ART AND ACTIVISM IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

EXPLORING THE LEGACY OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

Edited by
Roman Rosenbaum and Yasuko Claremont

Art and Activism in the Nuclear Age

This book explores the contemporary legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki following the passage of three quarters of a century, and the role of art and activism in maintaining a critical perspective on the dangers of the nuclear age.

It closely interrogates the political and cultural shifts that have accompanied the transition to a nuclearised world. Beginning with the contemporary socio-political and cultural interpretations of the impact and legacy of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the chapters examine the challenges posed by committed opponents in the cultural and activist fields to the ongoing development of nuclear weapons and the expanding industrial uses of nuclear power. It explores how the aphorism that "all art is political" is borne out in the close relation between art and activism.

This multi-disciplinary approach to the socio-political and cultural exploration of nuclear energy in relation to Hiroshima/Nagasaki via the arts will be of interest to students and scholars of peace and conflict studies, social political and cultural studies, fine arts, and art and aesthetic studies.

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Contents

List of figures vii
List of contributors xi
Acknowledgements xv

1 Introduction: The Raison D'être of the Arts in the Nuclear World 1
ROMAN ROSENBAUM

2 Anti-Nuclear Movements and Education for Peace and Human Rights 25
KAZUYO YAMANE

3 Interrogating the Nuclear Industry, Local and Global: Tsushima Yūko's Post-3.11 Writing 45
BARBARA HARTLEY

4 Contemporary Perspectives on the Nuclear World, Seventy-Five Years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Manga as Nuclear Art 65
ROMAN ROSENBAUM

5 Anti-Nuclear Activism through the Arts in Japan 90
YASUKO CLAREMONT

6 Hiroshima Museums: Atomic Artefacts on the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary 118
ANN SHERIF

7 Silence and Resilience: Commemorating Nagasaki Alongside the "Extraordinary Noise" of the Olympics and Under the Covid-19 "Mushroom Cloud" 154
GWYN McCLELLAND AND YUKI MIYAMOTO

8 An Apocalypse through Australian Eyes: The Art and Objets Trouvés of Occupied Hiroshima 180
TESSA MORRIS-SUZUKI

9 Genbaku Legacy in Post-3.11 Japan: Ōta Yōko and Yoshida Chia 198
VERONICA DE PIERI

10 The Unquiet Legacy of Nuclear Testing in French Polynesia 216
ELIZABETH RECHNIEWSKI

11 Scientific Activism in the Nuclear Age: Atuhiro Sibatini and the Ranger Uranium Mine 231
ALEXANDER BROWN

12 Epilogue: Celebrating Nuclear Activism and the Power of the Individual 250
YASUKO CLAREMONT

Index 263

Figures

0.1	Artists from Yalata, Ceduna and Oak Valley. Front row (L-R): Cindy Watson, Mima Smart OAM, Roslyn Peters. Back row (L-R): Glenda Ken, Pam Diment	xviii
1.1	'Nuclear War?!... There Goes My Career!' by Mark Vallen 1980	3
1.2	'I told that Warramunga mob not to tinker around with uranium,' by Eric Joliffe (1954)	10
1.3	*Sun Child* statue by Kenji Yanobe	11
2.1	Dengonkan Peace Museum in the precincts of Hokyoji Temple, photo by Ikuro Anzai	38
2.2	An exhibition room on Fukushima nuclear power plant accident in 2011, photo by Ikuro Anzai	38
4.1	The Australian version of Captain Atom Cover no. 2, *Atlas Publications*, from the 1948–1954 series	68
4.2	*Ambassador Atom (アトム大使, atomu taishi), by Tezuka Osamu (1951–52)*	70
4.3	*Taiheiyo X pointo (X Point in the Pacific)*, Tezuka Osamu, 1953	71
4.4	*Superman*, number 34, 1945	73
4.5	*Atom Bomb!*, Wally Wood, 1953	74
4.6	*I Saw It*, Nakazawa Keiji, 1982. © Educomics	76
4.7	Fumiyo Kōno, *Yūnagi no machi, sakura no kuni* 夕凪の街　桜の国 (*Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms)*, 2003, 22. © Fumiyo Kōno/Coamix	78
4.8	Front cover (Hiroshima no fukkō) *Hiroshima Revival*. ©Tezuka Productions, Scenario by Takeo Aoki, RCC Broadcasting Co., Ltd	81
4.9	'Nothing will grow for seventy-five years,' in *Hiroshima Revival*, 2016, 13. (広島の復興; Hiroshima no fukkō). ©Tezuka Productions, Scenario by Takeo Aoki, RCC Broadcasting Co., Ltd	82
5.1	Maruki Suma's Painting, *Pika no toki* (Atomic bomb dropped), 1950, courtesy Maruki Gallery for Hiroshima Panels	95
5.2	*Kiyō no arashi, Nagasaki monogatari* (*Storm over Kiyō—Tale of Nagasaki*), detail of a section of the scroll, 1946, courtesy of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum	97

5.3 All cast and team members of the 2017 *Kawa* performance. Playwright/actress, Tsuchiya Tokiko in the first row, 5th from right. Producer Ikeda Masahiko in the first row, 2nd from right 111
6.1 Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum—black wall with text on right and large B/W photos of swimming pool and students on left, August 6, 1945, photo by Ann Sherif 128
6.2 Peace Museum clothing display, photo by Ann Sherif 130
6.3 Peace Museum survivors' drawings, photo by Ann Sherif 132
6.4 One of the Memorial Hall's cylindrical forms evoking historical time, the 8:15 clock sculpture in the rubble on the ground-level roof, photo with permission of Hashimoto Isao 136
6.5 Slice of substratum of ground beneath the hypocentre, Memorial Hall, photo with permission of Hashimoto Isao 137
6.6 Mosaic walls form the circular space around the water feature in the Hall of Remembrance, National Memorial Hall, photo with permission of Hashimoto Isao 138
6.7 Curved stairway from ground level to main entrance of Memorial Hall, photo permission of Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims 138
6.8 Visitors watching film in Special Gallery in Memorial Hall, photo permission of Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims 140
6.9 Former army clothing depot in Hiroshima © Architecture Walk Hiroshima 146
6.10 Aerial photo and map of location of former Army Clothing Depot, with permission © Architecture Walk Hiroshima 147
7.1 *Tokyo Olympic Games Symbol*, photograph by Alex Smith on *Unsplash.com*, public domain 157
7.2 *Sakamoto, Nagasaki, bombed Torii gate*, photograph by Dominic Galeon, *Unsplash.com*, public domain 161
7.3 Covid-19 pandemic, photograph by Shawn Ang, *Unsplash.com,* public domain 165
7.4 Abe Shinzō tweet, August 9, 2020. Abe Shinzō twitter comment, August 9, 2020, screenshot, https://twitter.com/AbeShinzo/status/1292325885849137157?s=20 168
7.5 Fukahori Shigemi, Urakami Cathedral, 2016, photograph by Gwyn McClelland 170
7.6 Yamaguchi Hibiki presenting the virtual tour at the Nagasaki Museum, organised by ICAN, Japan, 2020 172
8.1 *Rebuilding Hiroshima* by Reginald Rowed, July 1946, Australian War Memorial 181

8.2 *Hiroshima*, by Reginald Rowed, August 1946, Australian War Memorial 186

8.3 *Hiroshima Snow*, Reginald Rowed, January 1947, Australian War Memorial 186

8.4 The Survivors, Allan Waite, 1946, Australian War Memorial © Cynthia Waite (aka Ferguson) 188

8.5 *Hiroshima, May 1946*, Allan Waite, c. 1950–1959, Australian War Memorial © Cynthia Waite (aka Ferguson) 189

8.6 The melted uranium glass clock donated to the Australian War Memorial by Kenneth Carruthers © Cynthia Waite (aka Ferguson) 192

8.7 Left, ruins of Urakami Cathedral, Nagasaki, photographed by Brian McMullan and Cecelia Mary McMullan, c. 1947–1952, Australian War Memorial; right, ruins of the Shimomura Clock Shop, Hiroshima, photographer unknown, c. 1945, Australian War Memorial 193

12.1 ICAN members show the balloon/missile at Martin Place in Sydney to urge the Australian government to ratify the United Nations Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty, photo courtesy of ICAN 253

12.2 “Daihatsu” taken away by Australian Army, Wikimedia Commons 256

12.3 Memorial Mound (Kuyōtō), Hiroshima Peace Park. Courtesy Kawaguchi Yūsuke 258

12.4 Article 9 monument, 2022, courtesy Takeuchi Yoshio 260

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Acknowledgements

We truly live in uncertain times, but rather than bemoan the endless repetition of past mistakes and the world's apparent ignorance of history, we can do something about it. Such is the raison d'être of this volume.

