

Representing Atomic Memory in the Japanese American Public Sphere Since 1945

Crystal UCHINO

Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies,
Kyoto University, Kyoto 606-8501 Japan

Abstract Over the last 70 years Japanese Americans have confronted their complex historical relationship to the atomic bomb in overt and indirect ways, navigating changing political currents in society. Using media analysis, this paper examines public representations and repressions of atomic memory in Japanese America through an examination of Japanese American news reporting on the anniversaries of the atomic bomb in the seven decades since 1945. By focusing on an under researched area of atomic memory, it also provides a new frame to interpret Japanese American subjectivity and history in relation to influences of suppression and political activism.

When the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki thousands of American born *Nikkei*—Americans of Japanese Ancestry—were residing in these two cities.¹⁾ Early Japanese American immigration history additionally reveals that a disproportionate number of Japanese residing in the United States were from Hiroshima prefecture. In fact, census statistics by the Japanese consulate in Honolulu report that nearly a quarter of the Japanese American population emigrated from Hiroshima.²⁾ Therefore, in addition to those who experienced the bomb first-hand, a considerable segment of the Japanese American population had immediate family living in, or close relational ties to, Hiroshima during the time of the bombing, leading me to suggest that atomic bomb memory is an important and underexplored facet of Japanese American history.

Growing up with a *hibakusha*—Atomic bomb survivor—grandmother (Nagasaki) and a *Nikkei* grandfather in the U. S. Army Military Intelligence Service (MIS), I developed an awareness that, even within personal family history, there was a hierarchy of memory. My grandmother's stories have been

secondary, if not non-existent, compared to the valorization of grandfather's service in the MIS. In this context, I have wondered about histories which have been overlooked at the intersection of personal memory and public representation. Pierre Nora's *Lieux de memoire*, described the transformation of something into a symbolic element or site of community heritage.³⁾ Memory is a word increasingly paired with history.⁴⁾ It has been conceptualized as an apparatus of subjectivity formation and a site of struggle.⁵⁾ What does a hierarchy of memory valorizing Japanese American military service or prioritizing the experience of interment—both of which have overwhelmingly constructed Japanese American loyalty and citizenship—tell us about racialized citizenship and Japanese American subjectivity? Foucault's Genealogical method challenges us to deconstruct previously taken for granted truths in order to critique power and the production of knowledge. J. Halberstam, however, contends that Foucault's method overlooks the fact that marginalized subjects often participate and perpetuate the very systems which subjugate them, a trend I will argue is

clearly distinguishable in early Japanese American representations of the atomic bomb.⁶⁾

Discursive practices employed in atomic narratives have been examined from a myriad of angles. For example, studies have importantly addressed categories of race, national identity/citizenship, and gender in the construction of Japan's peace narrative, such as the exclusion of Korean hibakusha in Hiroshima's peace park and Japan's continued unwillingness to confront its colonial crimes of the war years.⁷⁾ Others have drawn attention to the suppression of information and a lack of critical intellectual public dialogue regarding the meaning of the atomic bomb and its legacy in the United States.⁸⁾ And still others have approached the topic of atomic memory through the lens of nuclear colonialism.⁹⁾ These perspectives draw our attention to the trans-national and multi-dimensionality of atomic remembering and forgetting, they also open up questions about other untraversed roads on the map of atomic memory.

Addressing the public representations of the atomic bomb in Japanese America, in this article I analyze Japanese American newspaper reports printed in the *Rafu Shimpo* and the *Hawaii Hochi* — two of Japanese America's longest running newspapers — from August 6, 1945 until the present. I begin my discussion by contextualizing these two papers and their roles in their respective communities (Honolulu, Hawai'i and Los Angeles, California) in the decades leading up to the war.

By examining shifts in the narrative of atomic memory represented in these two Japanese American newspapers, I explore how representation was constituted in the decades following the bomb. The newspaper articles I discuss are organized chronologically. They illustrate the shifting dynamics of power and discourse in Japanese American subjectivity relating to three key elements of influence: censorship, both externally imposed and internally sanctioned; social movements; and Japanese American negotiation of public debates that surfaced during the 50th anniversary. I have sought to understand not only

what has been remembered, but why (geopolitics), how (narratives/representation) and what has been left out (silence/discourse). These newspaper vignettes provide compelling insight into the unique ways that Japanese Americans have navigated a trans-pacific politics of memory and contribute to the body of literature mentioned above that seeks to destabilize dominant and colonial discourses of atomic memory.

For this paper, I focus my study on the *Rafu Shimpo* and the *Hawaii Hochi* which were both formed in the early 1900's. As part of the ethnic press in the United States, Japanese American newspapers constitute an important documentary source providing insight into the Japanese American community, not only in what was explicitly written, but also in what was not represented within its pages. These two papers were selected because of the presence of a large Japanese American readership and the duration of their publication. In my analysis, I looked for common themes in the framing of the stories, how much print space was allotted to each article, what kind of story it was (front page, editorial, etc.), who authored the story, and how the reporting changed over time.

Decoding Representations in Nikkei Media Frames of the Atomic Bomb

Looking into ethnic and critical media studies, there seems to be a tendency to glorify the aspects of positive agency produced by ethnic media such as those leading to participation and equality.¹⁰⁾ Certainly this is an important aspect of ethnic media, however, this inference still leaves questions about the usefulness of ethnic media as a documentary source because it fails to problematize the silences that exist alongside interpretive qualities in the concept of representation. Yasuhiro Inoue and Carol Rinnert, in their analysis of atomic bomb representation in international newspapers have observed, "In the frame analysis of media content, the interpretive content is more important than the information in news stories."¹¹⁾ This is because the content displayed also

conveys a message about the intent of the publisher.

Salma Ghanem proposed that media frames could be understood in four main ways: 1) the topic of the news item, 2) its presentation assessed by its size and placement, 3) cognitive attributes accounting for the details represented, and 4) affective attributes for which the tone of the reporting comes across.¹²⁾ Employing aspects of Foucault's theories on discourse and taking an interpretive approach to content analysis, I interrogate not only that which appears in overt print but also that which has been omitted, made smaller or otherwise marginalized to conclude that those silences are also significant.¹³⁾

***Hawai'i Hochi* (established 1912)**

The *Hawai'i Hochi* was started by Frederick Kinzaburo Makino, a Yokohama native who immigrated to the United States in 1899. Ten years later Makino opened a drug store in Honolulu and a few years after that a law office above the drug store. Despite not having a law degree, Makino felt that in the absence of Japanese lawyers during that time, Japanese immigrants needed to have someone to consult about immigration and other legal problems they were facing.¹⁴⁾ The *Hawai'i Hochi* was founded in much the same amateur, one might even say haphazard, style as his law practice, "Makino's answer [to inadequate news reporting] was to start his own newspaper to protect the civil rights of Japanese immigrants."¹⁵⁾ Unwaveringly, Makino and the *Hawai'i Hochi* were politically vocal and influential about issues affecting the Japanese community in Hawai'i such as immigration and citizenship laws, labor issues, and language schools.

