# NAGASAKI SURVIVORS

## Stories of Endurance and Courage

By Lynne Shivers

Between 1966 and 1995, as I interviewed atomic survivors, I frequently traveled from Hiroshima to Nagasaki by train. As I took the train south to Nagasaki, I had to change from the fast express train to the slower, regional train in northern Kyushu. The train wound slowly past small fishing villages, sometimes right next to the beaches. Fishing nets were piled on the sea walls. Narrow streams coming out of the mountains emptied into the ocean. Blue and brown fishing boats on mud flats leaned to one side when the tide was out. Many rice fields were planted right up to the train tracks. Fewer signs in English appeared further south as fewer foreigners visited. As the train entered Nagasaki City, it traveled through the Urakami valley before reaching the downtown station. The Urakami railroad station sign uses the image of a stained glass church window, an unusual image in Japan.

Each time I visit Nagasaki, seeing this landscape is an evocative introduction to the city. For various reasons, this "second city" that that was the site of an atomic explosion in 1945 has generally been overlooked or even ignored. Yet the experiences of its atomic survivors (*hibakusha*, meaning "bomb-affected person/people") are just as painful and powerful as those of Hiroshima. In addition, how hibakusha lived their lives after the initial months also shows how they dealt with their long-term physical and emotional suffering. By their actions, and the telling of their actions and their stories, a peace movement grew in the city, replacing the silence of the first thirty years. It is impossible to tell all the stories of Nagasaki's almost 300,000 hibakusha. Yet learning a few biographical accounts is revealing and important.

Other issues related to the Nagasaki explosion—such as reasons for bombing Nagasaki, how the atomic explosion can be understood in the wider context of World War II, and comparison of the blast with the one in Hiroshima—all these issues can be examined elsewhere in widely available sources. What is more difficult to find are personal experiences such as the ones given here.

For the survivors, short-term physical effects of radiation are well known. Long-term effects were mainly various forms of cancer, still appearing in hibakusha sixty years later. Long-lasting psychological damage came in the form of low energy; massive discrimination against hibakusha, mainly because of their ugly scars; inaccurate fears of contamination; and fear of conceiving damaged children. Significant effects were well documented in Robert Lifton's groundbreaking study, *Death in Life* (1968). This research initiated our understanding of Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome. No understanding of hibakusha is complete without examining this aspect of their lives.

### HIBAKUSHA PROFILES

Profiles are arranged initially in chronological order, when significant events took place, or when actions became important to the wider society. I interviewed Dr. Akizuki, Eiko Fukuda, and Sumiteru Takiguchi; information from the other hibakusha profiled here was gathered from other sources.

Dr. Akizuki, an atomic survivor, offered medical relief immediately after the Nagasaki atomic bombing and for the rest of his life.
Credit: Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum

### Dr. Tatsuichiro Akizuki

In 1945, Dr. Tatsuichiro Akizuki was a physician at the First Ukakami Hospital (the present-day St. Francis Hospital), located only 1,500 meters from the epicenter. He remembered that the initial bright flash of light was followed by an enormous blast. The whole hospital collapsed in debris around him and the other workers and patients. He thought the bomb must have hit the hospital directly (a common misperception in both cities). When he got to a room and looked out, this is what he records:

> *. . . dun-colored smoke or dust cleared little by little. I saw figures running. . . . The sky was as dark as pitch, covered with clouds of smoke; under that darkness, over the earth, hung a yellow-brown fog. . . . All the buildings I could see were on fire: Urakami Church, the largest Catholic church in the east [Asia] was ablaze. Electricity poles were wrapped in flame like so many pieces of kindling. Trees on the near-by hills were smoking, as were the leaves of sweet potatoes in the fields. . . . It seemed as if the earth itself emitted fire and smoke, flames that writhed up and erupted from underground. . . . It seemed like the end of the world.*[1]

Dr. Akizuki and other staff helped remove patients and other employees from the burning hospital. Soon, people arrived with various wounds and terrible burns. Staff created sparse meals of rice and pumpkin. A few days later, a civilian patrol demanded that the hospital become a relief center with Dr. Akizuki as the leader. He resisted, saying he was only a doctor, but the patrol leader was adamant. The worst of the pain, confusion, fear, and death lasted to the end of the September.[2]

For the rest of his life, Dr. Akizuki was thought of as a heroic figure as he continued his medical work at the hospital. Later he became chairman of the Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace.[3]

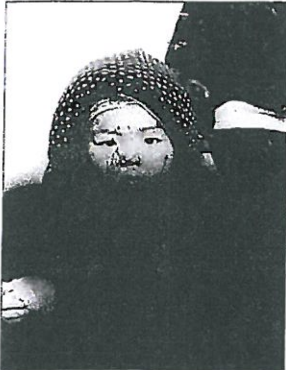


Shivers, Lynne. "Nagasaki Survivors: Stories of Endurance and Courage." *Education About Asia*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2006, 44-47.

