

3 Results and Discussions

(1) Background of the Respondents

The average age of the respondents was 75.3 (age at the time of the survey). There were 3,272 men (48.2%) and 3,368 women (49.7%). With regard to age groups, the majority of the respondents were in their 70s (55.1%), followed by respondents in their 80s (22.2%) and 60s (18.2%). As for the prefectures in which they lived at the time of the survey, 1,993 respondents—which was the biggest number—lived in Hiroshima (29.4%), followed by 944 in Tokyo (13.9%), 815 in Nagasaki (12.0%), and 421 in Fukuoka (6.2%). With regard to locations, 4,298 were survivors of the Hiroshima bombing (63.4%), 2,257 were survivors of the Nagasaki bombing (33.3%), and three were survivors of the bombings of both cities (0.04%). With regard to the survivor category, 3,572 were those who were exposed directly (52.7%), 1,939 were those who were exposed upon entering the city in the wake of the atomic bombing (28.6%), 467 were those who were exposed while engaged in relief activities (6.9%), 56 were those who were exposed in utero (0.8%), and 729 were those who had Class 1 Health Check Certificates (those who were in the designated areas outside the cities of Hiroshima or Nagasaki on the day of the atomic bombing) (10.7%). As for what they were at the time of the bombings, 2,694 were schoolchildren (39.7%), 1,094 were citizens (adults) (16.1%), and 1,254 were soldiers or civilian employees of the military (18.5%).

(2) Core Elements of the A-bomb Experiences and Messages

a Analyses Conducted on All Respondents

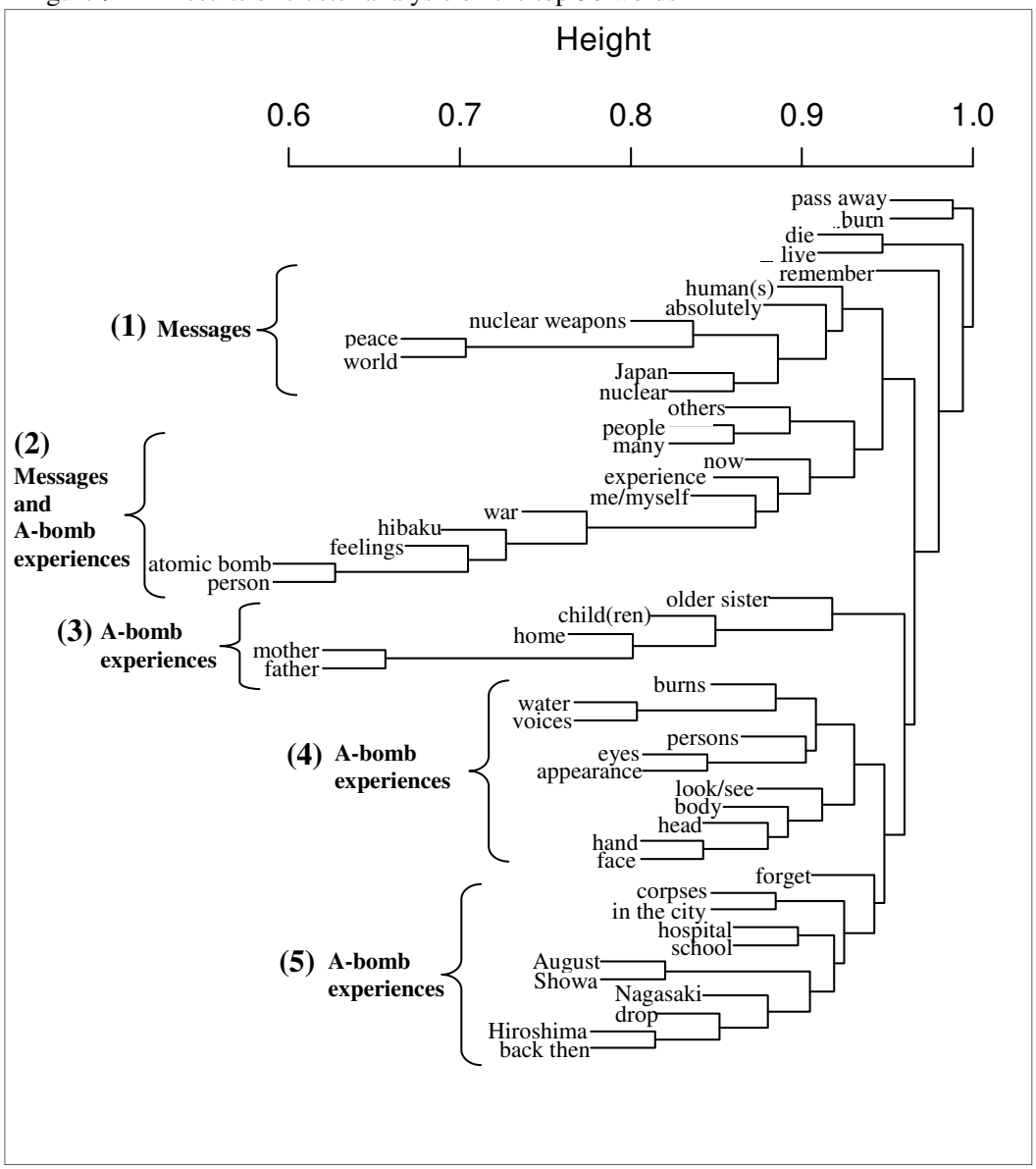
Table 9-1 shows the top 50 words appearing most frequently in the experiences and messages written by the 6,782 respondents. In general, the words extracted were limited to nouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs that describe the damages of the atomic bombings. Next, the relationship between words was calculated to show their degree of association, based on how often they were used simultaneously. Then, these 50 words were classified using hierarchical clustering (a method of data mining). The results are presented in Figure 9-1. To show closely-linked words in Figure 9-1, five groups are indicated with curly brackets, classification numbers and descriptions. Also, in Figure 9-2, multidimensional scaling was used to visually indicate the degree of association between words; and four spheres (dashed lines), sphere numbers, and content descriptions have been added to show the author's interpretations. There is information loss associated with the use of the projection plane, and there are several assumptions and some limitations, but this study also closely examines the written content and employs simple spheres as much as possible. The classification numbers in Figure 9-1 and the sphere numbers in Figure 9-2 correspond mostly of the time, except for (4) and (5) in Figure 9-1, which correspond to (4) in Figure 9-2.

Table 9-1 Top 50 words appearing in the open-end answers of the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings"

Rank (by word occurrences)	Word	Word occurrences (total)	Rank (by word occurrences)	Word	Word occurrences (total)
1	(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation	5,060	26	experience	1,017
2	atomic bomb	4,584	27	eyes	1,014
3	person	4,397	28	people	971
4	war	3,248	29	nuclear	970
5	Hiroshima	2,927	30	appearance	970
6	look/see	2,570	31	hospital	939
7	mother	2,038	32	school	921
8	pass away	1,851	33	now	911
9	peace	1,808	34	August	887
10	forget	1,794	35	feelings	858
11	water	1,694	36	persons	853
12	home	1,644	37	in the city	850
13	father	1,536	38	absolutely	812
14	die	1,504	39	burn	807
15	child(ren)	1,503	40	voices	783
16	back then	1,407	41	others	782
17	live	1,318	42	Showa era	777
18	Nagasaki	1,278	43	older sister	767
19	me/myself	1,276	44	hand	755
20	world	1,188	45	face	745
21	Japan	1,101	46	burns	740
22	drop	1,078	47	many	736
23	nuclear weapons	1,063	48	body	718
24	corpses	1,056	49	human(s)	716
25	remember	1,028	50	head	712

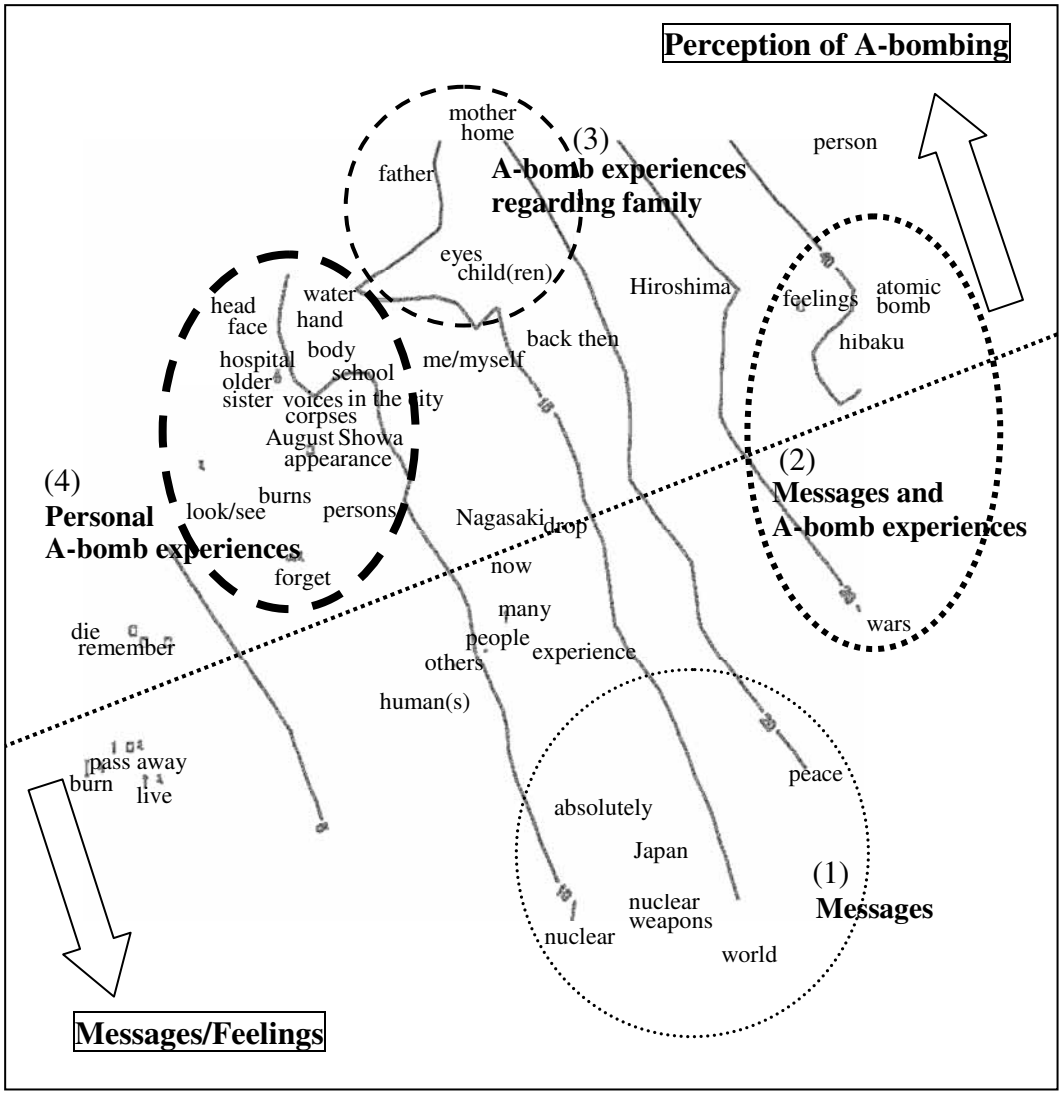
Hereafter, an attempt will be made to interpret the survivor messages and recounts of the atomic bombings and of their experience based on Figure 9-1 and Figure 9-2. In general, group (1) in Figure 9-1 and sphere (1) in Figure 9-2 show the key words used in the A-bomb survivor messages; and (3), (4), and (5) in Figure 9-1 and (3) and (4) in Figure 9-2 show the survivor recollections of their individual experiences during the A-bombings. In addition, (2) in both Figure 9-1 and Figure 9-2 include elements of both the messages and recollections of their experiences.