The *Hawai'i Hochi*, as well as all other Japanese newspapers, was temporarily shuttered by Hawai'i's wartime martial law government from December 11, 1941 to January 8, 1942.¹⁶⁾ Following this period, the *Hochi* was allowed to resume publication, under censorship. Makino also changed the paper's name to the *Hawai'i Herald* in order to deflect anti-Japanese sentiment. This demonstrated the influence the war

had on the ethnic consciousness of the Japanese community. In January of 1952, the name was changed back to the *Hawai'i Hochi*, though it has been pointed out that, "after the war, the *Hochi's* editorials were distinctly less radical than before."¹⁷⁾

***Rafu Shimpo* (established 1903)**

The *Rafu Shimpo* is the oldest and largest Japanese community daily newspaper outside of Japan. It was established in 1903 in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles, California. The paper began as a one-page mimeographed Japanese language newspaper produced by several University of Southern California students: owner Toyosaku Komai (Henry T. Komai), Rippo Iijima, Masaharu Yamaguchi, and Seijiro Shibuya.¹⁸⁾ The *Densho* Encyclopedia project has called the *Rafu Shimpo*: "one of the most influential print media in Japanese America since its inception."¹⁹⁾ The *Rafu Shimpo* began with an original circulation of 250 readers. By the 1920's the *Rafu Shimpo's* circulation exceeded 8,000 daily readers. Importantly, the *Rafu Shimpo* covered acts to ban Japanese from owning land and bringing over brides from Japan as well as other anti-immigration acts. In 1926, the paper even challenged, "why do people hate the Japanese?"²⁰⁾

Komai, the paper's publisher was arrested and interned by the FBI in 1941 following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Komai's son, Akira, kept the paper running until April 1942, when mass incarceration of Japanese Americans to concentration camps swept the west coast.²¹⁾ On January 1, 1946, the *Rafu Shimpo* became the first Japanese language paper to resume printing, contributing to its rise as "the most influential Japanese ethnic publication in the continental United States in the postwar period" with its readership reaching over 20,000 by the end of the year.²²⁾

A-Bomb in the Japanese American Press During the Internment Era

My discussion of atomic bomb representation in Japanese America begins with an arresting headline

appearing on August 6, 1945 on the front page of the *Hawai'i Hochi* (Figure 1) announcing: "NEW TERROR FOR JAPS" with the subheading "20,000 tons of TNT hurtled for the first time against Japan."²³⁾



Figure 1 August 6, 1945 *Hawai'i Hochi*, Front-page headline

The article that followed sensationalizes the destructive power of the bomb while playing up the scientific victory of the United States, "no praise is too great for the efforts, brilliant achievement and complete devotion to the national interest of the scientists of this country." Stuart Hall states that messages have a "complex structure of dominance" because there are institutional-societal relations being reproduced at all stages of communication.²⁴⁾ This structure of dominance is clearly defined in the days and months following August six and nine 1945. GHQ censorship was severe. During this time U. S. media outlets in general had limited resources available to them to inform their reports about the bomb.²⁵⁾ As a result of this censorship, most newspapers had little option but to rely on the press releases coming from the war department for their reporting, the *Hawai'i Hochi* was no exception.²⁶⁾ However, the decision to display this headline with its blatantly anti-Japanese racial slurs, in bold capital letters, as its feature story served multiple functions unrelated to news reporting. Bruce Lincoln tells us that the degree to which a person identifies with the sentiments of others (the dominant) is the degree to which they will be integrated into any given society.²⁷⁾ Twentieth century racial formation in the United States proves Lincoln's theory to be overly simple, full of contradictions, and also likely wrong. However, under conditions of strict censorship, the

Japanese American press in Hawaii may have employed a similar reasoning as a strategy to shield against oriental and racist logics which allowed for the classification of tens of thousands of individuals as enemy aliens based solely on ancestral origins.²⁸⁾

Between the years of 1942 and 1946 nearly all west coast Japanese Americans were mass incarcerated and forcibly relocated into concentration camps. During this time, federal government and military officials, conflating "race" with "culture" and equating "Japanese Americans" with "Japanese" assigned Japanese American loyalty to Japan. This is plainly articulated in General DeWitt's justification for the internment, "The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted."²⁹⁾ In the context of this Japanese liminality, multiple realities of 'encoding' and 'decoding' become possible.

For example, as we might argue that the resolve by the Japanese American press to run this article implicates them in reproducing the *dominant-hegemonic position*, complicit in imposing a racist rhetoric on its Nikkei readership. On the other hand, it is also possible to inscribe a subversive quality, a subaltern coding perhaps, whereby the Japanese American Press inverts the flow of communication relaying a message from its constituent to the officers, conveying an intent to distinguish a Japanese *American* loyalty for the Nikkei of Hawai'i.³⁰⁾

In the days following August 6, atomic bomb news permeated the front pages of the *Hawai'i Hochi*, generally focusing on its destructive capacity. The only reports I found diverging from this trend were several articles appearing in the *Hawai'i Hochi* between August six to ten, before Japan's Surrender. These reports discussed comments made by Radio Tokyo and Japanese national newspapers such as the *Asahi*, *Yomiuri Hochi*, and the *Mainichi*. In one August 8 article, borrowing the voice of the Japanese press, the bomb is represented as "a violation of the

code of humanity.”³¹⁾ These reports were quickly dismissed as Japanese war propaganda by the American mainstream media who responded by printing racist cartoons.

Similar rebuttals, however, were not reprinted in the *Hawai'i Hochi*, perhaps alluding to the use of silence for the oppressed voice. We can also interpret it in another way, the absence of a Japanese American voice in early post bomb coverage is consistent with the concept of an *absent presence* of Japanese Americans in Postwar America put forward by Marita Sturken and Caroline Chung Simpson. Here the exclusion of Japanese American experiences, such as those of internment, from American history becomes an evocative presence in its absence, telling us something about the structuring of remembering. Many questions remain about how Japanese Americans felt reading these news stories of the atomic bomb and how they decoded these messages.³²⁾

Personal Sentiments about the Atomic Bomb in America's Concentration Camps

Some records exist in internment memoirs conveying the complex sentiments of internees upon hearing news of the atomic bombings. For example, Mary Matsuda Gruenwald in her book *Looking like the Enemy* wrote :

When I saw the pictures of Japanese people burned and charred by the atomic blast, I was heartbroken for them. I was an American by birth, but at that moment, I was Japanese . . . My tears were a mix of relief and anguish. Even though part of me was glad the United States won the war, the Japanese part of me was speechless with grief and horror.³³⁾

In her book *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* Michi Nishiura Weglyn writes that, “nearly a third of the Japanese American immigrants incarcerated at Tule Lake had come from Hiroshima.” For them news about the atomic bomb was seen as the “final nightmare stage in

the sequence of injustices.”³⁴⁾ Many in the camps immediately contacted appointed personnel to find out about the welfare of their family and friends in Hiroshima.³⁵⁾

Interviews about internment experiences reveal the personal trauma suffered by Japanese Americans after the bomb. Mitsue Matsui, remembering the atomic bomb says, “that was devastating, it was a shock . . . it really shocked me. I knew then and there that some of my relatives had died. And they did actually.”³⁶⁾ Many Japanese Americans with family members or friends in the atomic stricken cities did not learn of their fate until months or even years later. Kay Matsuoka discusses what it was like for her family receiving news of the bombing of Hiroshima and their reaction :

Well, they didn't know who got killed or anything until after all this passed and the letters started coming. And then we found out that different ones of our relatives, how they had perished in that atom bomb. And 'course, when we went back in (1967) to visit them for the first time, then our uncle's only daughter, and then like my side, I had one uncle that was an artist, and he was teaching art in school, and they had all perished in this atom bomb.³⁷⁾

These connections and perspectives however seemed to be absent from the newspaper articles I read. In the past, the *Hawai'i Hochi* had consistently given print space to editorial columns on controversial issues. In the wake of the bombing, however, editorials seemed to hold more of a cautionary tone towards Japanese Americans than be representative of the actual views held by community members :