Several key events shaped the creation of this volume—in particular, the quiet passing of the seventy-fifth commemoration of the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which are usually commemorated vociferously, and the heavily debated dramatic end of the Asia-Pacific War, which year after year continues to reveal more questions and obstinately refuses closure. These events were overshadowed and subdued by the Covid pandemic that began to sweep the globe in 2020. Yet, following a considerable hiatus, we would like to take this opportunity to caution the global community, once again mired in the potentially catastrophic pursuit of nuclear technology and weapons, to reconsider their actions at a time when brinkmanship is on the rise the world over.

Several contemporary examples suffice to warrant this volume on *Art and Activism*: Iran's nuclear agenda, North Korea's missile launches, China's rise in the Pacific, Russia's invasion of Ukraine and perhaps the long-forgotten war in Syria. Conflict, it appears, is on the rise! With the world's politicians and leaders busy negotiating diplomatic ends we ask what can supposedly benign art bring to the existential crisis of a globally warming nuclear world.

Sydney University's involvement with grassroots pacificism, antiwar and denuclearisation projects has had a long trajectory and after over a decade of activism this book provides an opportunity to take stock once again. From the beginning there has been a small cadre of regular collaborators and co-producers who have been most closely involved in every single event—Yasuko Claremont, Judith Keene, Elizabeth Rechniewski and myself. I would like to thank them for their many years of dedication and continuing unwavering support which hopefully will continue for a long time hence, until the baton inevitably must be passed on.

As we emerge from the isolation period of the global Covid pandemic, this book marks another milestone in the continuation of our grassroots activism campaign to engender pacificism and support antiwar efforts as well as denuclearisation campaigns in order to counter-balance populist

socio-political agendas in our precarious global environment. The solutions are now closer than ever, but the world is still at war with itself. *Art and Activism* thus marks the continuation in a long list of activities that started over a decade ago, with the hope that we shall make a small but significant difference. A brief outline of the trajectory leading to this book is below:

2011: An initial one-day International Symposium was held at the University of Sydney on September 30, 2011, entitled *The Asia-Pacific War: Return, Representation, Reconciliation*. The symposium was subsequently developed into a research monograph: Roman Rosenbaum, Yasuko Claremont (eds), *Legacies of the Asia-Pacific War: The Yakeato Generation*, published by Routledge in 2011.

2012: A second International Symposium was held at the University of Sydney on November 5, 2012, and its theme was *Looking Back on the Asia-Pacific War: Art, Cinema and Media*. The results of these proceedings were published in a special issue of the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* (JOSA), volume 44, 2012, entitled *Memorial Diplomacy and the Asia-Pacific War*.

2014: A joint third International Conference was held in Seongnam (South Korea) at the Academy of Korean Studies, from April 23 to April 25, 2014, and its title was *Initiatives towards Peace and Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific Basin*. The research from this bilateral conference was later published as *History Wars and Reconciliation in Japan and Korea: The Roles of Historians, Artists and Activists*, edited by Michael Lewis, and published by Palgrave Macmillan (2017). Also in 2014, our fourth conference was held at Ritsumeikan University (Kyoto, Japan) from December 6 to December 7, 2014. Its theme was Kizuato to iyashi: sengo shimin shakai e no kakuritsu to taiheiyō shokoku to no wakai (傷跡と癒し: 戦後市民社会への確立と太平洋諸国との和解, *Wounds, Scars, and Healing: Civil Society and Postwar Pacific Basin Reconciliation*.

2015: Our fifth conference was held at the University of Sydney from September 30 to October 2, 2015, to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War. One of the highlights of this conference was the collaborative project by Allan Marett, who produced the new English Noh play *Oppenheimer* at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music on September 30 and October 1, 2015. The conference theme was *Wounds, Scars and Healing: Civil Society and Postwar Pacific Basin Reconciliation*. This event was supported by the University of Sydney Law School and included a photographic exhibition displayed at the University of Sydney library. Photographs and research relating to the exhibition were later published by Yasuko Claremont (ed.) as a bilingual book entitled *Citizen Power: Postwar Reconciliation*—the book was published by the *Oriental Society of Australia* and distributed by Sydney University Press (2017). The conference theme was also published in book form: Yasuko Claremont (ed.) *Civil Society and Postwar Pacific Basin Reconciliation* (Routledge, 2018). An account of the public symposium from the conference was subsequently published

as "Postwar Australian-Japanese Grassroots Reconciliation Movements: Grassroots Presentations at the International Conference to Commemorate the Seventieth Anniversary of the End of the Asia–Pacific Conflict," in the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia (JOSA)* 47 (2015): 19–60. The significance of the above events surrounding the seventieth anniversary commemorations also led to the translation of the seminal text *Ishibumi: A Memorial to the Atomic Annihilation of 321 Students at Hiroshima Second Middle School*, translated by Yasuko Claremont and Roman Rosenbaum (Tokyo: Poplar Publishing Co., 2016).

Our latest project in exploring the socio-political potential of grassroots activism via the arts was planned for 2020. However, the world had other plans and the outbreak of the global Covid pandemic delayed our exhibition "Art and Activism in the Nuclear Age" for some two years. The event was finally held from April 7 to May 14, 2022, at the Tin Shed Gallery, University of Sydney, and resulted in the exhibition catalogue *Art and Activism in the Nuclear Age*.[1]

The exhibition was accompanied by a public symposium on May 7, 2022, to exchange ideas and perspectives between artists, activists and academics. We all met to consider methods for engaging the public in our continuing search for peace and nuclear disarmament. We would like to thank the symposium participants—Okamura Yukinori, curator of the Maruki Gallery, Maralinga; Indigenous artists from Yalata, Ceduna and Oak Valley; ICAN Australian Director Gem Romuld and ICAN founders Tilman Ruff and Dimity Hawkins; Allan Marett, who, combining his expertise in classical Japanese music and culture and Japanese Noh Theatre, has produced a modern Noh performance on atomic art; and peace activist and author Yuki Tanaka from Melbourne. Feedback from the symposium and the gallery exhibition, in combination with research from some of the leading experts in the fields of artistic activism and nuclear art, has been combined to produce this volume.

We would like to thank the contributors to this edited collection, *Art and Activism,* who have worked under unprecedented, complex restraints to produce research that has never been more relevant than today. Our research was generously supported by The Japan Foundation, The Australia-Japan Foundation, The Chancellor's Committee Grant as well as the Faculty of Arts at the University of Sydney, the Japanese Studies Association of Australia, the Tin Sheds Gallery and the Australian Society for Asian Humanities (ASAH). Elaine Lewis tirelessly copy-edited and proofread this volume. None of this would have been possible without the professionalism of our colleagues at the University of Sydney whose sponsorship, facilities and research expertise are world-class. But the final thank you must go to our families who have devoted so much of their time to keeping us safe, sound and stable through one of the most difficult periods in all of our lives.