Figure 9-1 Results of cluster analysis on the top 50 words



Note: Brackets and numbers have been added by the author to the results of a cluster analysis conducted by Associate Professor Kenichi Sato at the Research Institute for Radiation Biology and Medicine, Hiroshima University. The same applies hereafter. Height indicates the distance at the time of combining clusters.

Figure 9-2 Messages and the recognition structure of survivors' experiences according to this multidimensional scaling



Note: The position of the words "corpses" and "in the city" was marginally shifted to ensure that they do not overlap. The contour lines are linear interpolations of word occurrences (relative frequency). Each sphere is given a different dashed line, and those lines correspond to the sphere lines in Figure 9-3 to 5.

As shown in Figure 9-2, words related to their recollections of their experiences can be mainly classified into two groups. One group is the cluster of words in sphere (4) in Figure 9-2. The injuries inflicted on survivors right after the bombing were often described using such words as "head," "face," "hands," and "burns." At the same time, the conditions in the "hospitals" that accommodated the survivors and of the "corpses" left everywhere are talked about. The proximity of "water" and "voices" refers to the voices of the survivors on the brink of death, asking for water. Thus, it can be understood that sphere (4) is a cluster describing the unforgettable hellish scenes from after the bombing. Excerpts from accounts with illustrative examples of the use of the words "water" and "corpses" are shown below.

Examples 1

Illustrative examples of the use of the word, "water" in the open-end answers from the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (excerpts)

- …was a mountain of dead bodies at the foot of the bridge, and many people asking for **water…**
- …can't forget the sight. 1-2) Many people were piled on top of another at the water channel, wanting **water…**
- …groaning in anguish and said, "Soldier, **water** please." "Help me please," and held out his hand…
- …a person whose body was half-covered in burns lay at the side of the road and asked, "Soldier, **water** please," but…
- …many people suffering from ulcers came from behind asking us for **water**, saying, "Soldier, **water**"…
- …on the hand-drawn cart there were a burned person saying, "**Water**, **water**." I arrived at Yokogawa…
- …something that I heard, so when I think of it now I wish I would have given them **water…**
- …why at that time didn't I respond to his sorrowful request and give him **water**?
- …asked me many times, saying "I want a drink," but there was no **water** anywhere…
- …people with major and minor injuries, without hands or legs. People shouted **water** please…

Illustrative examples of "corpses" in the open-end answers from the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (excerpts)

- …took them to the room for **corpses**, which were stacked 2 and 3 high, and there was no place…
- …lit by the harsh summer sun, **corpses** lay in the road and the smell of death drifted…
- …were left. Also, I saw people's **corpses** being burned here and there…
- …I entered the city in August 1945. There were many **corpses** from the station to Funairi…
- …people asked for water and then died. Every single day **corpses** were burned and every day…
-…I went to Koi Elementary School and saw that many **corpses** were buried in the playground…
- …see to Ujina and I was dazed. I walked from Hiroshima Station among **corpses** and rubble…
- ...**corpses** were burned so that I couldn't tell if they were men or women, walking unsteadily…
- …I can't forget the fact that the bridge burned and the burning **corpses** each time I…
- …August 14, even after six days had passed there were **corpses** scattered about, and horses…

The other grouping is the cluster of words in sphere (3). This can be interpreted as a group recounting their experiences following the A-bombing in relation to family, such as "mother," "father," and "home." It reveals that the deaths of their parents in the bombing or the experiences involving their parents constitute important factors in the recounts of their experiences. Below are illustrative examples related to "father" and "mother." Therefore, recollections of their experiences are primarily composed of two groups of experiences: those involving family and those of the unforgettable hellish scenes from after the bombing.

Examples 2

Illustrative examples of "father" in the open-end answers from the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (excerpts)

- …I was taken away by my **father** and older brother to join the military engineering corps…
- …I often remember it even now. My mother died, and my **father** and older sister many times…
- …at the station platform my younger brother died, and **father** also died two days later…
- …without hearing anything about my wife or mother, I walked to my **father's** place of work…
- …with the help of relatives and neighbors, I put **father** on the cart and started off toward…
- …the company employees at Mitsubishi Steel were kind enough to cremate my **father…**
- …shoes were worn out and I couldn't walk, so I pestered my **father** for a piggyback ride…
- …do you know if there is a well? My **father** died in November after the end of the war…
- …he told my mother that he got the information. The next day, my **father** looked for my…
- …amid the smoldering neighborhood, my **father** desperately searched for my brother…

Illustrative examples of "mother" in the open-end answers from the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (excerpts)

- …of the many people who died. **Mother's** face had also been burned as were those of two of my brothers…
- …I heard that they were taking refuge in an air-raid shelter. My **mother** had also been burned and…
- …there was no forewarning that it was an atomic bomb, and to find my sister, my **mother** and…
- …That was when I was ten and my sister was six. Sadly, memories of my **mother** are few…
- …everyone went out and for a while we slept outside. **Mother** had been buried under the debris…
- …sometimes I remember. After the bomb, my **mother** wasn't well and couldn't go to the…
- …I should say that we went back to Goto. M**other** later died at her parent's house…
- …father was burned black. I was 12. M**other** and I looked for father. At 500 meters…
- …without it many people would not have died. My **mother** would not have died young, I think…
- …hugged her children as if praying, but maybe from a feeling of relief at seeing his **mother…**

There is no need to conduct more detailed analyses of the testimonies of A-bomb survivors. As shown in Table 9-1, the words "world," "peace," "nuclear weapons," and "nuclear" appear frequently, and it is clear that "world peace" achieved through "the abolition of nuclear (weapons)" is a key element. After having experienced the atomic bombing, the survivors advocate for a world peace without nuclear weapons. Messages from A-bomb survivors who lead the call for the abolition of nuclear weapons have been condensed here. In other words, this could be referred to as the essence of the survivors' "viewpoints of peace." The following are illustrative examples of the words "nuclear weapons/nuclear" and "world peace." The straight dotted line in Figure 9-2 indicates the boundary between their messages and accounts of their experiences. The area above the dotted line can be interpreted as word groups primarily concerning recollections of the survivor experiences, while word groups below the dotted line show the key words of their messages.

Examples 3

Illustrative examples of "nuclear" and "nuclear weapons" in the open-end answers from the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (excerpts)

- …thinking about it, I feel sorry for them. This world should get rid of **nuclear weapons**…
- …considering the anxiety of those who were bombed, I can't forgive those who use **nuclear weapons…**
- …I hope that they'll all be gone as soon as possible. If there were **nuclear** war humanity would…
- …an unnecessary evil, but an absolute evil. I want to shout for the abolition of **nuclear weapons…**
- …who fortunately survived must tell the next generation about the horror of **nuclear weapons…**
- …beautiful world. The Japanese government must lead the world in eliminating **nuclear weapons…**
- …is a country that has been bombed, so we should yell for the abolishment of **nuclear weapons…**
- …never want to have war again. I pray all countries will be free of **nuclear weapons** and have peace…
- …I remember being speechless. I want **nuclear weapons** eliminated from the world. A peaceful…
- …with the emotions of people, while I live, I will fight for a **nuclear-free**, peaceful 21st century…

Illustrative examples of "world peace" in the open-end answers from the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (excerpts)

- …so that tragedy will not occur again, I pray for **world peace** and peace in people's hearts…
- …I've never forgotten that image. I earnestly pray for **world peace** and the welfare of Japan…
- …what's the reason for gaining wisdom? For **world peace** and for people's happiness, abolish…
- …promote the movement to abolish nuclear weapons and pray for **world peace…**
- …I earnestly pray for the abolition of nuclear weapons and **world peace**. A bombing site and…
- …bombs are terrible devils, they are Satan. For **world peace** going forward, we must never again use…
- …as a person who has experienced war, I wish for **world peace—**without war or nuclear weapons…
- …eliminate nuclear weapons from this earth as soon as possible, I pray that **world peace** will…
- …working hard to eliminate nuclear weapons from the world, I pray for **world peace** and Iraq…
- …war should end with us, and so that **world peace** will be created and never again occur…

b Comparative Analysis by Gender

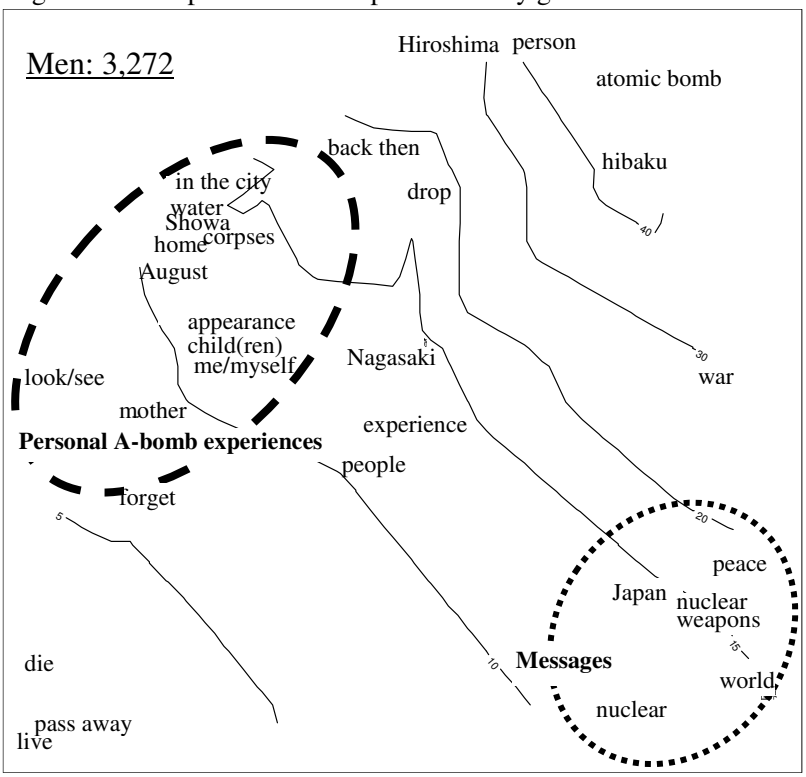
Table 9-2 is a comparison of the top 30 words by gender. The words used by both men and women are shown in bold in shaded cells. About 70% of these words are used by both men and women.