The Japanese people in Hawai'i, who have endured security restrictions without physical protest and who have done their utmost to help in the war effort, still have a tremendous job before them. Many face the future with courage and new hope, but there are others who would look on the darker side of the mirror. The postwar world will be a better place to live in, but it will be no

better than what each individual contributes toward it.³⁸⁾

The enforced government censorship of Atomic Bomb reporting in general under the GHQ, and of the Japanese American press under Hawaii's wartime martial law provides one possible explanation for the lack of a critical Japanese American voice in representations and reporting on the bomb.³⁹⁾ A further application of the frames analysis offers another interpretation, namely, the public reckoning with the fact that Japanese Americans were living in an environment that was hostile to their homeland. This put Japanese Americans in a difficult position throughout the war with their loyalty constantly called into question and policed, on psychological and literal levels in the years leading up to and during the war. Privately, unincarcerated Japanese Americans burned or hid photographs, books and other things, which could implicate their Japanese-ness.⁴⁰⁾ Publicly, the war provided fuel for the discursive propaganda of Japanese loyalty vociferously inscribed in the story of Japanese American service in the military. David Yoo has argued that efforts to establish Japanese American loyalty by groups such as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) led to the erasure of internment camps from public memory.⁴¹⁾ I suggest that it did the same to the memory of the atomic bomb.

The *Hawai'i Hochi*'s post bomb/postwar coverage as well as the advertisements run by local Nikkei businesses continued to contextualize the message of Nikkei Americanism and loyalty in a framework that simultaneously valorized militarism. Advertisements frequently thanked the armed forces for their services and encouraged readers to "keep buying bonds." The first anniversary of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki received no press coverage in the *Hawai'i Hochi*. In its place appeared coverage of the return of the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat team (Figure 2),⁴²⁾ including a full page advertisement (Figure 3) run by local Nikkei businesses celebrating their return. The ad reads :

A feat of valor. An honor for all eternity. For

America, they fought gallantly in Europe, and their bravery shined. We are so proud of our own, the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.⁴³⁾



Figure 2 *Hawai'i Hochi*, August 9, 1946 Article celebrating return of the 442



Figure 3 *Hawai'i Hochi*, August 9, 1946 ad venerating return of the 442

This eclipsing of atomic memory in Japanese America by the valorization of the 442nd and Japanese American war heroes is the foundation for post-war domestic confinement of Japanese American subjectivity. Steven Howard Browne's observations that immigrants confront the past in ways that non-immigrants might take for granted is helpful in understanding the post war memory of the atomic bomb in Japanese America. In particular, some questions immigrants

might struggle with are “whether the past is indeed worth remembering” . . . “Shall I so assimilate myself to the present that I will, if possible, forget my former self.”⁴⁴⁾ Certainly, the obliteration of Japan by atomic and other bombings; and its protective role as homeland must have brought these kinds of questions into an unavoidable focus for the Japanese Diaspora. The lack of attention to the anniversary of the atomic bombs could also be described as a product of what G. Mitchell Reyes has called the “taken-for-granted, normative force of whiteness in conventional public memories.”⁴⁵⁾

The fact that thousands of American citizens (of Japanese ancestry) were killed or suffered injuries in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings did not fit into the white American myth of exceptionalism espousing that the bomb ended the war and saved lives, which Lifton and Mitchel argue remained an article of faith throughout the 20th century, is suggestive of the insidious ways that conflicts over race, nationality and loyalty continued to cast a shadow on the economy of Japanese American representation in the postwar years.⁴⁶⁾ Judith Butler’s ‘livable identity’ tells us that “a life for which no categories of recognition exist is not a livable life, so for a life for which those categories constitute unlivable constraint is not an acceptable option.”⁴⁷⁾ Americans who worked/lived in Hiroshima and Nagasaki or who could trace intimate familial ties to Japan were outside the limit of ‘American-ness’ conditioned on recognition shaped by the racialized and gendered citizenship. The erasure of A-bomb memory became a condition of recognition as an American citizen in the immediate post-war years.

Ruptures Coming into View During the Cold War

As the Cold War intensified with the successful detonations of thermonuclear bombs by both the United States (1952) and the Soviet Union (1955), an anti-nuclear movement rose up across nations. In 1954 the infamous Lucky Dragon Incident incited

apocalyptic imagery in the media and popular culture when a Japanese fishing boat was exposed to the fallout of a U. S. thermonuclear test bomb in the Bikini Atoll. That same year the Japanese cult classic film *Gojira*, or *Godzilla*, which has been widely analyzed for its references to the Lucky Dragon incident as well as the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, became the eighth most attended film in Japan. An interesting point to note is that while *Godzilla* was later revised for American audiences, the original version was popular in theatres catering to Japanese American audiences in the latter half of the 1950s and into the 1960s.⁴⁸⁾

Reflecting the growing unrest about nuclear weapons and also appearing in stark and radical contrast to all other printed representations of the atomic bomb on the anniversaries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was an August 6, 1955 anonymous editorial. The *Hawai’i Hochi* editorial, “Remembering Hiroshima,” provides some of the only public evidence archived in the newspaper articles I read that the Japanese American consciousness had been deeply affected by the dropping of the bomb. Its opening paragraph reads

Today is the tenth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Far be it from our intention to commemorate this day. Inasmuch as it symbolizes the most horrible, most devastating mass murder in the history of mankind. Most lay Americans would no doubt feel justification for this in their hearts as they “remember Pearl Harbor.” Then, too it is almost axiomatic that the killing of a hundred thousand human beings with one bomb is no different from killing one man with a rifle or hand grenade, not the fighters. Or so at any rate runs the common belief.⁴⁹⁾

Although the editorial represents a significant rupture in the silence characterizing public discourse of the atomic bomb suggesting a kind of haunting in Japanese America regarding the atomic bomb, it seemed to pass with no further public discussion. In the following years *Hawai’i Hochi*’s articles were much smaller such as the three paragraph August 9, 1957 article that

stated “Atom Blamed for Increase Lung Cancer.” These divergent frames suggest an internal struggle within Japanese America regarding the meaning of atomic bomb memory as well as its absence in the public sphere of 1950’s Japanese America.

The 1950s saw radical changes in matters concerning nuclear energy and nuclear weapons which led to a growing tension in the memory of the atomic bomb in the 1960s. In my observation, the 1960s saw an expansion of representational difference in reporting in the *Hawai’i Hochi* and in the *Rafu Shimpō*. For example, several 1960 reports in the *Rafu Shimpō* seemed to reproduce the rhetoric of the Eisenhower (1953) cold war “Atoms for Peace” propaganda program whereby the bomb becomes a trailblazer for “producing electric power, making fresh water from the sea, seeking cures for cancer and the common cold, increasing food production,” in essence, commemorating the commercial application of nuclear energy and looking “forward to a happy future, not back to that bomb 20 years ago.”⁵⁰⁾ In contrast in 1966 *Hawai’i Hochi*’s reports offered a local angle, broadly outlining the cooperation and hospitality of local Japanese American officials and organizations in a series of reports on Hiroshima high school students on a “goodwill tour.”⁵¹⁾

Juxtaposed against the backdrop of news articles in the 1950’s and 60’s, that in many ways seemed to be more about forgetting or smoothing over the memory of the bomb in Japanese America, was an advertisement in the *Rafu Shimpō* intended for Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bomb survivors inviting them to a meeting to organize a hibakusha friendship group.⁵²⁾ The hibakusha friendship group advertisement would be the prelude to shifts in the dynamics of atomic memory unfolding within Japanese America stimulated by social organizing and social movements beginning in the 1970s.

Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors

Japanese American Hibakusha had spent over twenty years in relative seclusion struggling with the

psychological and physical effects of the bomb in an American environment insensitive to their trauma. Problems such as language barriers and a general lack of knowledge and understanding of American doctors about atomic bomb related complications and illnesses was exacerbated by insurance companies callous policies. Tokuso Kuramoto, for example, reported that his insurance policy included a clause stating, “conditions arising from act of war or atomic bomb explosion, or radiation from any nuclear sources shall not be covered.”⁵³⁾

In 1971, after several years of informal social gatherings by the hibakusha friendship group a formal organization was established called the Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors (CABS) in the United States. It was incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1972, with the objectives of surveying for, informing the American public about, and campaigning for medical assistance for U. S. hibakusha.⁵⁴⁾ Between 1972 and 1979, CABS lobbied for the introduction of ten separate pieces of legislation in congress in effort to secure medical assistance from the United States for U. S. hibakusha (citizens or permanent residents).⁵⁵⁾ Bills such as H. R. 2894 introduced on January 21, 1973 and SB 15 introduced on December 2, 1974 at times specifically targeted Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb survivors, and at other times sought rights for a broad group of “radiation survivors” as a legislative strategy :

A BILL to provide reimbursement to certain individuals for medical relief for physical injury suffered by them that is directly attributable to the explosions of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945 and the radioactive fallout from the explosions. (H. R. 2894)

This bill provides that any California resident who suffers from atomic radiation as a result of exposure to atomic rays due to any wartime activity, or who was exposed to radiation on the job or who was exposed to radiation by being in the vicinity of a nuclear radiation accident, or who

is the natural child by birth of a parent who was in the vicinity of an atomic bombing or direct vicinity of a nuclear radiation accident, shall be eligible for treatment, at no cost, at the institute. (SB 15)

None of these bills were ever enacted. However, as I will discuss, social activism in the 1970's and 80's — such as the organizing efforts by CABS and the Asian American movement — succeeded in confronting the hegemonic discourses in society and transformed the parameters of atomic memory, discourse and policy across racial and ethnic boundaries. This activism changed the discourse in Japanese American media, which in turn fostered support for the activists.

Under the headline “Hibakusha no longer ashamed,” the *Rafu Shimpo*'s September 4, 1974 issue reported on the Japanese American Hibakusha and their struggle :

Stigmatized, proud and apprehensive, they kept their secret hurt to themselves. Only in the last three years have some of them been willing to step into the public spotlight and unveil their secret scars risking disapproval of friends and employers.⁵⁶⁾

In this article, Yukiko Watanabe of San Diego tells reporters that when neighbors ask about the heavy welts of radiation burns on her neck, she tells them that they were caused by “a fire in my home years ago.” Watanabe had been reluctant to tell her story because of her grandsons, stating, “I don't want them to bear the shame I was made to feel.” (Ibid.) With this and other reports, the 1970's ended a relative thirty-year silence of a Japanese American perspective in the framing of atomic bomb memory by the Nikkei press.

Although international anti-nuclear movements continued to grow throughout this time, American hibakusha were cautious of being used for political purposes by anti-nuclear groups. Notwithstanding, testimony such as the one offered by Kanji Kuramoto, president of CABS, before the State Subcommittee Hearing : Plight of Atomic Bomb Survivors on May 4, 1974 shows that Japanese American atomic bomb

survivors connected their struggles to the broader political critiques of the time, “Billions of dollars are used to produce weapons like the H-bombs, poison gas and chemical bombs to kill and destroy human beings. The survivors of the A-bomb are requesting a very small amount to ease their agonies.”⁵⁷⁾ Still, with no rights to medical assistance secured, the hibakusha were reluctant to become involved in broader anti-nuclear political activities, fearing that it might further hinder their objectives.

Intersections of Asian American Movement and atomic memory in the 1970's and 80's

The 25th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1970 was commemorated during the height of the Vietnam War and the rise of the Asian American movement (AAm). While continued nuclear threats during the Cold War fueled an international peace movement that frequently invoked the horrors of Hiroshima, it also served as a backdrop for Asian Americans in the movement to re-examine race, and for Japanese American activists in particular to examine their historical relationship to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Contrary to Paul Boyer's argument that the antinuclear movement faded into apathy in the 1970s, I contend that nuclear issues continued to be an important catalyst for many activists.⁵⁸⁾ In particular, in the Asian American movement, Hiroshima and Nagasaki became a significant trans-national rallying point for radical Asian American politics. Throughout the late 1960s and into the early 80s, within the predominantly white middleclass anti-nuclear movement, groups such as the Asian American Ad-Hoc Committee on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Asian Americans for Peace, Asian Americans for Action, Asian Americans for Nuclear Disarmament, Asian Americans for Nuclear Awareness and others were formed. Activists argued that the same racism that enabled real estate profiteering off of JA internment was part and parcel of the nuclear attacks on Japan and the successive U. S. atrocities in Asia against Koreans,

Chinese, and Indochinese. Yuri Kochiyama— a prominent activist at the forefront of AAm, whose political consciousness in many ways was galvanized through her experiences supporting the Hiroshima maidens—gave annual Hiroshima Day speeches which condemned the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. She drew connections from the atomic bombs to American domestic racism as well as atrocities being enacted in Vietnam. In her inaugural speech on August 9, 1969 during the Hiroshima–Nagasaki week Rally in Central Park which paved the way for an Asian American critical atomic memory, Kochiyama declared, “we Asian-Americans participating in today’s Hiroshima–Nagasaki observance address ourselves to the issues involving Asia.”⁵⁹⁾

Popularly touted as the voice of the Asian American movement, between 1969 and 1974 the *Gidra* documented and stimulated the radical Asian American imaginary, dramatically reshaping the culture of Asian America. The 1970 issue of the *Gidra* commemorated the 25th anniversary of the Atomic bombings with a full-page picture of the mushroom cloud above Hiroshima and reported on events being organized by Asian American movement activists. *Gidra* staff, Bruce Iwasaki, as part of his report on the 1970 Hiroshima–Nagasaki commemorative weekend meetings held in San Francisco, disclosed that for him it had a personal meaning. He wrote, “a historical perspective on the bomb provides insights into his (Iwasaki, speaking in third person) Asian identity, and to the nature of the tensions between his post-World War II generation and the generation of his parents.” This issue also included the complete address given by Yuji Ichioka, historian and co-founder of UCLA’s Center for Asian American Studies, on August 7, during the Hiroshima–Nagasaki commemorative weekend meetings held in San Francisco. In his address, Ichioka called on his audience to raise questions about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki alongside questions regarding JA camp experiences, instructing that the answers to both of these questions “will tell us something about our

country today.” Through the publication of these and other materials, *Gidra* accomplished in several issues what the previous 25 years of Japanese American journalism had failed to do : ask questions about the meaning of the bomb in Asian America, and attempt to answer them.⁶⁰⁾

Despite much evidence in the records of AAm history attesting to the critical engagement with nuclear politics, this phenomenon has received little attention. A recent study by Go Oyagi lamented the lack of research probing the meaning of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by AAm scholars and offered a compelling thesis in which he contends that AAm activists connected to atomic bomb memory through a Third World internationalism in order to make powerful critiques on U. S. foreign and domestic policy.⁶¹⁾ Although ownership and invocation of a critical atomic memory is enunciated over and over again across the spectrum of AAm, this Asian American Internationalism that had made a critical nuclear politics personal, rarely extended its discourse to or made personal the erasure of Japanese American material ties to Hiroshima.