It is customary in Australian society to acknowledge Country—usually at the opening of ceremonies but with the topic at hand being our nuclear

legacy and its representation in the arts it is probably more suitable for them to have the final word. We would like to humbly acknowledge the participation and contribution of a group of Elders, in a symbiosis of the ancient and the new, via a Zoom round-table discussion from Ceduna, Western Australia, where the story of nuclear testing and its legacy continues to be told for future generations (Figure 0.1).

Memento vivere.

Figure 0.1 Artists from Yalata, Ceduna and Oak Valley. Front row (L-R): Cindy Watson, Mima Smart OAM, Roslyn Peters. Back row (L-R): Glenda Ken, Pam Diment.

Note

1 See the exhibition "Art and Activism in the Nuclear Age" online with a link to the full symposium recording at https://www.sydney.edu.au/architecture/about/tin-sheds-gallery/past-exhibitions/art-and-activism-in-the-nuclear-age.html. The exhibition catalogue is available at https://www.sydney.edu.au/content/dam/corporate/images/sydney-school-of-architecture-design-and-planning/about-the-school/tin-sheds-gallery/2022-program/tin-sheds-gallery-art-and-activism-in-the-nuclear-age-exhibition-catalogue.pdf.

1 Introduction

The Raison D'être of the Arts in the Nuclear World

Roman Rosenbaum

Towards an Introduction

In 1995, when John Whittier Treat wrote the shocking words: "this concept of the potential *hibakusha* now has to extend to everyone alive today in any region of the planet," he did not realise how accurate his prophecy would become.[1] While he was looking back to Chernobyl and further to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, he could scarcely have imagined Fukushima and the nuclear threats of North Korea and Iraq, followed by Putin's invasion of Ukraine. In a world awash with "the omnipresent nuclear shadow," we must ask ourselves what can art bring to activism?[2] Should art be political at all? The notion of art for the pursuit of pleasure and entertainment, or perhaps to soothe our souls from the angst-ridden fast-paced societies we live in, is still deeply entrenched in modern capitalist consumer cultures. Yet, nowadays art can be so much more. Nietzsche presaged the contemporary political motives behind art when he remarked that "we have art in order not to die of the truth." Reality is bleak and art can make it more palatable to our stressed busy lives. But there is so much more, says Toni Morrison when she suggests that "all good art is political! There is none that isn't."[3] Closely related to this politicisation of art is Andy Warhol's capitalisation of art when he facetiously remarked that "making money is art and working is art and good business is the best art."[4] Heavily deliberated ever since, these maxims nevertheless attest to the fact that art, it appears, can be anything we choose it to be, and the main undercurrent of this book focuses on the investigation of art as a methodology of activism.

Historical Overview of Anti-Nuclear Activism

> Of course, nuclear issues were not new in the 1980s. What was new was the insistence with which they imposed themselves on the public imagination. The whole topography of the decade, comprising cultural, social, geopolitical, domestic political, economic, technological and scientific features, was both shaped by and shaped nuclear preoccupations.[5]

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Following the catastrophic usage of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a long period of censorship ensued and this was followed by extensive nuclear testing in the Pacific.[6] What became known as the *Pacific Proving Ground* began on June 30, 1946, when the United States tested a nuclear weapon on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands.[7] Until 1958, a total of twenty-three nuclear weapons were detonated and as a result other nations like France joined and conducted a total of 193 nuclear tests in Polynesia from 1966 to 1996. This new era of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons testing was first drawn to public attention in 1954 when a hydrogen bomb test in the Pacific contaminated the crew of the Japanese fishing boat known as *Lucky Dragon*. One of the fishermen succumbed to radiation sickness seven months later and the incident caused global concerns and "provided a decisive impetus for the emergence of the anti-nuclear weapons movement in many countries."[8] It was during this initial phase of global awareness that Gerald Holtom sketched what is now widely known as "the peace logo" in pop-culture for the first London to Aldermaston march in 1958. This 8,000-strong anti-nuclear protest walk covered fifty-two miles, from Trafalgar Square to Berkshire's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, and created global headlines. The internationally recognisable symbol is one of the first graphic emblems adopted for instilling a global grassroots consciousness of anti-nuclear activism.[9] Throughout the 1960s the global anti-nuclear movement grew dramatically due to elevated fears of a nuclear attack sparked by the Cold War. In 1961, following further escalation of nuclear arms development at the height of the Cold War, about 50,000 members of the Women Strike for Peace activist group marched in sixty cities across the United States to demonstrate against the testing of nuclear weapons. Following the doomsday brinkmanship of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, many countries ratified the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, which prohibited atmospheric nuclear tests with the exception of those conducted underground. As early as 1964, Wolfgang Rüdig suggested "that the dangers and costs of the necessary final disposal of nuclear waste could possibly make it necessary to forego the development of nuclear energy," a powerful statement that still rings true today.[10]

This first wave of nuclear activism subsided when in 1968 the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom signed the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and agreed not to assist other states in obtaining or producing nuclear weapons. Other pressing social issues like the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movements took centre stage and it was not until the energy crisis of the early 1970s that anti-nuclear movements re-emerged. This second wave continued throughout the 1970s with the rapid development of nuclear power across the globe. Anti-nuclear activism culminated in 1979 after the world's first major nuclear power plant disaster when the Three Mile Island accident occurred at a nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania. Shortly after, in the early 1980s, the recrudescence of the global nuclear arms race resulted in large anti-nuclear weapons protests,

especially following the discovery of a higher-than-normal number of deaths of children from leukaemia being reported from residents near several types of nuclear facilities. A resurgence of global interest in the anti-nuclear movement began in the mid-1980s, with artists like Mark Vallen who, in early 1981, created the well-known political poster "Nuclear War?!… There Goes my Career" (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 'Nuclear War?!... There Goes My Career!' by Mark Vallen 1980.

Vallen modelled his female character after the pop-cultural icon *Wonder Women* to intertextually link nuclear art with pop-culture. The largest ever anti-nuclear protest was held on June 12, 1982, when one million people demonstrated in New York City, during a time when people seriously considered the possibility of an outbreak of a nuclear war between the Soviet

Union and the United States.[11] Vallen's poster was intended as a critique against capitalism and individuals who thought of themselves as too busy with their work or careers to notice they were in part responsible for the state of the world. It offered a grim view of American complacency in the face of the nuclear threat.[12]

This third wave of anti-nuclear activism culminated in 1986 with the nuclear power plant accident at the Chernobyl plant in Ukraine. The world's worst nuclear accident had serious global socio-political repercussions that pitted energy conglomerates against grassroots activists who urged the development of alternative sustainable energy production. Despite improvements in technology, the Fukushima incident in 2011 provided credible evidence for the unsurmountable susceptibility of power plants to terrorism or acts of nature.[13]

The cold hard truth of nuclear energy production or its national phase-out in our post-Fukushima global society is that each country has its own unique tendency to either embrace or detach themselves from the chimera that is the nuclear. Germany, for instance, has embraced the notion of *Energiewende* or "energy shift" to transition the nation to a low-carbon renewable energy framework. Germany is one of a handful of nations that have aimed at phasing out their fleets of nuclear reactors completely by 2022, with the aim of reaching a 100% renewable energy system. In comparison Australia holds 31% of the world's supply of uranium but has always found it cheaper to rely on an ocean of local coal, gas and oil for power. Even though the nuclear debate periodically resurfaces in Australia in order to combat the current climate collapse and our reliance on fossil fuels, a royal commission in 2015 found mixed results and concluded that nuclear power was financially out of reach for Australia.[14]

The Literary Genre of the Anti-Nuclear

> The consciousness of the 80s is being shaped by the threat of nuclear war.[15]