### Train Engineers

The Nagasaki Main Line railroad tracks run north and south through the whole city. On the day of the explosion, two engineers, Kunito Terai and Katsumi Nonaka,[4] took it upon themselves to carry out heroic efforts to save people and to gather the dead to transport them out of the burning wreckage of Urakami valley, either to functioning hospitals or to cremation centers. The relief train made a total of four runs up and down the valley, saving about 3,500 people.[5] No one gave them orders to do this; they saw the need, they had the train, and they used it. Dr. Akizuki, in reference to the engineers, noted that "A large number of injured people were carried in open freight cars from a makeshift station between Minchinoo Station and Ohashi to the national hospitals in Omura, Isahaya, Kawatana, and Ureshino."[6]

### Eiko Fukuda



This photo by Yamahata, probably his most famous, shows a little boy wearing a quilted hood (for protection in air raids) and holding a rice ball.
Credit: Photo by Yosuke Yamahata; location: Nagasaki City; serial number A-13-01. Photo provided by Shogo Yamahata

Eiko Fukuda was ten years old when the bomb hit. She and her mother were walking 1.8 kilometers from the epicenter. The blast threw Eiko into a ditch though she remained conscious. She and her mother rushed home and found their house burning. They decided to head for an underground shelter, but it was overcrowded and they left. They learned they would be able to take a train ride out of the burned area. Eiko had difficulty climbing up to the cars, and she fantasized about seats on the train. But there was only the floor, and it was jammed with people. They got off at Isahaya and had to wait two hours to be transported by truck. Finally they arrived at a school, not a hospital. They developed high fevers, but the other symptoms soon left and the fevers dropped. She experienced headaches until she turned twenty-seven. She had partial paralysis for the rest of her life. In spite of this, she graduated from junior college and taught for seventeen years. Former students visited her and invited her to their weddings.[7]

### Yosuke Yamahata

Yosuke Yamahata was a photographer who took photos as he and friends walked through Nagasaki on August 10, 1945. His photos are considered the best record of the Nagasaki bombing.
Credit: Shogo Yamahata

Yosuke Yamahata, a photographer attached to the Japanese News and Information Bureau, was dispatched to the army north of Nagasaki. On August 10 before dawn, a day after the explosion, Yamahata and four other men arrived in Nagasaki. After it grew light, the crew spent all day walking south to north through the city. Yamahata took incredible photographs that today are considered the best record of the effects of the Nagasaki explosion.

His most famous photo is of a child wearing a home-made air-raid hood, holding a rice ball in one hand and looking straight at the camera. Yamahata took three general types of photos: (1) large landscapes showing the physical destruction of buildings, twisted metal, and ground covered with massive amounts of rubble; (2) small group scenes of people in shock: lying, sitting, standing with others, or groups of people doing relief work such as carrying a person on a stretcher; (3) close-ups of single individuals, in shock or dead. Yamahata wrote, "It is perhaps unforgivable, but in fact at the time I was completely calm and composed. In other words, perhaps it was just too much, too enormous to absorb."[8]

Yamahata attempted to publish his Nagasaki photographs, but the American Occupation Government (1945–52) refused permission. Nevertheless, they were published in 1952. Yamahata died in 1966 of cancer at age forty-nine.[9]

### Dr. Takashi Nagai

Dr. Nagai, an atomic survivor, offered medical relief immediately after the Nagasaki bombing by visiting survivors in caves surrounding the city. He later became famous for his views on the significance of the bombing.
Credit: Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum

Dr. Takashi Nagai was born in 1908 and in 1934 married Midori Moriyama, a member of the Catholic community in Urakami valley. Dr. Nagai converted to Catholicism within a year. In 1945, he was head of the Radiology Department at the Nagasaki University of Medicine. Dr. Nagai sustained a bad head injury as a result of the atomic blast, and his wife was killed. After carrying out relief work, he and other medical people went to a section on the edge of Nagasaki called Mitsuyama and walked through villages, offering medical relief from August 12 to October 8.