The critique by Michael Jin of a U. S. -centered immigrant paradigm, one which confines it’s analysis of immigrant history within North American political and cultural boundaries, is a useful to understand the irony of the material disconnects in the internationalism of AAm.⁶²⁾ When Yuji Ichioka tells his audience in 1970 “ . . . of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, events which were contemporaneous with our camps experience, I cannot remember anything. I cannot recall raising questions about the atomic bomb.”⁶³⁾ And when Joanne Miyamoto accuses Japanese Americans of “remembering little”, they are touching on the of the consequences of this paradigm.⁶⁴⁾ Consequently, Joy Kogawa’s 1981 novel, *Obasan*, artfully illustrates the nuances of a politics at play that kept dormant the material connections to an atomic memory in Japanese (North) America. Throughout the story, the main protagonist struggles with the absent memories of her mother who disappeared during her childhood.

Towards the end of the book she learns that her mother actually died as a result of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, a secret that was kept from her by those who knew. Engagement in critical nuclear memory by individuals and activists in AAm significantly shifted the discourse of remembering the atomic bomb. Moreover, although the activism of AAm and CABS is arguably disconnected in the 1970s, it increasingly overlaps in the 1980s.

While AAm engaged a critical atomic memory to criticize U. S. foreign policy, Japanese American hibakusha fought to change domestic policy in the U. S. to secure care for hibakusha across a broad categorization. In both cases, these groups employed an ownership of atomic memory to connect to marginalized peoples domestically and abroad.

As Naoko Wake adeptly points out, Japanese American hibakusha succeeded in establishing a “trans-pacific network of care” that transcended ethnic and national boundaries when they negotiated bi-annual medical visits by doctors in Hiroshima specializing in atomic bomb treatment.⁶⁵ Additionally, the Japanese Supreme Court in 1978 extended special medical treatment for hibakusha (previously only accessible to “Japanese” hibakusha) to atomic bomb survivors from any foreign country, irrespective of their status or citizenship. In the end they were also able to win over the sympathy of many in America. Significantly, the congressional bills initiated by the hibakusha received various endorsement from some of the first Japanese and Asian American political representatives to gain office, such as Senator Daniel Inouye, Senator Sparks Matsunaga, Congressman Robert Matsui, Gordon J. Lau, Paul T. Bannai, Floyd Mori, and Yori Wada. In November, 1974, the San Francisco and Fremont Chapters of JACL adopted resolutions to support CABS, and eventually the JACL established a national committee on the issue of hibakusha. The organizing efforts of CABS also won over endorsements by prominent organizations such as the NAACP, Service for Asian American Youth and several chapters of the Hiroshima Kenjinkai. These

gains by activists in the 70s considerably influenced discourse and representations of the atomic bomb in the Japanese American press in the following decades.

Representing the Atomic bomb in the 1980s

Coverage of the atomic bombings increased in the 1980s in both the *Hawai'i Hochi* and the *Rafu Shimpō*. Significantly, stories spotlighted localized activism to remember the bomb such as the Friends of Hibakusha project that resulted in the declaration of August 5–9 as Hiroshima/Nagasaki Commemoration week and the hanging of one thousand paper cranes in the San Francisco City Hall. One report excavated the recollections of American born Masayuki Kodama. Kodama was two miles away from the epicenter so he, himself, was not injured, but he searched for weeks to find the remains of his dead aunt and uncle. “I could hear screams—no, they were more like moans. But I didn't know where they were coming from because there were so many bodies.”⁶⁶ This story of Masayuki Kodama, a California native who had been in Hiroshima as part of the Japanese military when the bomb was detonated, and later became an interpreter for the occupying U. S. forces, demonstrates just how fraught negotiating these politics in the public sphere was.

In just a few short paragraphs Kodama who starts out as an enemy alien is transformed into a loyal citizen through his work assisting the U. S. forces after which he is able to reunite with parents and siblings in California. Kodama's work with the U. S. occupying forces in this article demonstrates the endurance of Japanese American insecurity on the loyalty question with regard to wartime memories. Of note, the *Hawai'i Hochi* featured stories by local Japanese American reporters. For example, Larry Sakamoto's feature “Survivor Recalls Horror of A-bomb Drop On Hiroshima” explored the story of Marjorie Ayako Nakata, a resident of Honolulu who survived the atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima.⁶⁷

In addition to activism by CABS and AAm in the 1970s, changes in 1980's reporting can be attributed to

several factors coming from within the Japanese American community, national influences, as well as international ones. Internally, it could be argued that the second wave of Japanese American representation was a significant stimulus.⁶⁸⁾ This wave was characterized by the redress movement of the early 1970s and 80s that officially “broke the silence” surrounding historical traumas of the internment camps. The partial vindication of Japanese American traumas endured during the war with the passing of the 1988 Civil Liberties Act undoubtedly shifted the power dynamics in Japanese subjectivity, recovering agency and hidden terrains of Japanese American perspectives.

Transnationally, the Hibakusha Travel Grant Program (米人記者の見たのヒロシ・ナガサキ commonly referred to as the 1979 Akiba Project) was begun with the aim to bring American reporters from local newspapers to Hiroshima and Nagasaki to speak with hibakusha. The goal was to “understand their experiences on a human level” so that they would write about the experiences of hibakusha and share their thoughts and feelings about the bombings.⁶⁹⁾ As one of the first recipients of the travel grant John Spragens of the *Corsicana Daily Sun*, a Texas paper, contributed a series of A-bomb stories between August 26 and September 2, 1979. “Survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki face a variety of obstacles as they try to communicate their memories of the realities of nuclear war and their urgent hope that these weapons will never be used again,” wrote Spragens. The Akiba project lasted for ten years and annually brought several print and broadcast journalists to Hiroshima in August resulting in the production of many news stories in the United States by reporters. Their writings reflected a “connectedness” to the atomic bomb history through their experiences in Japan and interactions with hibakusha.

Finally, in addition to the failure of the first SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) negotiations in 1979 as well as the Reagan administration’s Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and accelerated nuclear

buildup, nuclear accidents such as Three Mile Island (1979) and Chernobyl (1986) politicized many Americans, causing them to question nuclear policies.⁷⁰⁾ It also served as a catalyst for many Japanese Americans to re-examine race and their historical relationship to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This created a bridge between Asian American movements and anti-nuclear movements. It also created a bridge between Japanese Americans and their forgotten past.

Radiation Survivors Congress

One significant moment in the history of U. S. hibakusha activism was the Radiation Survivors Congress held in October of 1984. Not only was it the first time that all four chapters of CABS (US) met together, this gathering, co-organized by Dorothy Legaretta, Nobuaki Hanaoka and Jean Quan, also brought together hibakusha ; atomic vets ; production workers ; Nevada Test site victims ; down-winders ; Navajo uranium miners ; and Pacific Islanders. From locations in the U. S., Japan, Korea and the Marshall Islands individuals came together to share information, resources and experiences.⁷¹⁾ “The radiation Congress is the first time survivors have met on a national and international level to develop joint strategies for recognition, health care, and compensation for radiation illnesses,” reported the *Nichibei Times*.