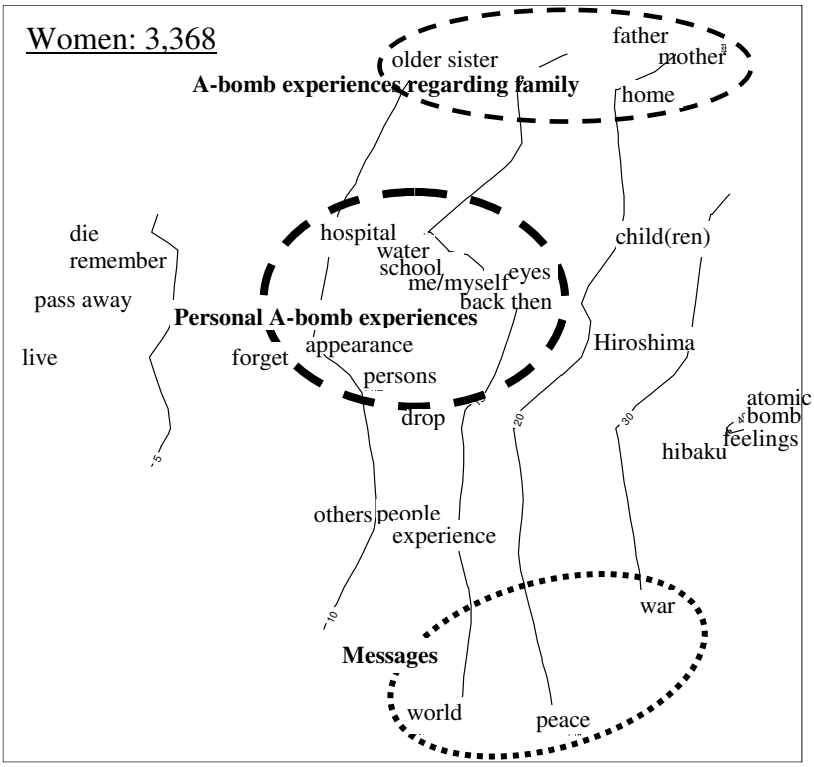
Table 9-2 Comparison of the top 30 words by gender

	Men (3,272)		Women (3,368)	
Rank (by word occurrences)	Word	Word Occurrences (total)	Word	Word occurrences (total)
1	**(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation**	2,571	**(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation**	2,258
2	**atomic bomb**	2,360	**atomic bomb**	2,161
3	person	1,798	**war**	1,639
4	**Hiroshima**	1,663	**mother**	1,480
5	**war**	1,540	**pass away**	1,265
6	look/see	1,274	**Hiroshima**	1,236
7	**peace**	873	father	1,067
8	**water**	833	**home**	1,040
9	**forget**	820	**child(ren)**	994
10	**back then**	759	**forget**	940
11	**Nagasaki**	737	**peace**	906
12	**die**	697	**water**	847
13	nuclear weapons	675	**live**	780
14	Japan	664	**die**	779
15	corpses	659	**me/myself**	692
16	**world**	637	**back then**	635
17	nuclear	626	remember	609
18	**drop**	623	older sister	585
19	**home**	577	eyes	552
20	**me/myself**	575	**world**	535
21	**experience**	556	**Nagasaki**	530
22	**pass away**	555	feelings	515
23	**mother**	538	hospital	480
24	in the city	524	school	479
25	**live**	516	**people**	476
26	August	500	persons	469
27	**appearance**	498	**appearance**	460
28	**child(ren)**	493	others	454
29	Showa	491	**experience**	452
30	**people**	486	**drop**	448

Overwhelmingly, women use the word “mother” quite frequently, and the words “father” and “older sister” only appear in the women’s writings. Thus, women tend to talk more about family when they talk about their experiences. Figure 9-3 shows the results of a multidimensional scaling of the 30 words. From that, it is apparent that men do not talk much about their families when they talk about their experiences. This doesn’t mean that men do not talk about their families at all, as “mother” is included in the list. However, women have a stronger tendency to talk about their families in relation to their experiences. Therefore, when it comes to recollections of their experiences, it is safe to say that emphasis in survivor accounts differ depending on the survivor’s gender. This analysis of the testimonies shows that men have a stronger tendency to advocate for peace through the abolition of nuclear weapons, while women have a stronger tendency to call for peace, by calling for not only the abolition of nuclear weapons but also the absolute renunciation of war. This suggests that “viewpoints on peace” also differ by gender.

Figure 9-3 Comparison of the top 30 words by gender





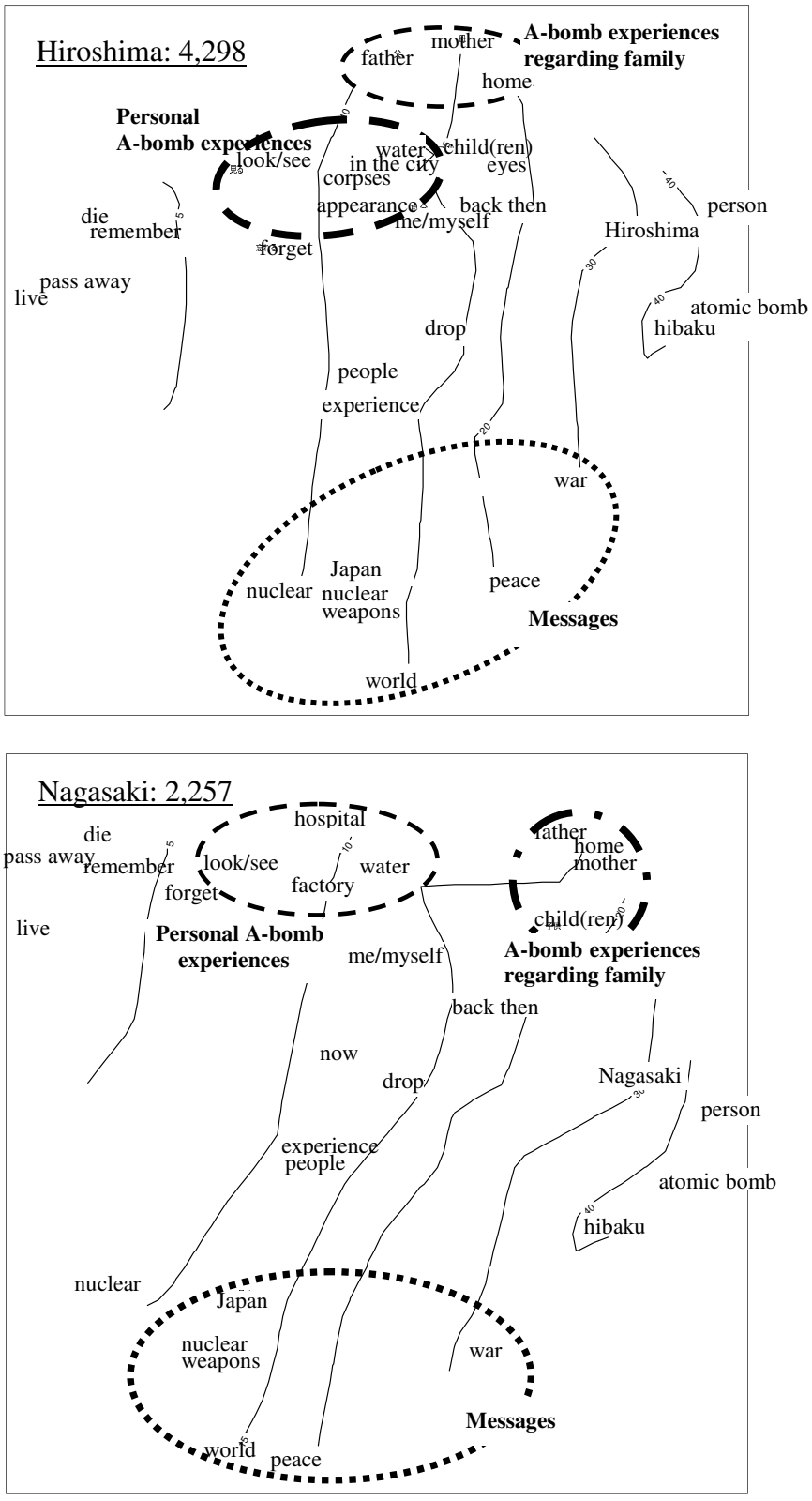
c Comparative Analysis of Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bomb Survivors

Table 9-3 shows the top 30 words by location. The words used by the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki overlap at a high rate of 87% (the shaded cells). Figure 9-4 shows the results of a multidimensional scaling of the 30 words. There is not much difference between the survivors of Hiroshima and those of Nagasaki. Although people often say there is "Anger in Hiroshima and prayer in Nagasaki," this claim is not supported by this analysis. One possible explanation is that 60 years after the atomic bombing, the heart of the survivors' feelings have become nearly identical.

Table 9-3 Comparison of the top 30 words by location

	Hiroshima (4,298)		Nagasaki (2,257)	
Rank (by word occurrences)	Word	Word occurrences (total)	Word	Word occurrences (total)
1	**(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation**	3,306	**(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation**	1,613
2	**atomic bomb**	2,872	**atomic bomb**	1,567
3	**person**	2,872	**person**	1,377
4	Hiroshima	2,657	**war**	1,173
5	**war**	1,989	Nagasaki	1,067
6	**look/see**	1,605	**look/see**	867
7	**mother**	1,244	**mother**	744
8	**peace**	1,192	**pass away**	626
9	**forget**	1,170	**home**	624
10	**pass away**	1,148	**father**	580
11	**water**	1,119	**peace**	563
12	**home**	975	**forget**	558
13	**die**	972	**water**	519
14	**child(ren)**	931	**child**	511
15	**back then**	929	**die**	488
16	**father**	901	**live**	438
17	**me/myself**	856	**back then**	430
18	**live**	843	**world**	421
19	**world**	742	**drop**	400
20	corpses	723	**me/myself**	396
21	**Japan**	711	**Japan**	362
22	**nuclear weapons**	695	**nuclear weapons**	352
23	**experience**	681	**eyes**	345
24	in the city	672	factory	344
25	appearance	667	hospital	342
26	**remember**	647	**remember**	332
27	**drop**	645	**people**	324
28	**nuclear**	637	**experience**	318
29	**eyes**	629	**nuclear**	307
30	**people**	625	today	304

Figure 9-4 Comparison of the top 30 words used by survivors from Hiroshima and Nagasaki