When he returned to Nagasaki, he went to his family's home in Ueno cho and built a tiny hut called "Nyokodo," meaning "Love your neighbor as yourself." The hut was barely large enough for one bed. He wanted to live as the poorest of the poor and possess nothing. His sacrifice and dedication deeply moved people.[10]

In November, 1945, Nagai spoke at a memorial service to all those who died in the atomic blast. Part of the speech follows:

> *. . . On August 15, the Imperial Rescript which put an end to the fighting was formally promulgated, and the whole world welcomed a day of peace. This day was also the great feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. It is significant to reflect that Urakami Cathedral was dedicated to her. And we must ask if this convergence of events—the ending of the war and the celebration of her feast—was merely coincidental or if there was here some mysterious providence of God. . . .*
>
> *Is there not a profound relationship between the destruction of Nagasaki and the end of the war? Nagasaki, the only holy place in all Japan—was it not chosen as a victim, a pure lamb, to be slaughtered and burned on the altar of sacrifice to expiate the sins committed by humanity in the Second World War? Let us give thanks that Nagasaki was chosen for the sacrifice. Let us give thanks that through this sacrifice peace was given to the world and freedom of religion in Japan. May the souls of the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace. Amen.*[11]

Although many hibakusha did not agree with Dr. Nagai's opinions

about Nagasaki being "... a pure lamb to be slaughtered...", they did not feel it was proper to criticize him openly since he had carried out courageous medical relief work right after the atomic explosion. In 1949, Emperor Hirohito visited Dr. Nagai, and Nagai was also given the first Nagasaki honorary citizenship award. Nagai died in 1951.[12] His influence contributed to the relative silence of Nagasaki hibakusha through the following decades.

### Sumiteru Taniguchi

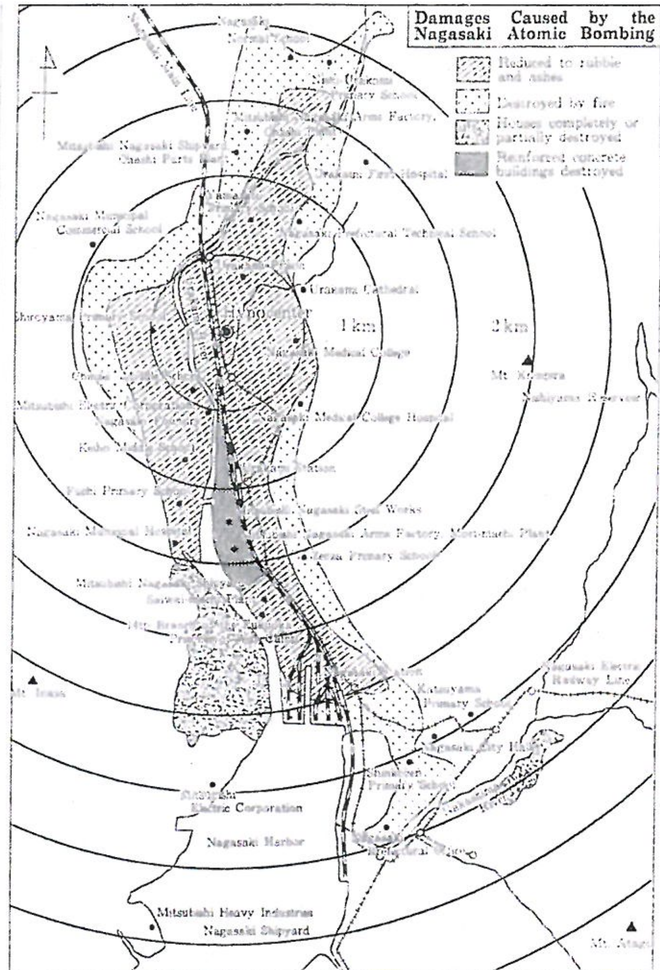
Because of his unique and incredible experience at the time of the atomic explosion, Mr. Taniguchi is one of the most famous Nagasaki hibakusha. In 1945, he was a sixteen-year-old postal worker and was delivering mail two kilometers away from ground zero. The heat rays of the explosion hit him from behind, and the forceful blast threw him off the bicycle. After a few minutes, he was able to stand up and realized he was injured. In his own words,

> *The skin from the shoulder to the fingertips of my left arm had peeled off and was hanging down like a tattered old rag. I passed my hand around to my back and found that the clothes that I had been wearing were gone. When I brought back the hand and looked at it, I saw that it was covered with something like black grease. I had suffered terrible burns all over my back and left arm. Strangely enough, there was no pain or bleeding whatsoever. . . . I stayed in [the air raid] shelter for two days without eating or drinking. My memory of those two days is foggy because I was so debilitated at the time, but I recall having the skin of my burned arm, which was smeared with dirt and debris, cut off, and also crawling to the well of a demolished house below the shelter and drinking water.*[13]

On the third day, he was rescued and taken to a hospital to receive treatment. His story continues,