Well before nuclear art developed into a methodology for activism, writers like John Hersey's searing eponymous account *Hiroshima* marked the first official record of the bomb's devastating human cost and became a bestseller in 1946. Hersey adopted literature as a means of focusing global consciousness onto the inhumane power of the atomic bombs.[16] Several decades later in 1982, some thirty-seven years after the atomic bombs were dropped, Yōtarō Konaka participated in the compilation and publication of a fifteen-volume collection entitled *Nihon no genbaku bungaku*, now officially known as *Japanese Atomic-Bomb Literature* and thus a new literary genre was inaugurated. He wrote that the creation of this literary genre was inspired by a gathering of 500 Japanese writers in 1982, who jointly issued a "writer's declaration on the danger of Nuclear War," with some writers at

the time still feeling that it was an inappropriate activity for writers.[17] Reiko Tachibana commented later about the genre as rising "promptly from the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," but due to censorship rules and because it was contrary to the existing literary traditions it was ignored initially and *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) were excluded from representing their trauma via literary tropes.[18] Even today the subject of atomic bombings is divisive and textbooks in the United States focus specifically on how many American lives the bomb saved.[19]

While this specific genre focusing on the atomic bomb droppings is unique to the Japanese experience it has recently been extended to all hibakusha communities around the world, stressing the cross-national implications of this global event. Oda Makoto for instance specifically addressed this dimension of Hiroshima in his long novel entitled *The Bomb* (1984)—the story includes the disenfranchisement of the native American Indian population in the United States during testings of the atomic bomb.[20] Other countries involved in the same Asia-Pacific Conflict or in World War II have similar genres, such as the specific German *Trümmerliteratur* (literature of ruins) which ranges from 1945 to 1950 and focuses on the post-war life of the German population in the ruined cities following the devastation of the war. The genre focuses both on the physical ruins of the cities as well as the ruined lives as psychological scars of the European conflict. Like Germany, Japan had experienced allied fire-bombings of its major cities which gave birth to the *yakeato* generation of writers in Japan with slightly different connotations. While *Trümmerliteratur* was written by older writers with war experience trying to come to terms with their complicity and how to deal with it, in Japan the *yakeato* literature was written much later by older writers who were too young to participate actively in the war but whose psyche was traumatised by the war during childhood.

A Short History of Nuclear Art as Activism

The motivational power of art, and in particular "nuclear art," to find creative solutions to our most pressing dilemmas today is highly subjective and fiercely contested. Yet, art has the power to move individuals to social action, manipulate and influence, entertain and educate where sociopolitical movements have failed.

From the first *World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs* held in Hiroshima in 1955 to the recent thinly veiled threats of a nuclear attack in Ukraine, art has always been a powerful way of inspiring activism and raising awareness of global nuclear concerns. Anna Volkmar has demonstrated how nuclear art may empower viewers to see and think laterally, thereby enabling creative solutions for societal change. The transformative potential of artistry may challenge and upset viewers' expectations surrounding a work of art as we consider the redistribution of power relations with reference to the complexity of making art within nuclear landscapes and catastrophes at a

time when the primary focus of industry is the marketing and promotion of nuclear energy through the commercialisation of arts.[21]

Arguably the first "art" produced out of the ashes of Hiroshima was the collection of paintings referred to as *The Hiroshima Panels* (原爆の図, *Genbaku no zu*), which include a series of fifteen painted folding panels by the collaborative husband and wife artists, Maruki Iri and Maruki Toshi. Iri left for Hiroshima on the first train from Tokyo, three days after the bomb was dropped. Toshi followed a few days later. Just over two kilometres from the centre of the explosion, the family home was still standing.[22] Three years would pass before they began work on painting *The Hiroshima Panels*. They created an early trilogy as part of a series called The Hiroshima Panels. These works, 1. *Ghost*, 2. *Fire* and 3. *Water*, based on the artists' own experiences and stories recounted by family members, were first shown in 1950. When the works travelled around Japan in the early 1950s, at a time when press restraints were still in effect, the pictures, some of the earliest visual documents of the horrors of the bombing, came to be a symbol of anti-nuclear and anti-war sentiment. Along with the series' tremendous social significance, the works are unusual in that they combine Toshi's delicate Western-style depictions of human figures with Iri's bold Japanese-style ink-painting techniques. The entire collection grew to fifteen works completed over a span of thirty-two years (1950–1982). Visiting his family in Hiroshima, Maruki Iri travelled with his wife and stayed in Hiroshima for a month in the aftermath of the atomic bomb. Following their eye-witness experience in Hiroshima, the *Panels* initially depicted the consequences of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—other nuclear disasters of the twentieth century were later added.

The Marukis' collaboration continued, and the trajectory of their work reflected global nuclear issues in relation to Japan's ethical and political responsibilities in the world through their paintings that highlighted specific nuclear issues. In the aftermath of the 1954 Bikini Atoll U.S. nuclear test, which spread radioactive fallout across the South Seas, contaminating a Japanese fishing boat (*Lucky Dragon Number Five*) and its crew, the Marukis painted the murals *Yaizu* (焼津, the name of the town where the fishing boat docked) which depicted local people in a defiant stance. In the 1970s, the Marukis exhibited their paintings in the United States for the first time, and the experience shaped their future drawings in a profound way. Having focused primarily on the victim-consciousness of the Japanese, after an American viewer asked why they only painted Hiroshima and not incidents in World War II in which Japan was the aggressor, the Marukis began to include the perpetrator perspective into their drawings which led to two significant paintings on the moral complexity of the global atomic bomb experience itself. Their 1972 painting, Crows (karasu 1972), refers to the severe discrimination Koreans faced in Japan, before and after the atomic bombings. The second painting expanded their subject directly to the horrors of war and was entitled *Nanking Massacre* (Nankin daigyakusatsu no zu 1975)—

it depicted terrible acts that Japanese former soldiers had described to them. They began to push for a repudiation of these and other wartime actions by their compatriots and the Japanese government.[23] Thus, *The Hiroshima Panels* have presented an artistic way of keeping nuclear issues in the public consciousness over the past three-quarters of a century.

As well as the personal experience of individuals there is the activism inspired by world-shattering events such as the intensity of the Cuban Missile Crisis or the world's worst nuclear accident in Chernobyl in 1986, the sense of angst and precarity quickly began to find abstract expression in the arts. Nina Felshin's *Disarming Images: Art for Nuclear Disarmament* was one of the first public collections of anti-nuclear art published before the catastrophe took place in Chernobyl. It was organised by the New York City's National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees through their cultural project *Bread and Roses*, which organised a series of exhibitions shown across the United States. The purpose of this example of art as social activism, with its specific aim to "heighten public awareness of our nuclear predicament," was described as follows:

> Because we believe that art can express in a special way our common concern that the "ultimate epidemic" must never be allowed to occur, this exhibition represents a logical extension of our daily work.[24]

Felshin's exhibition catalogue assembled forty-four works by forty-six artists who were vitally concerned with the increasing threat of nuclear annihilation and who addressed this issue in their work that stands as a powerful testimony to the nuclear angst of the 1980s. Later Robert Jacobs' study of the response of art and popular culture in relation to the history of the bombs and our nuclear future suggests that for many of us without direct experience, it is the representation in art that shapes our experience of nuclear issues in the contemporary world. This becomes more important as many of the signature events recede into history. While political and social forces are often limited and appear paralysed as far as thinking beyond the local implications of this apocalyptic technology, art and popular culture are uniquely suited to grapple with the abstract global and human implications of the bomb's legacy, nuclear energy in general, and are relevant to the meaning of humanity in the nuclear age.[25]

Hiroshima/Nagasaki: Contemporary Consideration of a Nuclear Legacy

As the potential cause of all contemporary nuclear debates, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the cities and their artistic commemorations, have become emblematic of our contemporary global nuclear culture. They heralded in the new atomic age, drove nuclear disarmament and advocated for denuclearisation. If we juxtapose this with the potential positive considerations

of nuclear energy production to combat climate change and medical innovations, we are reminded of what Pablo Picasso referred to as a paradox in the arts by suggesting that "every positive value has its price in negative terms… the genius of Einstein leads to Hiroshima."[26]

Remarkably, even some seventy-five years after the atomic bombings, every year new perspectives of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are published. For instance, Naoko Wake's *American Survivors: Trans-Pacific Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* refocuses the atomic bombings from the vantage point of the cross-national history of the Asia-Pacific War and was published as late as 2021. The year before, Alison Fields's *Discordant Memories: Atomic Age Narratives and Visual Culture* investigated the layered complexities of nuclear remembrance through an in-depth analysis of photography, film and artworks while tracing site visits to atomic museums in New Mexico and Japan to illuminate the contemporary significance of such distant traumatic events. As the continuing research into the world's first nuclear catastrophe illustrates, the plethora of vantage points of the totemic Hiroshima and Nagasaki mythologies are still highly significant today.