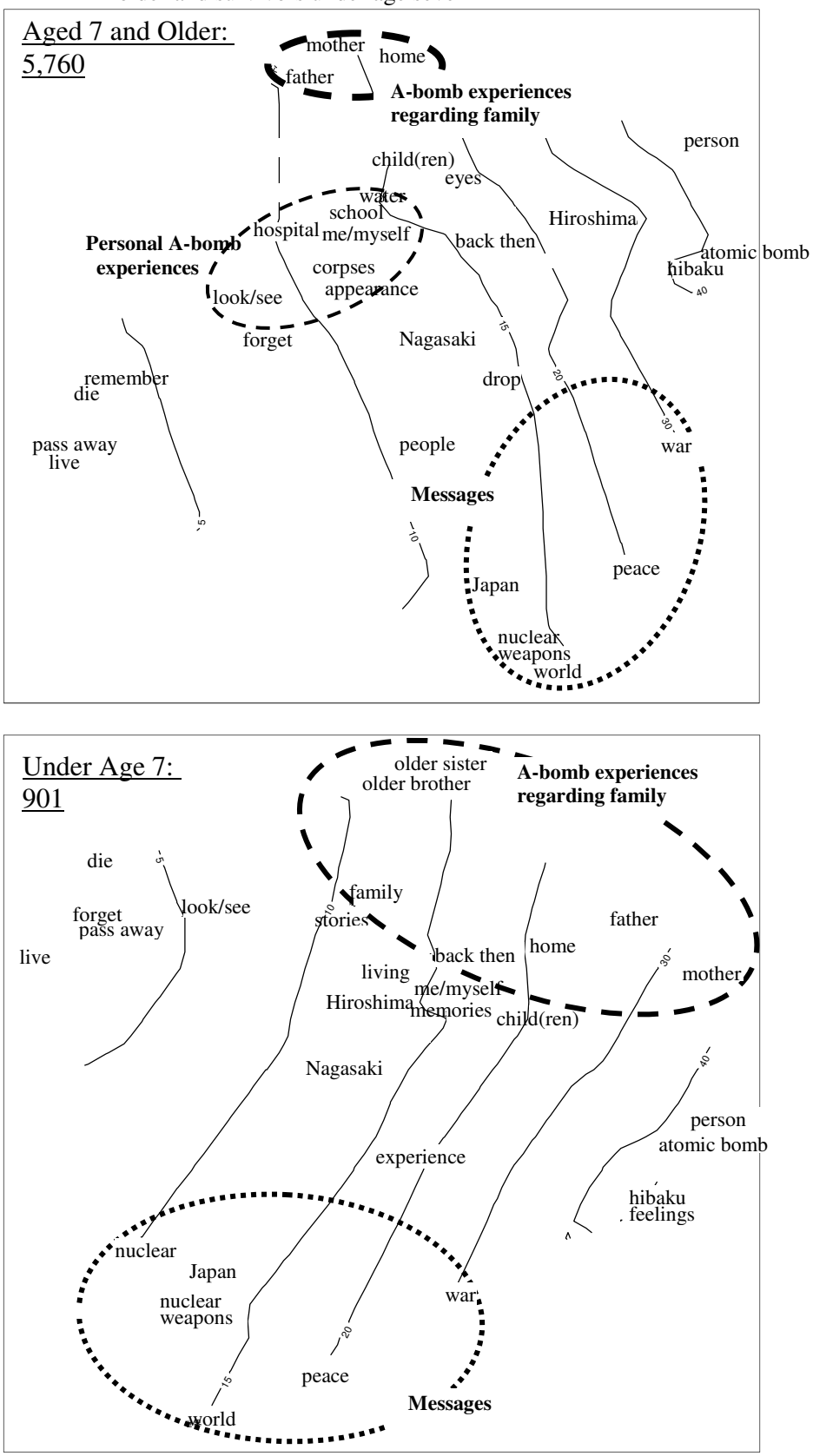
d Comparative Analysis of Survivors Aged Seven and Older at the Time of the Bombing and Survivors under Age Seven

Table 9-4 shows the top 30 words for the survivors aged seven or older at the time of the bombing (aged 67 or older at the time of the questionnaire survey) and for those younger than age seven. The words they used overlapped 70% of the time (shaded cells). Figure 9-5 shows the results of a multidimensional scaling of the 30 words. As shown in Table 9-4, in the case of survivors who were younger than seven years old, words that express indelible scenes after the bombing, such as "water" and "corpses" were not used. As shown in Figure 9-5, the survivors' own experiences are not expressed. Instead, they used words such as "older sister," "older brother," and "family" in their descriptions. Which means their recollections of the bombings are experiences connected with their family members. Although they do not talk much about their own experiences, their messages calling for "world peace without nuclear (weapons)" are the same as those of the survivors aged seven and older.

Table 9-4 Comparison of the top 30 words used by survivors aged seven and older at the time of the bombing and survivors under age seven

	Aged 7 and older (5,760)		Under age 7 (901)	
Rank (by word occurrences)	Word	Word occurrences (total)	Word	Word occurrences (total)
1	**(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation**	4,182	**(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiation**	822
2	**atomic bomb**	3,881	**mother**	723
3	**person**	3,879	**atomic bomb**	630
4	**war**	2,722	**war**	474
5	**Hiroshima**	2,693	**people**	462
6	**look/see**	2,272	**father**	404
7	**forget**	1,603	**pass away**	307
8	water	1,558	**child(ren)**	274
9	**peace**	1,549	**me/myself**	249
10	**pass away**	1,505	**home**	246
11	**home**	1,377	**look/see**	234
12	**die**	1,334	**peace**	231
13	**mother**	1,295	older sister	214
14	**child(ren)**	1,209	**back then**	211
15	**back then**	1,174	experience	189
16	**father**	1,118	**live**	184
17	**live**	1,115	**Hiroshima**	180
18	**Nagasaki**	1,113	memories	171
19	**me/myself**	1,011	**world**	171
20	**world**	1,002	**forget**	158
21	corpses	987	**Japan**	156
22	drop	959	**die**	148
23	**nuclear weapons**	933	older brother	144
24	**Japan**	929	living	141
25	remember	914	feelings	140
26	eyes	909	family	138
27	appearance	891	**Nagasaki**	137
28	hospital	846	nuclear	125
29	people	842	stories	124
30	school	840	**nuclear weapons**	124

Figure 9-5 Comparison of the top 30 words used by survivors aged seven and older and survivors under age seven



e Characteristics by the Survivor Grouping

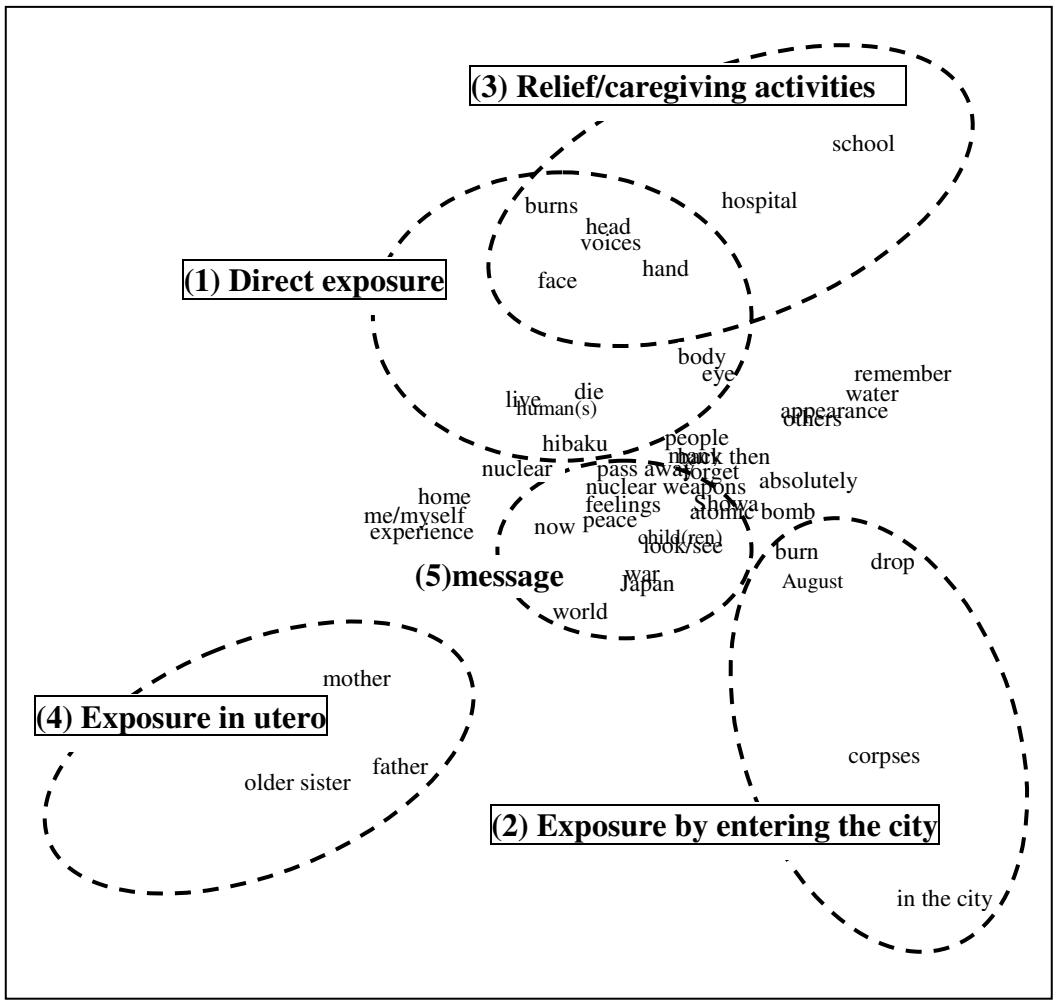
Table 9-5 is a cross-tabulation table for the top 50 words appearing frequently in the accounts and messages of survivor separated by their groupings. (Groups were divided according to how they were exposed to the radiation of the A-bombings.) The frequently appearing words “Hiroshima” and “Nagasaki” were excluded, since they would are redundant when examining experiences and messages by location. A Correspondence analysis was conducted based on Table 9-5 and the visualization of this analysis is visible in Figure 9-6—to which five spheres (dashed lines) and sphere numbers have been added to show the author’s interpretations. While it is important to note that there is information loss associated with the projection plane, this study also examines the testimonies in detail, in order to draw simple but meaningful spheres as much as possible.