Nikkei hibakusha activist in the U. S. were able to transcend ethnic boundaries through their work. Similarly, this gathering, which brought together hibakusha ; atomic vets ; production workers ; Nevada Test site victims ; down-winders ; Navajo uranium miners ; and Pacific Islanders from the U. S., Japan, Korea and the Marshall Islands to share information, resources and experiences. It succeeded in expanding the social justice framework of participants by encompassing a trans-national politic of collective liberation. Transcending dominant formulaic discourses that teach Atomic Bomb=Saved Lives=End War ; and Atomic Bomb=Peace=Anti-war, this confer-

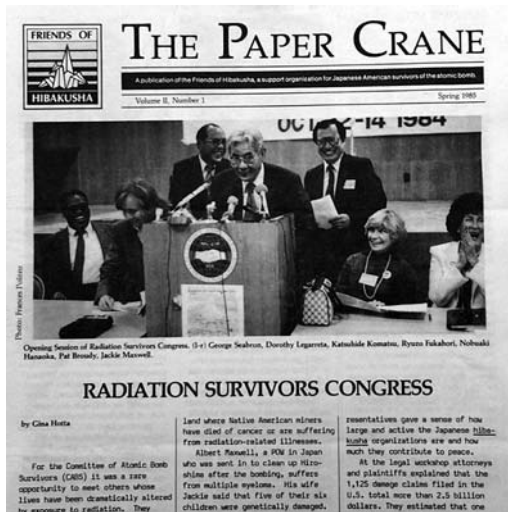


Figure 4 Report on the Radiation Survivors Congress in FOH's Paper Crane courtesy of Friends of Hibakusha

ence centered the story of the bomb within a complex web of racial domination, colonialism and citizenship. In her book *Conquest*, Andrea Smith details colonial aspects of nuclear violence that are often neglected, calling attention to the nuclear industry's practices of testing, dislocation and exploitation of resources and labor of bodies.⁷² During the congress, Diana Ortiz of the Indian Health and Radiation Project in New Mexico said that "much of the uranium mined in the U. S. is found on or near Indian land where native miners have died of cancer or are suffering from radiation-related illnesses."⁷³ Other attendees drew attention to the Nevada Test site for which there have been 928 American and 19 British nuclear explosions on land known to the Western Shoshone as Newe Sogobia. The Western Shoshone National Council has classified these explosions as bombs not "tests," leading many indigenous leaders and activists to rightfully call the Western Shoshone nation the most heavily bombed nation in the world. Although the focus of this paper is on Japanese American subjectivity in relation to atomic memory, this gathering is significant because it shows how in the 1980s activists recognized the intersection of indigenous struggles with those of hibakusha as part of the racial project of the bomb in

the U. S.

Latent August—Remembering Hiroshima and Nagasaki Fifty Years Later

Coverage of the atomic bomb in the 1990's culminated in 1995 on the 50th anniversary of the anniversary of the atomic bombs. Articles in 1995 demonstrate the ability of ethnic media to accomplish something that the mainstream press simply could not. This is particularly visible in the *Rafu Shimpo* which ran a special Series called "Now and Then : How WWII has affected us." In contrast to many of the previous years, many of the articles were written by Japanese Americans. This series also included perspectives by Chinese and Korean American staff who complicated the bomb story by bringing into frame Japan's colonial history, illustrating how Asian American relations are raveled in and affected by multifaceted accounts of the past.

In 1995, articles depicting Japans story appeared secondary compared to the personal reflections of the *Rafu Shimpo's* editorial staff. In one article entitled "Fifty years is long enough" *Rafu* Staff writer Julie Ha discusses Korean-Japan relations. "It's strange how indelibly linked we are to our interwoven ancestral histories, how what happened 50 years ago, which may not even have affected some of us directly, stays with us through generations." She wrote, "I never really understood why my parents could speak some Japanese, why my grandmother is fluent in the language."⁷⁴ Reflecting on her own personal experiences, Ha recounted how a Korean-born man once questioned her mother's approval of her working for the *Rafu Shimpo*. Ha tied this story back to the atomic bomb :

Some worry that Japan is being painted as the enemy in the remembrances of the war now, that all this talk about the comfort women and the war atrocities committed by the Japanese in china and other Asian nations only give people more justification for the atomic bombings. But, at its

core, this is really about truth and dealing with that truth. And the United States—and those in charge of the Enola Gay exhibit could learn a lesson or two in the truth department as well.⁷⁵⁾

The Enola Gay exhibit referenced by Ha was a significant time in history when wide public discussions critically confronting the memory of the atomic bomb occurred in America.⁷⁶⁾ Curators began planning for an Enola Gay exhibit correlating to the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the National Air and Space Museums in 1988. The aim of the curators was to address four main gaps in history by creating an exhibit which would: 1) demonstrate multiple motivations behind the bombs use, 2) create sympathy for hibakusha, 3) discuss the implication of the bomb on world history, and 4) create space for the inclusion of alternatives to the bomb in the debate.⁷⁷⁾ Before this exhibit was realized a controversy erupted. On one side of the debate, veterans argued that the presentation made the U. S. look like an aggressor. On the other side educators and activists argued that an analysis of the decision to drop the bombs and its consequences were important new steps towards understanding history.

Edward Linenthal, commenting on the Smithsonian controversy said, “fiftieth anniversaries intensify argument over any form of remembrance [because they are] the last time when you have massive groups of veterans or survivors who are able to put their imprint on the event.”⁷⁸⁾ In the debates concerning the Enola Gay exhibit, all past historical scholarship was called into question, as was the legitimacy of that scholarship.⁷⁹⁾ On one hand of the debate, it was argued that the exhibit sought to explore the full story of the atomic bomb. Opponents of the exhibit argued that none of the curators held expert knowledge in the fields concerning the Pacific War, the Japanese decision to surrender, the Truman administration, etc., rendering impossible an accurate portrait of the bombings.⁸⁰⁾ David Yoo’s critique that the controversy exposed a “disturbing political trend against anything that might detract from a patriotically correct

version of the past,”⁸¹⁾ is not only right, but in its articulation from a Japanese American subject, we see how these debates also opened up a space for Japanese Americans to reconsider and revisit their unique positionality within the politics of atomic bomb memory.

In the end, the original director, Harwit, resigned and the resulting presentation skirted the atomic issues that had stirred such powerful and controversial feelings in the public.⁸²⁾ Although the wider American public retreated from confronting the historical gaps in American memory of the bomb, the National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS) stepped up to the task with their own exhibit, “Latent August: The legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.” Rosalyn Tonai of NJAHS, discussing the exhibit explained, “Americans tend to view the bomb from the sky as an aerial target—this beautiful mushroom cloud, Japanese view the bomb from the ground up, its devastation to the people and the environment. We try to bring the two viewpoints together.”⁸³⁾ Describing the exhibit, NJAHS said that in addition to an installation featuring the wartime experiences of Japanese American Survivors of the Bomb, the exhibit would also highlight Japanese American members of the armed forces, demonstrating the continued practices of Japanese American leaders to encode hegemonic frames of loyalty into war memories.

In addition to reports confronting memories of the bombings and of the war, *Rafu* contributor Shawn Olsen examined 1995 coverage of the atomic bomb in Nikkei media. His report suggests that the editorial stance of the *Hawai’i Hochi* reflects a reluctance to talk about Hiroshima, noting: “the paper instead was commemorating 50 years of peace since 1945.”⁸⁴⁾ A spokesperson for the *Hawai’i Hochi* stated that this editorial stance was “in part due to the sensitivity of the topic.” (Ibid.) Other Nikkei newspapers discussed reflected similar editorial stances, for example the *Nichibei Times* said that in addition to coverage of the Hiroshima physicians visit, their paper was going to “focus on the role of the Japanese Americans in the

United States Military Intelligence and their role in ending the war in the Pacific.” (Ibid.)

Olson’s article reveals that despite a much more dynamic and broad framing of atomic memory in the 1995 *Nikkei* press coverage, an inability of Japanese Americans to come to terms with the meaning of the bomb persisted, as did the tendency to frame the bomb alongside Japanese American loyalty. This was also demonstrated in the Latent August exhibit through emphasizing the memory of Japanese Americans military service during WWII. This insistence in attaching Japanese American loyalty constructed in this narrow way with atomic bomb memory seems, to me, to be a misplaced allegiance to the model minority myth and a code badly in need of negotiation. Successes by American born Japanese to assimilate and overcome discrimination were not just built off of a hard work ethic, but also included acts of political amnesia. Thus, while many had direct connections to the bombing such as family or friend relations in Hiroshima, they simultaneously distanced themselves from a postwar politics that would link them to a losing ancestry.