This dichotomy is often exemplified by the often-quoted phrase, *Ikari no Hiroshima, inori no Nagasaki* (怒りの広島 祈りの長崎)—*Hiroshima rages, Nakasaki prays*—which demonstrates the complex binary distinction that bisects the atomic bomb response of the two cities along stereotypical fault lines and exemplifies the potential multifaceted dialectics of one responding with anger and the other by praying (due to the strong history of Catholic survivors in Nagasaki). More recently several studies have begun to delve deeper into the politics of commemorations surrounding Hiroshima and Nagasaki anniversaries in order to articulate a critique of the hegemonic victim memory discourse emanating from these sites, which has led to the denial, or at least, obfuscation, of Japan's Imperial perpetrator past by exclusively remembering Japanese victims. This is not a new tendency and the victim versus perpetrator dichotomy has a long and acrimonious socio-political history that haunts Japan to this present day.

Recent works such as Ran Zwigenberg's *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture* (2014) unearth the complex history of the sites' sanctification through "discourses of trauma" and the comparison to 9/11 in the United States, and later 3/11 Fukushima. This has led to the "near complete absence of the perpetrator"—in great contrast to Holocaust memory—and is, indeed, the most conspicuous element in its commemoration.[27] Other studies like Masaya Nemoto's *Hiroshima Paradox* (2018) similarly investigate the various "side-effects" hidden in the humanism and universality of Hiroshima's peace movements. Nemoto argues that as a result of emphasising "humanity" as the overarching focal point, issues of Japan's war responsibilities and American accountability for the dropping of the atomic bombs on civilian populations have been whitewashed and anti-nuclear movements have become depoliticised. Hiroshima as a sacred site that stands above

politics has become a shibboleth for *inoriba* (a praying site) that is excluded from political movements. Nemoto argues that this failure to embrace Hiroshima as a universal site destroyed by nuclear technology is symbolised by the Japanese government's attitude—refusing to sign the "Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons" and, instead, publicly maintaining the fallacy of nuclear deterrence in disregard of the wishes of the hibakusha community.[28]

The Politics of Nuclear Art

Accompanying these commemorative appeals of cataclysmic events, the size of which the world has arguably never seen before—and hopefully never will again—has been the notion of what service, if any, art can perform in the rendition, remembrance and preservation of the memory, legacy and continuity of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This is not a new question and artistic representation of disasters has always been a double-edged sword with Theodor Adorno's famous suggestion that "after Auschwitz, to write a poem is barbaric" still ringing true today.[29]

Artistic representation can be challenging—in 1976 Charles Reznikoff's *objet trouvé* attempted to rewrite the Holocaust as a poem based on the court records of post-war Nuremberg trials. Reznikoff took up the challenge implicit in Adorno's much debated aphorism and responded, "by doing what artists have always done and finding the appropriate technical means."[30] The resulting great polemical long poem in English stands as a testament to the recovery of the human spirit after major cataclysmic events. Similar challenges about the relevance of commemorating Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the wake of a nascent Zeitgeist of A-bomb fatigue have been quickly dispelled by the devastation wreaked following the triple catastrophe of the Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami; the Fukushima reactor nuclear meltdown; and, later, the invasion of Ukraine. With the renewed momentum generated by contemporary nuclear disasters it is paramount to review how the representation of these nuclear disasters has been played out through representation in the arts.

An early example of the controversial rendition of nuclear incidents through the arts can be seen in the cartoons of the Australian illustrator Eric Joliffe. His well-published portrayal of Australian Aboriginal people enjoyed great success throughout his career for almost fifty years. Nowadays, almost forgotten, his cartoons are very confrontational and reflect the attention generated by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the resulting catastrophic arms race that led to the disenfranchisement of many Indigenous populations the world over. These ranged from the Marshall Islands in the South Pacific, during the U.S. nuclear testing between 1946 and 1962; France's testing in Polynesia; and British tests extending from Maralinga in South Australia, the Montebello Islands and Western Australia to Emu Field in South Australia from 1952 to 1963.

While there are many examples that could be deemed grotesque representations of such barbaric events, the Australian nuclear tests inflicted untold horrors on the Indigenous populations, including displacement and contamination. This sense of precariousness and displacement was rendered pop-culturally in a rare, long-forgotten grotesque cartoon by Eric Joliffe whose raw humour may upset today's audiences (Figure 1.2).[31]

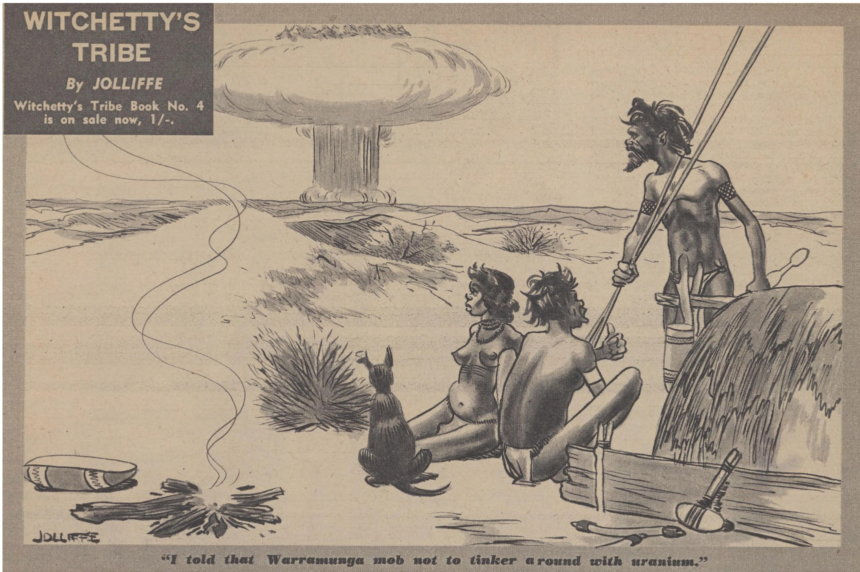

Figure 1.2 'I told that Warramunga mob not to tinker around with uranium,' by Eric Joliffe (1954).

Many other and more contemporary examples of controversial nuclear art exhibits can be found the world over. In Japan, following the devastation wreaked by the 3/11 triple catastrophe in Eastern Japan, Kenji Yanobe erected a six-metre-tall "Sun Child" statue near Fukushima railway station in 2018, depicting a child clad in a protective radiation suit looking towards the heavens. Despite the artist's purpose of expressing hope for the reconstruction of areas affected by the 2011 earthquake and tsunami, and the ensuing nuclear accident, it sparked instant controversy. The statue metaphorically suggests recovery since the boy has taken off his helmet to demonstrate that the air in Fukushima is now clean and the radiation counter on his chest shows zero to symbolise a world without nuclear disasters.[32] Yet disagreements quickly followed among local residents, with many demanding its removal and others saying the statue could trigger "reputational damage" following the meltdowns at the Fukushima nuclear power plant. Despite Yanobe's defence that the statue depicted a child braving a difficult situation and that his aim was to cheer people up in the wake of the disaster, the controversy grew, and the statue had to be dismantled in

September 2018.[33] While relatively benign in nature, the Sun Child statue incident highlights the inherent sense of angst expressed by the representation of the nuclear issue through the arts (Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 Sun Child statue by Kenji Yanobe.