Table 9-5 Frequency of word occurrences (by the survivor groupings) (cross-tabulation table)

Word	Direct exposure	Exposure by entering the city	Exposure through relief activities/ caregiving	Exposure in utero
(hibaku) exposure to A-bomb radiaiton	1,685	754	188	32
atomic bomb	1,470	824	212	22
person	1,764	900	227	22
war	1,127	592	126	20
look/see	913	505	122	16
mother	628	272	34	21
pass away	726	371	102	15
peace	761	378	82	12
forget	789	419	109	8
water	541	302	87	0
home	755	304	53	12
father	452	224	27	17
die	601	268	74	9
child(ren)	551	302	72	9
back then	587	316	87	7
live	601	248	58	7
me/myself	579	232	43	14
world	522	267	51	12
Japan	415	220	47	8
drop	395	301	84	5
nuclear weapons	476	229	50	4
corpses	333	275	42	0
remember	431	257	87	4
experience	488	204	40	15

Word	Direct exposure	Exposure by entering the city	Exposure through relief activities/ caregiving	Exposure in utero
eyes	639	315	96	6
people	405	203	52	2
nuclear	378	165	39	9
appearance	380	209	60	2
hospital	334	160	72	7
school	337	174	81	1
today	440	206	42	8
August	337	224	50	2
feelings	407	197	43	5
persons	338	166	39	5
in the city	271	272	37	0
absolute	384	227	62	3
burn	323	205	47	1
voices	408	156	53	2
others	301	175	56	5
Showa	315	174	43	3
older sister	252	115	10	10
hands	398	168	60	3
face	385	141	46	4
burns	332	113	40	2
many	336	175	46	3
body	385	188	64	9
humans	327	142	35	4
head	345	131	47	2

Figure 9-6 Correspondence analysis results by the survivor categories



Sphere (1) represents words that are predominantly used when survivors directly exposed to the radiation of the A-bomb talk about their experiences. When speaking of their experiences, they tend to speak of hellish scenes after the atomic bombing, using such words as “burns,” “head,” and “face.” Sphere (2) represents words primarily used by survivors who entered the city in the wake of the bombing. They tend to talk about the scenes they witnessed “in the city,” using such words as “corpses” and “burn.” Comparing the two groups, it can be noted that survivors who were directly-exposed tend to talk about other survivors and themselves, i.e. what they saw during their escape from the disaster-stricken areas to the city outskirts. On the other hand, the survivors who entered the city tend to speak of the corpses left in the disaster-stricken areas. This difference may be due to the time gap between directly-exposed survivors fleeing from the disaster-stricken area to the city outskirts and the survivors arrived at the city to search for family.

Sphere (3) represents a group of words primarily used by those engaged in relief or caregiving activities. These individuals tend to talk about their experiences at places offering relief aid and caregiving, such as “schools” and “hospitals.” At the same time, they use words such as “burns,” “head,” and “hands” to talk about the injuries of the directly-exposed victims. In other words, with regard to the injuries suffered by the directly-exposed people, they witnessed the same scenes as what the directly-exposed survivors saw. Sphere (4) can be interpreted as a group of words predominantly used by survivors exposed in utero. They have a tendency to frequently use the words “father,” “mother,” and “older sister.” This is likely

because they heard about the bombings from family members. As previously mentioned, this trend is also evident among survivors who were under age seven at the time of the bombing.

Sphere (5) represents shared elements of the survivor testimonies and feelings. Figure 9-7 is an enlargement of sphere (5). It indicates survivors' feelings that advocate a "world" without "nuclear weapons" or "war"; or "peace" in "Japan." The key elements of these messages suggest a feeling shared among the survivors, regardless of exposure categories. This indicates that the opinions on peace are shared by all A-bomb survivors.

In addition to the survivor groupings, the data was also examined by location and gender. Figure 9-8 shows the results of that examination. Within the same grouping of survivors, no prominent differences were observed in data by location or gender. As shown by the four spheres (dashed lines) added by the author, the data has primarily been organized in groups by survivor groupings. This shows that the survivor category has a greater impact on characterizing the contents of the survivors' experiences, compared with the factor of locations or that of gender.

Figure 9-7 Shared elements of the A-bomb survivors' messages and feelings

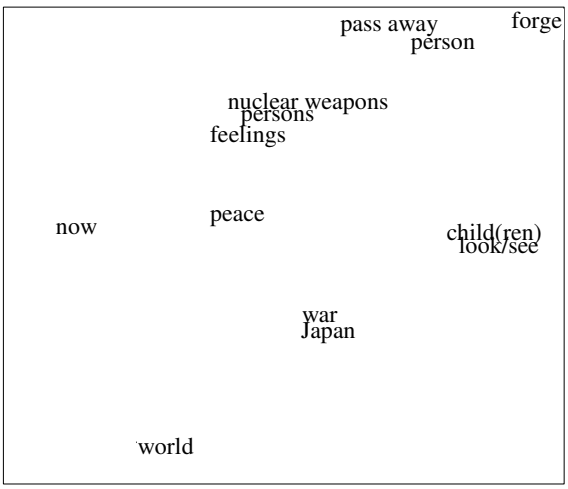
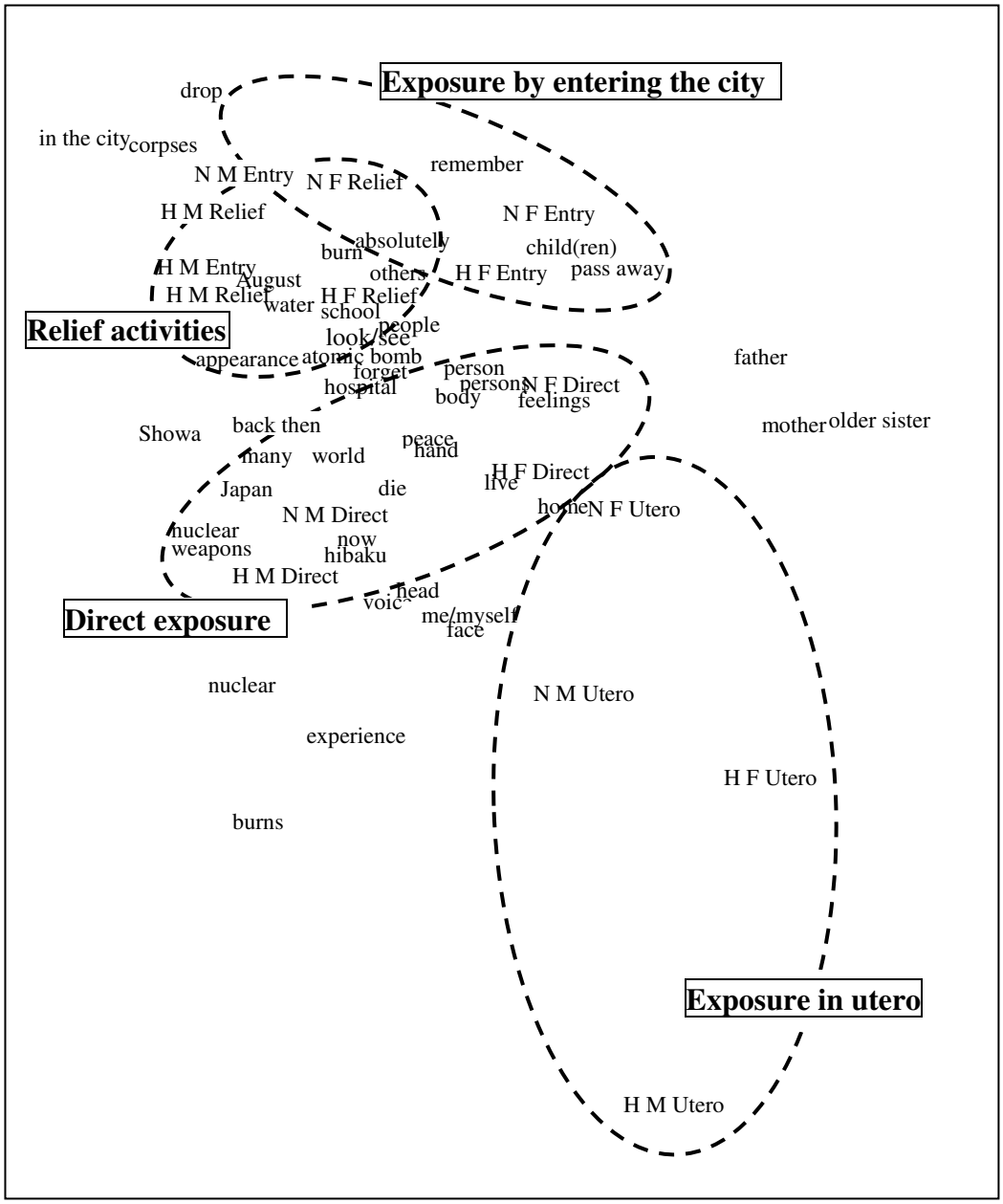


Figure 9-8 Results of correspondence analysis by location and gender



Note: “H” means Hiroshima, “N” means Nagasaki, “M” means male, “F” means female, and “Direct,” “Entry,” “Relief,” and “Utero” each refer to category.

4 Summary

This section examines the essence of A-bomb survivors’ experiences (recognition structure of experiences), key elements of A-bomb survivor messages, and their characteristics by gender, location, age, and survivor category. Accounts of their experiences can be divided into two main groups: the indelible hellish scenes from after the bombing; and the experiences related to the survivors’ families. As for experiences analyzed by gender, women tended to talk more about their families in relation to their experiences, while men often advocated for “peace through the abolition of nuclear weapons.” A comparison between the testimonies of survivors of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki did not show any evidence of “anger in Hiroshima and prayer in Nagasaki.” Survivors under age seven at the time of the

bombing largely spoke of their families in relation to their experiences, rather than what they saw right after the bombing.

In addition, when the A-bomb survivors speak of their experiences, the analyses suggests that what they tend to emphasize differs depending on the survivor category they belong to. The summary of the findings of this analysis of the distinct characteristics of survivors when researching them by their category are as follows:

1. Directly-exposed survivors have a tendency to speak about their own injuries or other people's injuries, using such words as "burns," "head," and "hands."
2. Survivors who entered the city in the wake of the atomic bombing have a tendency to speak about scenes they witnessed "in the city," using such words as "corpses" and "burn."
3. Survivors involved in relief efforts and caregiving activities have a tendency to speak about experiences at locations where relief and caregiving activities were conducted, such as "schools" and "hospitals," as well as a tendency to talk about injuries of directly-exposed victims, using such words as "burns," "head," and "hands."
4. Survivors exposed in utero have a tendency to speak of the experiences through their "father," "mother," and "older sister."

Thus, this study has identified the differences in what the survivors remember about the atomic bombings depending on their survivor category. This indicates something important about their viewpoints. For instance, those who entered the city afterwards possess different viewpoints from directly-exposed survivors. As they entered the city sometime after the bombing, they tended to see the scenes around the hypocenter in more detail. This also suggests that taking into account their viewpoints is also essential to further understand the damage caused by the atomic bombings.