Conclusion

Analysis of *Nikkei* news coverage over the last seventy years reveals as much about Japanese America in the silences and what was not written, as it does in overt print. The vignettes of atomic representation of the anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings printed in two prominent Japanese American newspapers, demonstrate how Japanese America has publicly navigated a complex politics of memory in relation to influences like censorship, social activism, and controversy. Japanese Americans have occupied a unique position in the production, distribution and consumption of atomic memory.

Social activism in the 1970’s and 80’s challenged the silence and lack of Japanese American representations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The persistent global politics of race, however, have continued to

police the boundaries of these memories. Significantly, Japanese Americans have also encoded their own set of political messages for appropriation into the dominant narrative. For example the ubiquitous foregrounding of Japanese American military service in the retelling of atomic bomb stories.

This study has also demonstrated that memory, like culture, is not stagnant. There are as many possibilities for decoding memories as there are for reinscribing them. *Rafu Shimpo*’s pre-war coverage could be interpreted as being conservative in comparison to the *Hochi*, however mainland Japanese American framing of the atomic bomb became more radical over time. In particular, this occurred during and following the Asian American and redress movements. This shift was particularly reflected in the critical politics and social justice framing in *the Rafu Shimpo* on the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombings.

Since the March, 2011 nuclear power plant catastrophe in Japan’s Fukushima prefecture, new mnemonic trends are taking root and reshaping the landscape of atomic memory. This study only examined representations of the atomic bombings on August six, nine, and in some cases in the surrounding dates leaving ample room for holes in interpretation. As we continue to probe and decode history in the 21st century in trans-national ways, further investigations into atomic bomb memory in Japanese America seems particularly pertinent.

Notes

- 1) Throughout this paper I use the terms *Nikkei* and Japanese American interchangeably to refer to Americans of Japanese ancestry. I avoid the use of classifications such as Issei, Nisei, and other distinctions which tend to oversimplify individuals’ subjectivity as well as overlook the fact that many in the pre-war years possessed dual citizenship. For a discussion of Japanese American dual citizenship, see Cherstin Lyon, *Prisons and Patriots: Japanese American Wartime Citizenship, Civil Disobedience, and Historical Memory*, (Temple Press, 2011).
- 2) Quoted in Masanori, Higa, “The Sociolinguistic Significance of Borrowed Words in the Japanese Spoken Language in Hawaii,” Vol. 2 (9) (Working

- Papers in Linguistics, 1970), 127. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED054656.pdf>.
- 3) Pierre Nora, "'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire.,"', *University of California Press* 26, no. Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989) : XVII, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928520>.
 - 4) Klein, Kerwin Lee, *On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse*. Representations, No. 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering (Winter, 2000), (University of California Press), 126.
 - 5) Paul Antze, and Lambek Michael, *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, (Great Britain: Routledge, 1996), vii.; Kelli Nakamura, "Hawaii Hochi (Newspaper)," Densho Encyclopedia. Accessed October 27, 2013, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Hawaii%20Hochi%20\(Newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Hawaii%20Hochi%20(Newspaper)/).
 - 6) J. Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 150.
 - 7) For an in depth discussion of discursive practices surrounding Hiroshima memory see: Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. (University of California Press, 1999); Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).
 - 8) Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: A Half Century of Denial* (New York: Avon Books, 1996).
 - 9) Nuclear colonialism has been conceptualized as a kind of environmental racism in which a disproportionate amount of nuclear weapons testing, mining and dumping occurs on indigenous land. See Ward Churchill, *Struggle for the Land: Native North American Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Colonization* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring, 1999).; Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005). I am aware of some of the controversy surrounding Churchill and Smith. To my knowledge the scholarship presented in these two books has not been called into question and presents a valuable framework on the history and concept of nuclear colonialism.
 - 10) Mark Deuze, "Ethnic Media, Community Media and Participatory Culture," *Journalism* 7, no. 3 (August 1, 2006) : 262-80.
 - 11) Yasuhiro Inoue and Carol Rinnert, "Editorial Reflections on Historical/ Diplomatic Relations with Japan and the U. S. : International Newspaper Coverage of the 60th Anniversary of the Hiroshima Bombing," *Keio Communication Review* 29 (2007), 61.
 - 12) Salma Ghanem, "Filling the Tapestry: The Second level of Agenda Setting" in *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory*, edited by Mc Combs, M; Shaw, D.; Weaver, D, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997), 3-14.
 - 13) Michel Foucault and Robert Hurley, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 27.
 - 14) Kelli Nakamura, "Hawaii Hochi (Newspaper)," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed October 27, 2013. [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Hawaii%20Hochi%20\(Newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Hawaii%20Hochi%20(Newspaper)/).
 - 15) Tom Brislin, "A Brief Chronicle of the Newspapers and Newspeople Who have Shaped More than 150 Years of Hawaii's Journalism History" (University of Hawaii, n. d.), <http://www2.hawaii.edu/~jour/history/>. accessed October 30, 2013.
 - 16) David Yoo, "Read All About It": Race Generation, and the Japanese American Ethnic Press, 1925-41" *Amerasia Journal* : 1993, Vol. 19 (1), 69-92.
 - 17) This observation has not been directly linked to a continuation of wartime oppression.
 - 18) Iris Yokoi, "LITTLE TOKYO: Extra! Extra! Rafu Shimpō is 90," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1993.
 - 19) Azuma Eiichiro, "Rafu Shimpō (newspaper)," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed October 27, 2013, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Rafu%Shimpō%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Rafu%Shimpō%20(newspaper)/).
 - 20) Theresa Watanabe, "L. A.'s Little Tokyo Looks to Save Struggling Newspaper," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 2010.
 - 21) Yokoi, "LITTLE TOKYO: Extra! Extra! Rafu Shimpō is 90"
 - 22) Eiichiro, "Rafu Shimpō (newspaper)."
 - 23) Chiles Coleman, "NEW TERROR FOR JAPS," *Hawaii Hochi*, August 6, 1945.
 - 24) Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language Working in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1980), 117-28.
 - 25) For a discussion of atomic censorship see: Atsuko Shigesawa, *Genbaku to Ken'etsu: Amerikajin Kishatachi Ga Mita Hiroshima, Nagasaki*. (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Shinsha, 2010), i-iv; Lifton and Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America*, 25.
 - 26) David Yoo, *Growing up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924-49*, The Asian American Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
 - 27) Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 171-74.
 - 28) Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*, 9.
 - 29) Ronald T. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 391.
 - 30) Hall, "Encoding/ Decoding."