Arguably one of the most famous cases of the complex politics of artistic representation of traumatic nuclear incidents surrounded the exhibition

of the Enola Gay. In 1995 the National Air and Space Museum (NASM) proposed an exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution that would include displaying the Enola Gay—the Boeing B-29 Superfortress bomber that was used to drop the world's first atomic bomb on Hiroshima—in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. Entitled *The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War*, the exhibit was curated by Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum staff and was arranged around the restored Enola Gay.[34] The fiery controversy that ensued demonstrated the competing historical narratives regarding the decision to drop the bomb. Critics of the planned exhibition complained about the unilateral focus on Japanese casualties and the sense of Japanese victimhood inculcated by the atomic bomb detonation, saying that it did not demonstrate the broader history of Japanese aggression as well as the larger issues surrounding the reasoning for the dropping of the bomb.[35]

Nevertheless, the exhibit broke many taboos and brought to national attention the long-standing academic and politically dormant issues related to retrospective views of the bombings and their political legacy in American society. Martin O. Harwit, Director of the National Air and Space Museum, expressed his hopes that the exhibit could offer a partial resolution of the "unarticulated issues" that had long haunted Japanese-American relations, and that it could make August 6—traditionally a day of "protest and recrimination"—into a day for reflection.[36]

After several attempts to revise the exhibit and to placate and unite several of the competing interest groups, the exhibit was initially cancelled in 1995, causing the resignation of Martin O. Harwit. Harwit wrote an extensive review of the controversy, concluding that the planned exhibit focused national attention on many long-standing unresolved academic and political issues related to retrospective views of the bombings. These included challenging the myth that the bombings saved Japanese as well as American lives and that a revisionism of the decision would dishonour the wartime service to the nation.[37]

Despite all the controversy, the forward fuselage went on display anyway from June 1995 till 1998. Following extensive restoration, the aircraft was shipped to the National Air and Space Museum's Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center in Chantilly, Virginia, by 2003, with the fuselage and wings reunited for the first time since 1960. Regrettably, as a result of the earlier controversy, the signage around the aircraft provided mere technical data without any discussion of the controversial issues surrounding its deployment and the development of nuclear weapons. This severely limited display of the Enola Gay, without reference to the historical context of World War II, the Cold War or the development and deployment of nuclear weapons, initiated further controversy. A petition from the Committee for a National Discussion of Nuclear History and Current Policy described the displaying of the Enola Gay as a "technological achievement," reflecting "extraordinary callousness

toward the victims, indifference to the deep divisions among American citizens about the propriety of these actions, and disregard for the feelings of most of the world's peoples."[38] The petition ran its course and attracted signatures from notable figures including historian Gar Alperovitz, social critic Noam Chomsky, whistle-blower Daniel Ellsberg, physicist Joseph Rotblat, writer Kurt Vonnegut, producer Norman Lear, actor Martin Sheen and filmmaker Oliver Stone.[39] While the display issue has lain dormant for several years now, its academic repercussions continue. Several publications focused specifically on this event, including Steven Dubin's *Displays of Power: Controversy in the American Museum from the Enola Gay to Sensation*, where he argued that the modern globalised museums are crucibles for transformation where complex interpretations clash ferociously, often to their own detriment, but thereby expand the public's consciousness about a world that is increasingly multicultural and multinational.[40]

What these controversies surrounding the atomic bomb-related exhibits and representations exemplify collectively is that historical interpretations are constantly in flux and never remain stable. As new generations of readers and viewers attempt to comprehend events in the distant past that directly affect us all in our daily lives, it is the arts that instantiate how our future lies in the past.

By Way of Conclusion

The subject of nuclear representation is very topical and links directly to the recent establishment of *AUKUS*—a trilateral security pact between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, announced on September 15, 2021, for the Indo-Pacific region. Under the pact, the United States and the United Kingdom will help Australia acquire nuclear-powered submarines. This security alliance comes in addition to the already existing Quad alliances between Australia, India, Japan and the United States in relation to the security of the Asia-Pacific region. All of these global security treaties are actively developing and seek to redress the rise of China in the region. With Australia on the cusp of acquiring nuclear-powered submarines, active participation in anti-nuclear activism, denuclearisation and citizen engagement have never been more important.

There were global jubilations in 2017 when ICAN (The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons) was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its work in drawing attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and for its ground-breaking efforts at achieving a treaty-based prohibition of such weapons.[41] In addition, for the highly significant commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Hiroshima/Nagasaki in 2020, this book was conceived as a companion for an exhibition on nuclear art at the *Tin Shed Gallery* of the University of Sydney, Australia. At this event ICAN was one of the main presenters of a one-day online symposium, which also invited Aboriginal elders from

a community in Australia with direct experience of the nuclear testing in Maralinga.[42]

Alas, shortly after the emergency of the global pandemic in 2019 campuses around the world were swiftly closed and the arts fell into a global silence with the world's priorities shifting towards self-preservation. The planned exhibition and the visit of the elders had to be cancelled for two years. The world over, people were isolated and gatherings in public spaces became scarce. The exhibition of *Art and Activism in the Nuclear Age*, however, both in its literary form and in terms of preparation for the gallery exhibition continued throughout its dormant phase until finally reopening in 2022.[43]

Just when the world was about to breathe a collective sigh of relief, following a second variant and many epidemic waves later, Russia invaded Ukraine. Suddenly our exhibition's main focus of "nuclear art as activism" was back in the international limelight, when Vladimir Putin suggested that Russia has nuclear weapons available if anyone dares to use military means to try to stop its takeover of Ukraine.[44] This renewed spectre of nuclear armament, already dormant in Iraq and North Korea, became centre stage once again. To add insult to injury, the pretext of a conspiracy theory that Ukraine is on a path to develop nuclear weapons was adopted to justify the invasion.[45] The legacies of Hiroshima/Nagasaki will stay with us forever, not unlike the dormant Covid virus variants that may resurface at any moment when our guard is down. It is this book's primary intent to pursue the power of the arts to unite people in the common goal of denuclearisation and the peaceful adoption of limited nuclear medicine and also to debunk the mythological illusions apparent in contradictions such as "nuclear deterrent" and "clean nuclear energy" with its by-product of unmanageable "nuclear waste disposal."

List of Chapters with Content

In Chapter 2 Kazuyo Yamane focuses on the history of Japanese people's experience of atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, and that of the Japanese fishermen who later experienced U.S. nuclear tests on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands in 1954. She also explores the lives of those who faced nuclear disaster again in Fukushima in 2011. These people are still suffering from the effects of radiation. The danger of nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants is not well-known because of the lack of education in schools and poor reporting in the media. Many people don't know about the reality of hibakusha, those affected by atomic bombs and victims of the nuclear disaster in Fukushima. They suffered from the immediate effects of the blasts, the effects of radiation sickness, loss of family and friends and discrimination against them in terms of employment and marriage. In spite of their difficulties, many hibakusha have made great contributions to the fight for peace and human rights. Anti-nuclear movements,

peace education at universities and museums for peace are investigated as movements towards a non-nuclear future.

In Chapter 3 Barabara Hartley's interrogation of the nuclear industry focuses on the literature of Tsushima Yūko (1946–2016) who, as a literary identity responding to the Fukushima Dai-ichi disaster, produced both non-fiction and fiction that probed the nature of her country's nuclear obsession. She gave a particular edge to her work by demonstrating how Japan's nuclear industry was part of a "massive global economy" (*Sensō no jikan ga nagarete—The Time of War Flows By*, 2016). Awareness of the nexus between that which occurs both inside and outside Japan was an ever-present feature of Tsushima's later work. This chapter also discusses the post-3/11 essay by Tsushima Yūko, "'*Yume no uta' kara*"*—From "Dream-songs"*—which examines post-war Japan's complicity with nuclear industry discourses. Such complicity is attributed by Tsushima to everyone in Japan, including herself. A focus of the essay is the writer's concern at the nuclear industry's exploitation of First Nations and Indigenous peoples already subject to the impact of colonisation. In this context, the essay references an April 2011 statement made by Senior Elder Yvonne Margarula of the Mirarr people, the traditional owners of Country on which Australia's Ranger uranium mine was located. In her statement, Senior Elder Margarula apologised for the fact that ore forcibly extracted from Mirarr lands contributed to the operation of the Dai-ichi plant.