With regard to the survivor messages, which show their viewpoints on peace, the primary elements were "world peace," through the "total abolition of nuclear (weapons)." Though there were slight differences in messages when separated by gender, there were no significant differences when by location, age, or survivor category are taken into account. "World peace" through the "abolition of nuclear weapons" has always been the core elements of survivors' views on peace. It has been noted that "the total abolition of nuclear weapons" is one of the two main pillars of the peace movements promoted by A-bomb survivors, and the Nihon Hidankyo (Japan Confederation of A-and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations) has also acknowledged this.[9)] A-bomb survivors typically have opinions that peace should be achieved "through the total abolition of nuclear weapons," which is in a sense self-evident. This has been assumed from the words and actions of the peace movements spearheaded by A-bomb survivors but not proven by using statistical methods such as quantitative analyses before this statistical study, which provides evidence for what has been said about the A-bomb survivor perspectives of peace. This study also clarified that there is no difference in the main elements of the A-bomb survivor viewpoints on peace by location, age, or survivor category and that they share the same perspectives of peace. Until today, people have tended to describe feelings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by there was "anger in Hiroshima and prayer in Nagasaki," but this study has also found that Hiroshima and Nagasaki share highly similar opinions of peace. Even when taking into account differences in age, survivor category, and subsequent experiences, there are no significant differences in the opinions on peace held by the A-bomb survivors.

As a result of this study, it is clear that "world peace without nuclear weapons" is the key element of the A-bomb survivor views on peace, regardless of their category. At the same

time, this study also suggests that gender differences may account for a different focus in the survivors' in relation to achieving peace by gender. Men were more likely to desire world peace through the total abolition of nuclear weapons, while women were likely to desire world peace through absolute renunciation of war. Whether or not these trends can be made into a more general theme is something to be explored in the future.

The unique characteristics of A-bomb injuries—different from those of conventional weapons—are the radiation aftereffects, such as malignant tumors caused by radiation, or *A-bomb diseases*. In addition, A-bomb survivors are more concerned about their health because of their higher risk of developing illnesses.[10)] What kind of vicious Pandora's Box has humankind opened? According to the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, there are 201,779 A-bomb survivors living as of the end of March 2013. There were 210,830 survivors living in March 2012. Approximately 9,000 survivors died over one year. The average age of survivors is over 78 years old. Eventually, there will be no survivors to recount their experiences of the atomic bombings, and the atomic bombings will only be told as a part of history. Sixty eight years have passed since the atomic bombings. Research on A-bomb injuries has steadily yielded results, indicating the atrocity of the atomic bombings. At the same time, the survivors of the atomic bombings share a strong determination to protest the possession of nuclear weapons based on their own tragic experiences, and have guided Japan—the only country that has experienced the atomic bombings—to do the same. By doing so they are overcoming their experiences of surviving the atomic bombings.

The "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" also asked the survivors what has supported them emotionally. Among the total number of 12,323 respondents, 7,703 (62.5%) responding with: "living with family"; 4,380 (35.5%) "hobbies"; 2,799 (22.7%) their "communities and social activities"; 2,257 (18.3%) said it was "the movement for the total abolition of nuclear weapons," and 2,057 (16.7%) said "religious faith."[11)] The survivors' physical and psychological trauma was alleviated by their families, communities and the peace movements. With these supports, they have tried to overcome their tragic experiences and have established their perspectives of peace. How should future generations in Japan respond to the survivors' thoughts and desires? This is a question that we must answer ourselves.

(Noriyuki Kawano)

Notes

1. This section is based on the author's following three papers, which have been corrected, added and restructured by the author.
   Kawano, Noriyuki. "Genbaku Hibaku Higai no Gaiyo" (Outlines of Atomic Bomb Afflictions). *Heiwa Kenkyu*, No. 35: 2010, pp. 19-38.
   Kawano, Noriyuki; Sato, Kenichi; and Ohtaki, Megu. "Genbaku Hibakusha wa Nani o Tsutaetai no ka: Genbaku Hibakusha no Takenki/Messeji no Keiryo Kaiseki o Toshite" (What Do A-bomb Survivors Want to Communicate? A quantitative analysis of memoirs and messages from A-bomb survivors). *Nagasaki Igakukai Zasshi*, Special Edition Vol. 85: 2010, pp. 208-213.
   Kawano, Noriyuki. and Sato, Kenichi. "Genbaku Hibakusha no Taikenki/Messeji ni kan suru Hibaku Kubun-betsu Tokucho ni Tsuite" (Characteristics of memoirs and messages from A-bomb survivors by suvivor category). *Hiroshima Igaku*, Vol. 65 No. 4: 2012, pp. 322-326.
2. Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Nihon Hidankyo) has named this period the lost decade of "living in seclusion and of enduring discrimination, the pain of illness, and poverty." The Hiroshima Prefecture Confederation of A-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Hiroshimaken Hidankyo) published *"Kuhaku no Ju Nen" Hibakusha no Kuto* ("The Lost Decade": Struggles of A-bomb Suvivor) in August 2009. The book is composed of tabulations/analyses of the results of a questionnaire filled out by 7,438 survivors; and of 71 earnest memoirs detailing discrimination in the workplace and marriage, and their struggles with the aftereffects of radiation. The book explores the realities of that lost decade. For details, visit:
   http://www.ne.jp/asahi/hidankyo/nihon/about/about5-200910.html#anchor-04 (accessed as of January 31, 2014)
3. "A 50-year History" found in the website of the Nihon Hiankyo. For more details, visit:
   http://www.ne.jp/asahi/hidankyo/nihon/about/about2-02.html (accessed as of January 31, 2014)
4. However, this of course does not mean that compensation, etc. based on the Atomic Bomb Survivors Support Law is sufficient or that the survivors are satisfied with that compensation. In truth, according to the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings," approximately 47% of respondents indicate they are not satisfied with theri compensation. Details can be found in *the Asahi Shimbun*, July 17, 2005.
5. SIPRI. *SIPRI Yearbook 2013*. SIPRI, 2013.
6. More information on the feelings of the A-bomb survivors is available in, for example, the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Suevey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings" and the Yomiuri Shimbun "1,000-person Questionnaire Survey: 65 Years after the Atomic Bombings" (July 30, 2010).

7. Matsuo, Masatsugu. *Renso Chosa ni yoru "Heiwa" no Imi Bunseki* (A Semantic Analysis on "Peace" According to an Association Experiment Survey). Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University, 1983.
8. For details, see Motohiro Ishida's *Tekisuto Mainingu Nyumon* (Text Mining Guide) (Morikita Publishing, 2008) and Meitetsu Kin's *Tekisuto Deta no Tokei Kagaku Nyumon* (Introduction to Text Data Statistical Science) (Iwanami Shoten, 2009).
9. The other pillar is the call for national indemnities for A-bomb survivors. For details, see the Nihon Hidankyo website: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/hidankyo/nihon/about/about2-02.html (accessed as of January 31, 2014)
10. According to the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings," over 90% of respondents felt anxiety over their health. Also, the degree of that anxiety depended on the distance from the hypocenters and on their suvivor category. For details, see: Kawano, Noriyuki; Otani, Keiko; Sato, Kenichi; Tonda, Tetsuji; and Ohtaki, Megu. "Genbaku Hibakusha no Fuando ni okeru Hibakujokyo Izonsei ni tsuite: Asahi Shimbunsha Anketo Chosa ni Motozuku Kaiseki" (Radiation Exposure Situation Dependency in Anxiety Levels of A-bomb Survivors: Analysis based on a questionnaire by the Asahi Shimbun). *Hiroshima Igaku*, Vol. 63 No. 4: 2010, pp. 270-274.
11. For details, see *the Asahi Shimbun* dated July 17, 2005 or Kawano, Noriyuki; Hirabayashi, Kyoko; and Otaki, Megu. "Genbaku Hibakusha no 'Kokoro' to 'Kurashi' ni Okeru (Keizokuteki) Higai no Jittai: Asahi Shimbun 'Hibaku Rokuju Nen Anketo Chosa' Kekka o Tegakarini" (The Truth About Ongoing Harm to the Minds and Lives of A-bomb Survivors: A look at the results of the Asahi Shimbun "Questionnaire Survey: 60 Years after the Atomic Bombings"). *Nagasaki Igakukai Zasshi*, Special Edition Vol. 81: 2006, pp. 195-200.

Column

The Hiroshima Mayor's Peace Declaration

1 The Peace Declaration

Since the first Peace Festival held in 1947, a Peace Declaration has been delivered by each successive mayor during the annual August 6 Peace Memorial Ceremony, with the exception of 1950 (the speech in 1951 was called Message from the Mayor). In the ceremony, a Peace Declaration addresses the peace issues being faced by Hiroshima, Japan, and the world in that year and communicates a path to Japan and the rest of the world for overcoming those issues. A complete Peace Declaration archive has been made public on the Hiroshima City website[1)] to enable the public to grasp the issues and historical backdrop of every year.

2 Peace Declarations of Successive Mayors

(1) Shinzo Hamai (mayor from 1947-1955)

The declarations up to 1949 emphasized renunciation of war and world peace but did not address the repudiation of nuclear weapons. Under the Allied Occupation, speaking of atomic bombings was strongly restricted by the press code. Independence was restored in 1952 with the enforcement of the Treaty of Peace, and in the following year the phrase "the scars of the crime perpetrated by that bomb" appeared; but even within Japan there was little awareness of atomic bombings and nuclear weapons, and the declaration emphasized establishing a lasting peace.

(2) Tadao Watanabe (mayor from 1955-1959)

Spurred by the Bikini Atoll incident in 1954, and amid a growing movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, this mayor spoke of the survivors' A-bomb diseases and the dangers of radiation for the first time (1955), and advocated banning the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons (1958).

(3) Shinzo Hamai (mayor from 1959-1967)

Nearly every year this mayor made an appeal for the banning of nuclear weapons and the total renunciation of war. In addition, he made assertions based on the international situation of the time, including an assessment of the Partial Test Ban Treaty concluded by the

United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union (1963), and expressing concern over the Vietnam War (1965, 1966).

(4) Setsuo Yamada (mayor from 1967-1975)

For the first time, the abolition of nuclear weapons was argued for rather than their banning or abandonment (1970). Thereafter, it continued to be a part of the declaration. The themes were diversified, specified, and globalized, and included criticism of the nuclear deterrent theory (1968), writing "Hiroshima" using *katakana* letters (1970), pointing out the importance of the UN, environmental issues, and peace studies (1972), and criticizing nuclear power states by name (1973).

(5) Takeshi Araki (mayor from 1975-1991)

References to the UN increased, reflecting the delay in nuclear disarmament between the United States and the Soviet Union. Proposals and activities originating with Hiroshima were incorporated into the declaration, including collaboration with Nagasaki City (1975), the demand for the enactment of the Atomic Bomb Survivors' Support Law (1980), a proposal for the establishment of an international peace research institute (1982), holding the World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-city Solidarity (1984), and support for A-bomb survivors living abroad (1990).