- 31) Lifton and Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America*, 8–21.
- 32) Marita Sturken, "Absent Images of Memory: Remembering and Reenacting the Japanese Internment," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 5, no. 3 (December 1, 1997), 687–707.; Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar Culture, 1945–1960*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).
- 33) Mary Matsuda Gruenewald, *Looking Like the Enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese–American Internment Camps* (Troutdale, Ore: New-Sage Press, 2010), 190.
- 34) Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1976), 250.
- 35) Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy the Japanese American Internment*, 40.
- 36) Mitsue Matsui, Interview with Marvin Uratsu. Seattle, Washington. December 12, 1997, Densho Digital Collection, accessed December 16, 2013. <http://archive.densho.org>.
- 37) Kay Matsuda, Interview with Alice Ito. Seattle, Washington. December 29 and 30, 1999, Densho Visual History Collection, accessed December 16, 2013. <http://archive.densho.org>.
- 38) "Japanese Aggression Ends," *Hawaii Hochi*, September 1, 1945.
- 39) Yoo, *Growing up Nisei*, 75–76.
- 40) Shigeo Uchino, JA Living Legacy Collection, 2006, Center for Oral and Public History, California State, Fullerton.
- 41) David Yoo, "Captivating Memories: Museology, Concentration Camps, and Japanese American History" (*American Quarterly*, 1996), 680–99.
- 42) The 442 was a segregated combat unit composed almost entirely of Japanese Americans during WWII. The 442 is considered to be the most heavily decorated infantry regiment in history. Most notably remembered for their role in the Rescue of the Lost Battalion in Germany, in which the 442nd suffered casualties several times the number of the men they had rescued. 200 soldiers were killed in action and over 800 seriously wounded.
- 43) "Advertisement," *Hawaii Hochi*, August 9, 1946. This translation is my own.
- 44) Browne, Steven Howard, "On the Borders of Memory." in *Public Memory, Race, and Ethnicity*. Edited by G. Mitchell Reyes. (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 18.
- 45) Reyes.
- 46) Lifton and Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America*, 266; Elena Tajima Creff, *Imaging Japanese America: The Visual Construction of Citizenship, Nation, and the Body*. (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 6–7.
- 47) Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York; London: Routledge, 2004), 8.
- 48) Steve Ryfle, *Japan's Favorite Mon-Star: The Unauthorized Biography of "The Big G"* (Toronto, Ont., Canada: ECW Press, 1998), 19–60.
- 49) "Remembering Hiroshima," *Hawaii Hochi*, August 6, 1955.
- 50) Bill Rawlins, "Study on Atomic Harms Continue at Oak Ridge," *Rafu Shimpo*, August 6, 1960.
- 51) "7 Hiroshima Students Due," *Hawaii Hochi*, August 6, 1966.
- 52) Rinjiro Sodei, *Were We the Enemy?: American Survivors of Hiroshima*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), 88.
- 53) Ibid, 92.
- 54) "Testimony Before State Subcommittee Hearing: Plight of Atomic Bomb Survivors, Los Angeles, May 4, 1974." University of California, Los Angeles.
- 55) Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors in the United States of America, "American Atomic Bomb Survivors, A Plea for Medical Assistance," January 1, 1978.
- 56) "Hibakusha No Longer Ashamed," *Rafu Shimpo*, September 4, 1974.
- 57) Kanji Kuramoto, "Testimony before the State Subcommittee Hearing: Plight of Atomic Bomb Survivors," May 4, 1974, Friends of Hibakusha, UC Berkeley Oral History Center.
- 58) Paul Boyer, "From Activism to Apathy: The American People and Nuclear Weapons, 1963–1980," *The Journal of American History* 70, no. 4 (March 1984): 821–44.
- 59) Yuri Kochiyama, "Speech," *Published in Asian Americans For Action Newsletter*, October 1969, NYU Kishi collection.
- 60) *Gidra*, vol. II, 7 (Los Angeles, Calif: *Gidra*, 1970), courtesy of *Gidra* Collection; Selected article titles: "Chicago" (Warren Furutani, p. 5), "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Twenty-Five Years Ago" (Yuji Ichioka, p. 6–7), "Peoples Page: Hiroshima–Nagasaki Revisited" (Joanne Miyamoto and Foo Gwah, p. 8–9).
- 61) Go Oyagi, "Over the Pacific: Post-World War II Asian American Internationalism" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, 2013).
- 62) Michael Jin, "Beyond Two Homelands: Migration and Transnationalism of Japanese Americans in the Pacific, 1930–1955" (Doctoral Dissertation, 2013), 4.
- 63) Yuji Ichioka, "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Twenty-Five Years Ago Speech" (*Gidra*, August 1970), Courtesy of *Gidra* Collection.
- 64) Joanne Miyamoto, "Peoples Page: Hiroshima–Nagasaki" (*Gidra*, August 1970), Courtesy of *Gidra* Collection.
- 65) Wake, "Gender and Science in Hiroshima's Aftermath: A Cross-Cultural Approach." 178–86.
- 66) "Nikkei Recall Hiroshima Holocaust," *Rafu Shimpo*, August 6, 1980.
- 67) Larry Sakamoto, "Survivor Recalls Horror of A–

- Bomb Drop on Hiroshima," *Hawaii Hochi*, August 5, 1985.
- 68) For more on the second wave see Creef, *Imaging Japanese America*, 93.
- 69) 広島国際文化財団 (Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation) 米人記者の見たのヒロシマ…ナガサキ (Hiroshima and Nagasaki Through the Eyes of the American Reporters) 1979 Akiba Project" (被爆者資料館図書室, 1979).
- 70) Herbert P. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest : Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 16, no. 01 (January 27, 2009), 57.
- 71) Radiation Survivors Congress, "Radiation Survivors Congress : Resolutions, Summary, Resources. October 12-14, 1984," n. d.; "Friends of Hibakusha Letter to Supporters," September 1984, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 72) Smith, *Conquest*.
- 73) Gina Hotta, "Radiation Survivors Congress" *The Paper Crane, A Publication of Friends Of Hibakusha, A Support Organization for Japanese American Survivors of the Atomic Bomb* Volume 2, Number 1. (1985), 1.
- 74) Julie Ha, "Fifty Years Is Long Enough," *Rafu Shimpo*. August 6, 1995
- 75) Ibid.
- 76) Bryan Hubbard and Marouf A. Hasian Jr., "Atomic Memories of the Enola Gay : Strategies of Remembrance at the National Air and Space Museum," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 1, no. 3 (1998), 363-85.
- 77) Ibid.
- 78) Lifton and Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America*, 276.
- 79) Most of this discussion revisited questions and arguments centered on the bombs necessity, and whether or not it saved lives. It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss these arguments, however it is worth noting that many of the arguments brought into consideration previously classified documents that had only recently become available.
- 80) Robert P. Newman, Causerie at NASM : Must We Deconstruct the Enola Gay Narratives Forever? *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, Volume3, Number 2, Summer 2000, (Michigan State University Press), 277-283.
- 81) Yoo, "Captivating Memories : Museology, Concentration Camps, and Japanese American History."
- 82) "Atomic Memories of the Enola Gay : Strategies of Remembrance at the National Air and Space Museum."
- 83) Annie Nakao, "Exhibit Offers Complete Picture of Japan Bombing," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 21, 1995.
- 84) Shawn Olsen, "Nikkei Press Puts Its Own Spin on A-Bombings," *Rafu Shimpo*, August 6, 1995.

1945年以降の日系アメリカ人の原爆に関する公的記憶

内野 クリスタル

京都大学大学院 人間・環境学研究科 共生文明学専攻

〒606-8501 京都市左京区吉田二本松町

要旨 戦後70年の間、日系アメリカ人は原爆との複雑な歴史的関係に時には公然と時には間接的な形で向き合い、社会の変化し続ける政治潮流をくぐり抜けてきた。1945年以降の日系アメリカ人の新聞における原爆の日に関する記事の分析を通じて、本論文は日系アメリカ人の原爆の記憶についての表象と抑制を分析する。また、まだ十分な研究がなされていない原爆に関する記憶の領域に焦点を当てることによって、本研究は、日系アメリカ人の主体性と歴史をアメリカ社会からの抑圧と政治的アクティビズムとの関わりから解釈する新たな枠組みを提供する。