In Chapter 4, Roman Rosenbaum traces the earliest manifestation of the atom bomb in comics—from censored Superman comics to their Australian antipodean counterpart, *Captain Atom*. This investigation traces the lineage of graphic representation of the nuclear age from Nakazawa Keiji's countercultural classic *Barefoot Gen*, to the appearance of the transgenerational drawings in Kōno Fumiyo's *In This Corner of the World*. Through the ever-changing pop-cultural re-interpretations of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki symbolism in world culture, beginning with the "faithful days" some seventy-five years ago, graphic art reveals an intriguing portrait of the global collective consciousness regarding the atomic and nuclear in our cultures. The Hiroshima/Nagasaki sites have been reimagined globally through every conceivable pop-cultural media and this chapter will focus on the re-imaginings of arguably one of the world's most grotesque cultural icons by subsequent generations of graphic artists. The significance of Hiroshima/Nagasaki in relation to the contemporary global discourse of disarmament and denuclearisation will be explored in its latest pop-cultural representations to define what Hiroshima has become after three-quarters of a century of interrogation.

In Chapter 5, Yasuko Claremont examines how the concept of post-war reconciliation is represented in the arts. Her chapter portrays the ways in which concerned Japanese people, such as poets, writers, artists, students, hibakusha and teachers, have been determined to support a mission for peace without nuclear weapons. The year 2020 commemorated the

seventy-fifth anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War together with the first atomic bombing on Hiroshima and the second on Nagasaki. In the past seventy-five years the campaigns of nuclear disarmament have continued from generation to generation, not only in Japan but also all over the world. One such example is the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2017. Yet at the same time the world superpowers and their supporters insist on military superiority.

In Chapter 6, Ann Sherif investigates the roles of museums in relation to the categorisations of hibakusha and non-hibakusha. Setsuko Thurlow, in her 2017 Nobel Lecture after ICAN was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, said, "We hibakusha became convinced that we must warn the world about these apocalyptic weapons. Time and again, we shared our testimonies." Building on the work of Yoneyama and Zwigenberg, this chapter considers the initiatives of two Hiroshima institutions designed to sustain the practice of witnessing at a time when the average age of a hibakusha is over eighty. The major renovation of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (completed 2019) was predicated on the assumption that the museum must simulate the function of witnessing against "the horrors and inhumane nature" of nuclear weapons. The design of the new permanent exhibition and the increased presence of "A-bomb Legacy Successors" who "have taken over the A-bomb survivor's experience and given testimony on behalf of them"[46] are heavily informed by anxiety over the future lack of experiential authority that is considered key to the act of witnessing. The nearby Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for Atomic Bomb Victims mounted a special exhibition "A Tale of Two Brothers Across Time—Hiroshima Artist Gorō SHIKOKU and the Diary of Naoto on His Deathbed" that models a relationship between an empathetic non-hibakusha, a hibakusha and the dead (January–December 2020). What moral and political considerations steer the museum's emphasis on witnessing? How will the non-hibakusha's capacity to protest world nuclear weapons be changed when there is no one to "relive the painful past"? How do the museums employ artefacts and art in their efforts to act as witnesses to the bomb?

In Chapter 7, Gwyn McClelland and Yuki Miyamoto join to discuss the pandemic's implications for the commemorations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki events. Covid-19 in 2020 produced a "mushroom cloud" which threatened to obscure and suppress the seventy-fifth commemorations of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Official narratives simultaneously attempted to proclaim an end to past difficulties and hibakusha (sufferers of the atomic bombings) and their supporters stood up to all of these challenges. The authors discuss how the Japanese government used the Olympics to promote and showcase recovery or transcendence over nuclear disaster, focusing especially on Fukushima, but also on the past atomic bombings. In 1964, after all, an Olympic torch runner born in Hiroshima

Prefecture lit the Olympic torch, while in 2020 the closing ceremony was slated for Nagasaki Day.

How then would a Nagasaki perspective understand, make sense of and respond to the Covid-19 "mushroom cloud" as well as the above intentions for the Olympic event? Drawing on surveys of a number of citizens during the year, including a Nagasaki-based novelist, educationalists, nuclear activists and researchers, the authors detail in this chapter the resilience of memory, which undercuts the official narrative that Japan is no longer troubled by its past. There is an evident connection between the production and consumption of nuclear energy, war and the normalisation of collateral violence. On the other hand, a resilient memory of the aftermath of both nuclear accidents and the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima rejects and recalls their impacts, especially on sufferers represented by the hibakusha.

In Chapter 8, Tessa Morris-Suzuki details the history of Australian art representing Hiroshima. In the immediate aftermath of the August 1945 atomic bombings, stringent censorship restricted access to images of the destruction wrought by the bombs. Some of the first foreigners to witness that destruction were Australian troops who arrived at bases close to Hiroshima to take part in the allied occupation of Japan. Among them were war artists who recorded their visual impressions of the devastated city. This chapter looks at the experiences and artworks of three Australian war artists—Albert Tucker (1914–1999), Reginald Rowed (1916–1990) and Allan Waite (1924–2010)—and places their paintings of Hiroshima in the wider context of Australian responses to the atomic bombings. How did the artists' encounters with the bombed city of Hiroshima shape their perceptions of war and of atomic weapons? How did their artworks convey the devastation they had witnessed to a wider audience? And how do these paintings speak to us today?

In Chapter 9, Veronica De Pieri turns her attention to Japanese female journalism in the wake of post-3/11 journalistic representation. The author explores Japanese female journalism in the catastrophic aftermath through a literary comparison between Ōta Yōko's *Shikabane no machi* and Yoshida Chia's *Sono ato no Fukushima*. Despite seventy years having passed since the first publication of these nonfictional works, they are a full-fledged part of the testimonial narratives of Hiroshima's atomic bombing and the Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear meltdown. Both journalists were at the forefront in reporting hibakushas' testimonies and underlined the sense of discrimination survivors experienced soon after the catastrophes. They acknowledged the burdensome fear of the A-bomb disease as well as the radiation sickness, thus considering with extreme sensitivity the peculiar condition of women in the aftermath. Their writings reflect the compelling struggle to commit themselves as female witnesses and reporters to convey, at the same time, victims' suffering and a harsh criticism of the Japanese government's responsibility in the disaster. After a brief overview of authorial profiles, the

chapter delves into a thematic comparison between the literary works on the basis of anti-nuclear activist and denuclearisation issues, to conclude with a final remark on the role of female journalism in the broader perspective of the testimonial narrative, with a particular emphasis on trauma and memory representations in the nonfictional style.

In Chapter 10, Elisabeth Rechniewski scrutinises the "Political and Environmental Aftermath of French Nuclear Testing in the Pacific." She states that between 1966 and 1996 the atolls of Moruroa and Fangataufa in French Polynesia—a "territoire d'outremer" (an overseas territory)—were the sites for 193 French nuclear tests, at first above-ground (1966–1974) and later underground. The release of previously classified documents in 2013 revealed that the populations of the nearby islands and the land and sea environment had been subjected to much higher levels of radiation than previously acknowledged. In 2010 a law was passed, the "loi Morin," under which those who believed they had suffered health consequences from the testing could apply for compensation. The workings of this law and subsequent amendments to it have been controversial and contested by victims' associations, including Association 193 and the Polynesia nuclear workers' association, Mururoa e Tatou, with many claims rejected. A project to build an Institut de Mémoire et de Documentation du Nucléaire in Papeete (first announced by François Hollande) has become similarly contentious. This chapter examines the latest developments in the fifty-year controversy over the justification for holding the tests, their long-term impact on the surrounding region, compensation for those affected and the politics of memory.