(6) Takashi Hiraoka (mayor from 1991-1999)

This mayor presented numerous proposals in the declarations that reexamined Japan's actions, including an apology to Asia and the Pacific regarding Japan's colonial rule and war (1991), the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northeast Asia (1994), looking at the stark reality of war in terms of both aggrieved and aggriever (1995), and devising security arrangements that do not rely upon a nuclear umbrella (1997).

(7) Tadatoshi Akiba (mayor from 1999-2011)

This mayor for the first time wrote using the polite colloquial "-desu/-masu" form of Japanese speech. He expressed gratitude to the A-bomb survivors and praised their contributions (1999). He proposed reconciliation among nations hostile towards one another (2000); holding Hiroshima-Nagasaki peace study courses in major universities around the world (2001); and a visit to Hiroshima by the president of the United States (2002, 2003). With the 2005 and the 2010 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conferences in mind, he championed the conclusion of a nuclear weapons convention and the achievement of total abolition of nuclear weapons by 2020.

(8) Kazumi Matsui (mayor from 2011)

This mayor continues using the polite colloquial "-desu/-masu" form of Japanese speech. Each year he publicly asks A-bomb survivors to contribute their A-bomb experiences to be included in the first half of the Peace Declaration. In addition, after the Fukushima nuclear power station accident, he has continued to seek a swift reassessment of energy policies, as well as advocate denuclearization of North Korea and the creation of a nuclear-weapon free zone in Northeast Asia (2013).

3 The Role that should be Fulfilled by the Peace Declaration

A close look at the appeals presented in the Peace Declaration shows that they have indeed changed with the times. First, it is surprising to realize anew that during the Occupation even the use of the words "atomic bomb" was avoided and "peace" was always

stressed.

In addition, an examination of the declarations leaves an impression that the majority of ideas and proposals that are established today were first addressed in the Peace Declaration at a surprisingly late date. For example, the appeal for total elimination of nuclear weapons appeared 25 years after the atomic bombing. Collaboration with Nagasaki City occurred 30 years after the atomic bombing, and support for overseas A-bomb survivors was mentioned 45 years later.

Furthermore, Takashi Hiraoka, the first mayor to start out as a journalist, was the first to touch on the violence brought by Japan's war, rather than simply mention the damage of the atomic bomb exposure. He presented proposals that went beyond the framework of Peace Declarations up to that point, including casting away the necessity of searching for security arrangements that relied on nuclear umbrellas.

After entering the 21st century and as the international situation has diversified, the content incorporated into the Peace Declaration has also become more diversified. More than before, Tadatoshi Akiba has prioritized communicating overseas. He read aloud an English-language version of the Peace Declaration for the first time and released a video of it on the Internet. Moreover, as it becomes more difficult to pass on the A-bomb experiences as the survivors age, Kazumi Matsui, the first child of an A-bomb survivor to serve as mayor, has continued to solicit accounts of the experiences of survivors and was the first to include them in the Peace Declaration.

Even if the times change, the importance of the role that the Peace Declaration is expected to play has, rather than remain constant, grown even more important. The mayor of Hiroshima City will continue to be counted on to surpass factions and positions, and bring the "voice" of Hiroshima to the world through the Peace Declaration.

(Kazumi Mizumoto)

Note
1. Hiroshima City website
http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/genre/0000000000000/1111135185460/

Epilogue

Learning from Hiroshima's Reconstruction Experience:

A Small Suggestion for an Incomplete Endeavor

Introduction

The question of "what the reconstruction of Hiroshima signifies" has been addressed in the discussions presented in the previous nine chapters and the nine columns written by 15 experts. Hiroshima began as a castle town and developed into a military capital in the Meiji period, but at one point lost everything in the atomic bombing, including its people, neighborhoods, history, culture, and traditions. However, soon after the bombing the city started on the path to reconstruction, evidenced by the reopening of a portion of a single streetcar line by the Hiroshima Electric Railway three days after the bombing. After defeat in the war, Hiroshima accepted its new fate as a city advocating peace through the war-damage reconstruction plan undertaken by the national government and the enactment of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law.

However, its new identity as a City of Peace did not easily take root. As the city was rebuilt from burnt fields and the citizens' livelihoods restored, a "peace" mindset gradually took root, after many twists and turns, through the actions of A-bomb survivors and other citizens, supported by individuals as well as various organizations and institutions in society, including those in the administration, education, health care, and the news media.

The following is a review of Hiroshima's reconstruction as was presented in each chapter.

I Tracing Hiroshima's Path to Reconstruction

Part 1 War and Destruction

(1) Chapter 1 Modernization of Hiroshima

After Nagoya, Kanazawa and other major towns, Hiroshima was among several large local castle towns of the Edo period. During the modernization that took place after the Meiji Restoration, it became home to the Fifth Division Headquarters of the Imperial Japanese Army in 1888. It developed into a military city in which important military facilities were concentrated through the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. In this process, the Ujina Port became a base for military transport, and the peoples' livelihoods came to depend on the military and government. Commerce, industry, transportation and educational functions also became concentrated in the city, which grew into a major city, with a population surpassed only by the six largest cities in Japan.

(2) Chapter 2 War and Hiroshima, the Devastating Impact of the Atomic Bombing

Military functions were further centralized in the city during the Second Sino-Japanese War, which began with the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and through the Pacific War. Toward the end of WWII, the Headquarters of the Second General Army, which was

established to control the units stationed in Western Japan, was located in Hiroshima in preparation for anticipated battles on the homeland. However, the atomic bombing indiscriminately killed about 40% of the population of Hiroshima City (not only killing military personnel but also primarily killing noncombatants). In an instant, the city and all its functions were completely destroyed; not only military facilities but also industrial, transportation and education facilities were devastated along with the culture, traditions and history that had been cultivated by the citizens.

Part 2 Reconstruction of the City

(1) Chapter 3 Reconstruction Planning

The reconstruction of the City of Hiroshima first began with development of urban infrastructure under the national government's war-damage reconstruction project. Based on the Basic Policy for the Reconstruction of War-damaged Areas adopted by the Cabinet in December 1945, the War Damage Reconstruction Agency, directly under the prime minister, began land readjustment projects in 115 cities in Japan. At the core of the projects were land readjustment and development of streets and parks. In addition, 34 reconstruction plans proposed by citizens, government officials, and foreign people were published in newspapers and at the Hiroshima City Reconstruction Council. Early signs of the city's identity as a City of Peace were already seen, including preservation of the sites that show the scars of the A-bombing and are symbolic of "peace."

(2) Chapter 4 The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law

In order to overcome the financial difficulties of the war-damage reconstruction project, local people concerned lobbied the national government and the Diet to establish a special law, which was enacted as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law in 1949. With this law, Hiroshima acquired a substantial reconstruction fund and accelerated its reconstruction. It also began its transformation into a "peace memorial city" under Article 1 of the law, stating, "Hiroshima is to be a peace memorial city symbolizing the human ideal of the sincere pursuit of genuine and lasting peace." A new identity was first bestowed on the city by law, and based on this law the grand symbolic areas of Hiroshima were created, such as the Peace Memorial Park, the Peace Boulevard, and the riverbank greenbelts as we see today.

(3) Chapter 5 Various Problems Surrounding Redevelopment

However, redevelopment of the city as a symbol of peace did not proceed smoothly. Whether it was land readjustment or creating parks and the riverbank greenbelts, the majority of targeted land just after the bombing was charred fields on which many illegal buildings had been built. The first step in the construction of the Peace Memorial City had to begin with the removal of the illegal buildings by the city government (in some locations), amidst calls from citizens protesting the evictions. Illegal buildings had once been lined up along the Aioi Street, by the riverside in Moto-machi; and it was referred to as an "A-bomb slum." In order to improve the living conditions, high-rise apartments were built for low-income families in the Moto-machi district. This was conducted not by the war-damage reconstruction project but by the "residential areas improvement project." In this way, shacks were eliminated. Today, the high-rise apartments in Moto-machi have become historic buildings that tell the story of Hiroshima's reconstruction process.

Part 3 Hiroshima's Reconstruction and Citizens' Lives

(1) Chapter 6 Rebuilding of Industrial Economy

The Census of Manufactures data related to the reconstruction of industrial economy in Hiroshima show that Hiroshima City had, from the beginning, a large manufacturing sector in comparison to its population. Due to the atomic bombing, however, numerous factories and workers were lost, and manufacturing suffered a severe blow. It was rebuilt through an inflow of workers from outside the city; active capital investments; contribution of workers including female workers; and the transfer of former military facilities to private ownership. An overall look at Hiroshima Prefecture shows that manufacturing industries (such as shipbuilding) were revitalized by special procurements of the Korean War and by the "Productive Prefecture Plan" announced by Hiroshima Prefecture in 1952. In 1968, the value of manufactured shipments in Hiroshima Prefecture was the top in the Chugoku, Shikoku, and Kyushu Regions. The reconstruction of industrial economy in Hiroshima Prefecture was led by manufacturing until the 1970s.

(2) Chapter 7 Realizing Adequate Healthcare and Medical Care, and Support for A-bomb Survivors

Ninety percent of the physicians and healthcare professionals in Hiroshima City were exposed to the atomic bombing, and most medical facilities were destroyed. During the chaotic period after the war, acute infectious diseases, pulmonary tuberculosis, and venereal diseases spread. However, in 1952 Social Insurance Hiroshima Citizens Hospital opened and health and medical care facilities gradually improved, primarily through public hospitals such as the adjunct hospital of the Hiroshima University Faculty of Medicine. Meanwhile, free medical treatments for the A-bomb survivors began to be offered by the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Survivors' Treatment Council, established in 1953. Later, medical care for A-bomb survivors was improved through the A-bomb Survivors' Medical Care Law and the A-bomb Survivors' Special Measures Law. The Hiroshima Atomic-bomb Survivors Hospital, established in 1956, and many other health and medical institutions continue to provide treatment to and conducted research for A-bomb survivors.

(3) Chapter 8 Media and Reconstruction

The Chugoku Shimbun represented the local media in Hiroshima before the war and became the prefecture's only newspaper in 1944. Its circulation had reached 380,000, but it suffered a devastating damage by the atomic bombing. The Chugoku Shimbun rose to convey the devastation of the atomic bombing and has faithfully recorded on its pages facts about the atomic bombing, the realities of the victims, the reconstruction of an A-bombed city, Hiroshima, and the rebuilding of residents' livelihoods. After the war, the Chugoku Shimbun consistently pursued the themes of "reporting on the atomic bombing," the "abolition of nuclear weapons," and on "peace." The media (represented by the Chugoku Shimbun) recorded Hiroshima's reconstruction and supported Hiroshima's search for a new identity.

Part 4 Searching for a New Identity

(1) Chapter 9 A City in Search of Peace

The peace administration of the City of Hiroshima undertook the significant role of promoting a crucial part of the reconstruction process—the creation of a new identity for Hiroshima. The Peace Memorial Ceremony is held on August 6, and the mayor has delivered

a peace declaration to the world on behalf of the A-bomb survivors and citizens. The Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, which began as a municipal department and transitioned into a foundation, manages the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and conducts peace activities for citizens. In addition, although the peace movements implemented by Hiroshima citizens were vulnerable to the political disputes due to splits in the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, they set goals that were specific and separate from politics, such as preserving the A-bomb Dome, elucidating the realities of the atomic bombings, and passing on the experiences of the bombing. These actions gathered proponents and discovered a direction that leads to the NGO activities of today. Furthermore, peace education at elementary, middle, and high schools also has provided opportunities for children to think about the atomic bombings and to pass on the experience of the bombing.

However, the reconstruction of an A-bombed city, Hiroshima cannot be discussed without speaking about the A-bomb survivors. While it is said that only they can talk about their feelings, the questionnaire survey conducted 60 years after the bombings revealed that many of the survivors support the abolition of nuclear weapons and advocate world peace. That earnest hope has supported Hiroshima's reconstruction, and in recognition of that, numerous people have built up a city that advocates for peace in various ways.

That, perhaps, is Hiroshima's new identity.

II Conclusion: Learning from Hiroshima's Reconstruction

Finally, I would like to simply once again explain the significance of this book. First, this is the first full-fledged publication created through a joint project between Hiroshima Prefecture and the City of Hiroshima under the theme, "the reconstruction of Hiroshima." In the wake of the compilation of this book, it is anticipated that the prefecture and the city will further collaborate on various peace projects. Second, although the majority of the existing literature on the theme of reconstruction focuses solely on tangible aspects, such as city planning and the improvement of infrastructure, this book presents a broad portrait of Hiroshima's "reconstruction" by also shedding light on intangible aspects, including health and medical treatment, support for A-bomb survivors, the citizens' lives, the reconstruction covered by the media, and the creation of a new identity rooted in peace.

The writers, too, are not simply a gathering of experts in various fields who chronologically outlined the history of the city's reconstruction. Rather, in keeping with the theme, they have delineated a reconstruction process that achieved an identity of peace while reexamining heretofore accepted explanations of the reconstruction history, and have spun a new contemporary history.

Given the above implications, the next major issue is what to learn from the reconstruction experience, and how to make the most of it. To do so, I would like to name several lessons learned while tracing Hiroshima's reconstruction history.

First, destruction in itself does not mean the end. The first step in Hiroshima's reconstruction began the very instant following the atomic bombing when it seemed that everything had been lost.

Second, reconstruction is an act that generates something new and simultaneously revitalizes what has been handed down from the past and nearly lost. Though perhaps this book did not sufficiently emphasize this point, the reconstruction did not create everything anew. It was also an initiative that brought back social functions, culture, and traditions that had existed in the Hiroshima communities before the bombing.

Third, those who have experienced tragedy are often the ones who most strongly long for peace. Just as with the A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima, they are essential to reconstruction.

Fourth, the road to reconstruction is not a straight path. At times, opposition and clashes can occur. Hiroshima's redevelopment projects produced friction with citizens in many places. However, reconstruction is even further solidified by overcoming those hardships.

Fifth, achieving reconstruction requires the active awareness of every citizen, even more so than special organizations, leaders, and systems. Certainly, important roles were played by the War Damage Reconstruction Agency, leaders such as the governors and mayors, people of the prefectural and city governments who were in charge, and systems such as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law. However, what ultimately achieved and anchored the reconstruction was the repeated, everyday efforts of individual citizens who possessed and acted with a keen awareness that they were "a part of Hiroshima City, a city of peace."

(Kazumi Mizumoto)

Profiles of Authors (*In order of appearance, honorifics omitted)

Kazumi Mizumoto
Born in 1957, he graduated from the Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo. He joined The Asahi Shimbun (as a reporter) and completed a master's degree at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. After working as the chief of The Asahi Shimbun Los Angeles Bureau, and an associate professor and professor at Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University, he now serves as vice-president (professor) of Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University. His areas of expertise are international relations, nuclear disarmament, and issues related to the atomic bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He also serves as a member in organizations including the "Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan Promotion Committee.

Fukuhei Ando
Born in 1948, he studied in the doctor's course at the Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University (Department of History, Japanese History Course). He worked at the Hiroshima Prefectural Government from May 1976 to March 2009. He was assigned to the Office of Prefectural Historiography of the General Affairs Department and then transferred to the Prefectural Archives, where he worked from October 1988 to March 2009. He has served as Deputy Director of the Prefectural Archives from April 2004 to March 2009.

Norioki Ishimaru
Born in 1940, he graduated from the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Tokyo and completed a master's degree at the School of Engineering, University of Tokyo. He went on to gain a Ph.D. in Engineering. After working as a professor at the Graduate School of Engineering, Faculty of Engineering at Hiroshima University from 1996 to 2003 and at Hiroshima International University from 2003 to 2011, he now is the representative of the Co. Ltd. Institute of Researching Hiroshima and/of Severals And Reliving (Hiroshima Shoji Chiiki-saisei Kenkyujo) since 2011. He is a member of the Society for Resource Research at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. His area of expertise is architectural and urban planning. His writings include co-authoring the *Hiroshima Hibaku Yonju Nenshi, Toshi no Fukko* (Reconstruction of HIROSHIMA, Pictorial History of Forty Years since Atomic Bombing) (City of Hiroshima, 1985) and *Sekai Hiewa Kinen Seido: Hiroshima ni Miru Murano Togo no Kenchiku* (The Memorial Cathedral for World Peace: Architecture by Togo Murano in Hiroshima) (Sagami Shobo, 1988).

Toshiyasu Ito
Born in 1955, he graduated from the Faculty of Letters at Doshisha University and completed a master's degree at the Graduate School of Sociology at Kwansei Gakuin University. He worked as a senior researcher at the Nippon Statistics Center Co., Ltd., and as the head of the Regional Economy Research Division of the Chugoku Regional Research Center. Afterwards, starting in November 2002, he worked as a professor at the Center for Research on Regional Economic Systems, at Hiroshima University. He became director of the center in April 2003. His area of expertise is regional economics and local public finance. His publications include *Chiho Bunken no Shippai, Doshusei no Futsugo* (The Failure of Decentralization and Disadvantages of the Do-Shu-System; sole author) and *Doshusei* (The Do-Shu-System; co-authorship).

Takeshi Chida
Born in 1946, he completed a master's degree at the Graduate School of Economics of Hiroshima University. In 1997, he became the head of the Historiography Office of Kure City, and in 2002, he was a professor at the Faculty of Health and Welfare at Hiroshima International University. He currently serves as an advisor to Kure City (in charge of historiography of the City) and as a part-time lecturer at Hiroshima International University.

Seiichi Koike
Born in 1960, he completed a doctoral course at the Graduate School of Letters, Chuo University and earned a Dr. in History. In April 1990, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has worked as the officer in charge of compiling documents at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, an associate professor at the Faculty of Integrated Arts and Sciences at Hiroshima University (modern political theory) and as head of the preparation room for the establishment of the Hiroshima University Archives. In April 2004, he became Director of the Hiroshima University Archives (his current position). From September 2008, he has been a professor at the Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation at Hiroshima University (diplomatic cooperation theory). His area of expertise is modern Japanese history, history of Japanese politics/diplomacy, and modern Japanese document studies. His publications include *Manshu Jihen to Tai Chugoku Seisaku* (The Manchurian Incident and Policy toward China) (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2003) and *Kindai Nihon Bunshogaku Kenkyu Josetsu* (An Introduction to Study on Modern Japanese Documents) (Gendai Shiryo Shuppan, 2008).

Masami Nishimoto
Born in 1956, he joined the Chugoku Shimbun in 1980 (as a reporter). After working at the Okayama Bureau and being assigned to the news department of the editorial office in 1986, he has continued to report on matters relating to the atomic bombing and peace. His major reports to date include: the joint authorship of "Kensho Hiroshima" (History of Hiroshima) and "Sekai no Hibakusha" (EXPOSURE: Victims of Radiation Speak Out), and "1945 Genbaku to Chugoku Shimbun" (The A-bombing and the Chugoku Shimbun), of which he was the sole author. He became a senior staff writer from 2003.

Satoru Ubuki
Born in 1946, he became a supervisor at the Secretariat of the Hiroshima Prefectural Board of Education in April 1970 and then worked as a supervisor in the Office of Prefectural Historiography of the Hiroshima Prefecture General Affairs Department until April 30, 1976. After working as an assistant at the Hiroshima University Research Institute for Nuclear Medicine and Biology (the Data and Specimens Center of Atomic Bomb Disaster) starting in 1976, he became an associate professor at Hiroshima University in 1994, working at the International Radiation Information Center attached to the Hiroshima University Research Institute for Nuclear Medicine and Biology. In April 2001, he became a professor at the Faculty of Human Life Studies at Hiroshima Jogakuin University (where he worked until March 31, 2011).

Masashi Urabe
Born in 1976, he completed a Ph.D. program at the Graduate School of Education, Hiroshima University. He is an associate professor at the Faculty of International Studies, Hiroshima City University. His research field is Comparative and International Education. He used to be an assistant professor at Hiroshima University and an associate professor at Tokuyama University in Yamaguchi.

Noriyuki Kawano
Born in 1966, he completed a doctoral degree program at the Graduate School of Biomedical Sciences at Hiroshima University; earning a Ph.D. (doctor of medicine). He has experience of working as an assistant professor at the Research Institute for Radiation Biology and Medicine at Hiroshima University and as an associate professor at the Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University. He moved on to become a professor at the institute in June 2013 (his current position). His area of expertise is global nuclear damages and peace studies. He conducts research from a socio-medical perspective on Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bombs afflictions and other nuclear damages such as Semipalatinsk and Chernobyl.

Hitoshi Nagai
Born in 1965, he completed a master's degree program at the Graduate School of Arts at Rikkyo University, and earned a Ph.D. in Literature. Currently, he is an associate professor at Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University. His area of expertise is modern Japanese history. His writings include *Firipin to Tainichi Senpan Saiban* (The War Crimes Trials and Japan-Philippines Relations) (Iwanami Shoten, 2010) and *Firipin BC-kyu Senpan Saiban* (The BC-Class War Crimes Trials in the Philippines) (Kodansha, 2013), and coauthoring *Nikki ni Yomu Kindai Nihon* (Modern Japanese History through Diaries) Vol. 5. (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2012), *Heiwa o Kangaeru Tame no Hyaku Satsu* + *α* (More Than 100 Books for Thinking about Peace) (Horitsu Bunkasha, 2014), and coediting *Toyama Ikuzo Nisshi* (The Diary of Ikuzo Toyama) (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2013).

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Reborn from the Ashes

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Office: Peace Promotion Project Team, Regional Policy Bureau, Hiroshima Prefectural Government
10-52 Moto-machi, Naka-ku, Hiroshima City 730-8511