In the penultimate chapter, Alexander Brown focuses his critical gaze on "Scientific Activism in the Nuclear Age via the Japanese biologist Atuhiro Sibatani and the Ranger Uranium Mine." This chapter explores the development of anti-nuclear sentiment within the transnational scientific community and its influence on the debate on uranium mining in Australia in the 1970s. Nuclear scientists, including some who had worked on the development of nuclear weapons, were among the first to sound a warning about the dangers of both nuclear weapons and nuclear energy generation. In the 1950s and 1960s they developed a movement, sometimes under the banner of "Science for the People," that questioned the uses to which science was put. They demanded greater democratic control over science and technology. One scientist who was influenced by this movement was the Australia-based Japanese biologist, Atuhiro Sibatani (1920–2011). As Australia debated the development of a uranium export industry, Sibatani felt a responsibility as a citizen and as a scientist to lend his voice to the movement against uranium mining. He drew on his links with critical scientists in Japan to share information about the anti-nuclear power movement there. His stance ultimately led him to take the stand at the Ranger Uranium Inquiry. In the early days of the anti-nuclear movement, individuals like Sibatani with existing ties to a transnational scientific community helped to bridge the geographical and

linguistic gap between distinct national anti-nuclear movements. This chapter explores Sibatani's activism against uranium mining in the context of his beliefs about the need to ensure greater democratic control over science and technology.

In the final chapter Yasuko Claremont summarises the content of this book as the culmination of a decade of citizen activism that has brought to life the notion of art as accomplishing a type of socio-political activism via a series of conferences, exhibitions and international symposia. Art has lost its innocence a long time ago and may be as politically or socially charged as any other media in the global amphitheatre of culture. In a world where hegemonies of power pervade every aspect of our daily lives at both discernible and subconscious levels, through modern marketing campaigns and our smart phones, it is only fair to use every available means to redress the balance. Art is perhaps our most powerful weapon. Claremont carefully outlines the history of our modern-day grassroots resistance by artistic means, which however innocuous at first glance are able to implant powerful ideas that motivate us by unearthing "inconvenient truths" often deeply hidden and long forgotten in the knowledge overload of our modern world. At the very apex of all the historical lessons we choose to ignore, still after more than three-quarters of a century, stand the heroic legacies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Forever etched in our global consciousness, Claremont discerns that their impact is still felt powerfully today and is given expression through the arts to help pave our way towards a better future. Beyond these legacies, Claremont carefully describes the state of nuclear activism in Japan today and outlines the continuity of contemporary research such as Horikawa Keiko's book about the role of individuals in Hiroshima and transgenerational projects like Sasebo Nishi High School's documentary films.

Notes

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2 Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Atomic Comics: Cartoonists Confront the Nuclear World* (Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 2012), xvii.
3 Kevin Nance, "The Spirit and the Strength: A Profile of Toni Morrison," *Poets and Writers*, January 11, 2008, https://www.pw.org/content/the_spirit_and_the_strength_a_profile_of_toni_morrison.
4 Blake Gopnik, "Andy Warhol Offered to Sign Cigarettes, Food, Even Money to Make Money," *ARTnews*, April 21, 2020, https://www.artnews.com/art-news/market/andy-warhol-business-art-blake-gopnik-biography-excerpt-1202684403/.
5 Daniel Cordle, *Late Cold War Literature and Culture: The Nuclear 1980s* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2–3.
6 Very few exceptions such as the Japanese photojournalist Yoshito Matsushige survived the atomic bombing and took the only photographs of Hiroshima survivors that day, only to have them confiscated until 1952. Similarly, photographer Yōsuke Yamahata began taking photographs of Nagasaki on August 10,

1945 (the day after the bombing)—however, his photographs were not released to the public until 1952 when the magazine *Asahi Gurafu* published them.

7 For a detailed history of nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands see for example: Greg Dvorak, *Coral and Concrete, Remembering Kwajalein Atoll between Japan, America, and the Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 1–9.

8 Wolfgang Rüdig, *Anti-nuclear Movements: A World Survey of Opposition to Nuclear Energy* (Harlow: Longman 1990), 54–55.

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10 Wolfgang Rüdig, *Anti-Nuclear Movements*, 63.

11 David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 145.

12 Michelle Moravec, "Make Art Not War: Topographies of Anti-Nuclear Art in Late Cold War Los Angeles," Inte*rnational Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 58–71, http://michellemoravec.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/topographies.pdf. 2013.

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15 Nina Felshin, *Disarming Images* (New York: Adama Books 1984), 15.

16 See, for example, Michael S. Rosenwald, "The U.S. Hid Hiroshima's Human Suffering. Then John Hersey Went to Japan," *Washington Post*, August 6, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/08/06/john-hersey-hiroshima-anniversary-japanese-suffering/.

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18 Reiko Tachibana, *Narrative as Counter-Memory: A Half-Century of Postwar Writing in Germany and Japan* (New York: Suny Press, 1998), 33.

19 For a detailed analysis of the American textbook controversy see Keith Crawford, "Re-visiting Hiroshima: The Role of US and Japanese History Textbooks in the Construction of National Memory," *Asia Pacific Education Review* 4 (February 2003): 108–117.

20 Originally published with the Japanese title *Hiroshima* in 1981, the novel features a cross-cultural pantheon of characters including an American POW, Korean residents, hyphenated Japanese-American identities and many other incidental characters all affected by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

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22 Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki, *The Hiroshima Panels*, Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels, 1999–2022, https://marukigallery.jp/en/hiroshimapanels/.

23 For details see Ann Sherif, "Art as Activism: Tomiyama Taeko and the Marukis," *Imagination without Borders: Feminist Artist Tomiyama Taeko and Social Responsibility*, ed. Laura Hein and Rebecca Jennison (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 29–50.

24 Nina Felshin, *Disarming Images: Art for Nuclear Disarmament*, 9.

25 Robert Jacobs ed., *Filling the Hole in the Nuclear Future: Art and Popular Culture Respond to the Bomb* (New York: Lexington Books, 2010), 1.

26 Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (New York: The New York Review of Books, Inc., 1964), 2.
27 Ran Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 8.
28 See Nemoto Masaya, *Hiroshima Paradox* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2018).
29 Often misunderstood, Adorno's *Nach Auschwitz ein Gedicht zu schreiben ist barbarisch*. (*It Is Barbaric to Write a Poem after Auschwitz)*, See Theodor W. Adorno, "Cultural Criticism and Society," *Prisms*, trans. Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber Nicholsen (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967), 19.
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35 See "Controversy over the Enola Gay Exhibition," *Atomic Heritage Foundation*, October 17, 2016, https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/controversy-over-enola-gay-exhibition.
36 Tom Engelhardt and Edward T. Linethal, *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 1996), 9.
37 Martin Harwit, *An Exhibit Denied: Lobbying the History of Enola Gay* (New York: Copernicus New York, 1996), 426–429.
38 Debbie Ann Doyle, "Historians Protest New Enola Gay Exhibit," *Perspectives on History*, December 1, 2003, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/december-2003/historians-protest-new-enola-gay-exhibit.
39 Debbie Ann Doyle, "Historians Protest New Enola Gay exhibit."
40 Steven C. Dubin, *Displays of Power* (New York: New York University Press, 2001). See also Fujita Satoshi, *Amerika ni okeru Hiroshima-Nagasaki kan (Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the United States: Enola Gay Controversy and History Education)* (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2019).
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42 *Art and Activism in the Nuclear Age*: *Online Symposium*, https://youtu.be/BQpgJPkHZcU, (2:43:46–4:07:12).
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