> *Finally, I was admitted to the Naval Hospital in Omura and for 21 months had to lie face down and motionless in bed. For a few days after the explosion there had been no pain or bleeding, but now high fever, blinding pain, and anemia pushed me to the brink of death. Lying prone and unable to move, and caught in the grip of excruciating pain, I could only shout out: "Kill me!" Not one of the many doctors and nurses who treated and cared for me thought I would survive. When I felt even just a glimmer of health, though, my spirits were boosted and I struggled to live. After nearly two years in this state I was finally able to stand up by myself. Constantly lying down during that time had caused terrible bedsores to appear on my chest and they penetrated right down to the ribs. I convalesced for another two years before finally being able to leave the hospital, but I doubted that I would ever be able to work with such a body.*[14]

When I met Mr. Taniguchi in 1986, he was deeply involved with the Nihon Hidankyo (Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organization), formed in 1956 with offices in all Japanese prefectures. It "... has worked for the abolition of nuclear weapons and for the care and compensation of hibakusha by the Japanese government."[15] It has carried out numerous citizens' conferences over the years and sent dozens of hibakusha to various countries to engage with others on nuclear weapons issues. (Beginning in 1957, the Japanese government provided limited medical care and welfare aid




Nagasaki is built in a long, narrow valley through which the Urakami River flows. Hills south of the epicenter partially protected the downtown area from the atomic blast.

Credit: Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum

to some hibakusha, aid that has increased over the years. Yet it falls short of the complete coverage Hidankyo calls for.)

In addition, it has sent delegations to the United Nations, Kiev (to learn about the Chernobyl accident), Nevada (to talk with people downwind of the nuclear tests), Auschwitz, and the International Court of Justice in the Netherlands. Nihon Hidankyo was nominated twice for the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1994 by the International Peace Bureau, and in 2005 by the American Friends Service Committee.[16]

### Surprising Developments

Pope John Paul II visited Hiroshima on February 25, 1981, and Nagasaki the next day. His visit was a turning point for many hibakusha. An old legend said that "sometime the holy father will visit Nagasaki."[17] In a Hiroshima speech, the pope included these words:

> *War is the work of man. War is the destruction of human life. War is death. . . . Hiroshima and Nagasaki stand out from all those other places and monuments as the first victims of nuclear war. . . . To remember the past is to commit oneself to the future. . . . To remember Hiroshima is to*

*abhor nuclear war. To remember Hiroshima is to commit oneself to peace. . . . the waging of war is not inevitable or unchangeable. Humanity is not destined to self-destruction.*[18]

The fact that the pope spoke out against nuclear war was powerful encouragement to Hiroshima and Nagasaki hibakusha to take positive action against nuclear war.

### Conclusion

The Nagasaki Peace Park and museum are not easy to find; you have to search for them. In only a few places can you see damage created by the atomic blast. In fact, it would be easy to be oblivious to the trauma and endurance that has taken place there. Nevertheless, there remain today about 110,000 Nagasaki hibakusha whose biographies are important to listen to and learn from. The struggles and courage of hibakusha in Nagasaki stand out as remarkable stories of overcoming one of the most catastrophic events of the twentieth century. ■

### Suggested Research Questions on Nagasaki Hibakusha

1. What were common elements among hibakusha profiled here?
2. What were some unique elements of each hibakusha story?
3. Which hibakusha story is most powerful for you and why?
4. How did the pope's visit change how hibakusha think and act?
5. Do you believe that Nagasaki stories are important to understand? Why or why not?
6. What were two main differences between the Hiroshima bomb and the Nagasaki bomb?
7. Do you agree that Nihon Hidankyo should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize? Give reasons for your answer.
8. What to you are some surprising pieces of information in this essay?
9. What more would you like to learn about the survivors in Nagasaki?
10. Find some of the sources listed in the bibliography. The Jenkins collection of Yamahata's photographs gives a vivid record of the effects of the Nagasaki bomb. The Lifton psychological study of survivors gives more information about Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome.

### NOTES

1. Tatsuichiro Akizuki, *Nagasaki 1945*, trans. Keiichi Nagata (New York: Quartet Books, 1981), 26–27, 117.
2. Ibid., 117.
3. Public Information Section, Nagasaki City Hall, ed. *'89 Municipal Centennial Nagasaki 100*, trans. Brian Burke-Gaffney (Nagasaki: Nagasaki City, 1989), 75.
4. Koichi Wada in discussion with the author, Dec. 1986.
5. *Nagasaki Speaks, A Record of the Atomic Bombing*, trans. Brian Burke-Gaffney (Nagasaki: Nagasaki City, 1989), 100.
6. Akizuki, 72.
7. Eiko Fukuda in discussion with the author, Dec. 1986.
8. Robert Jenkins, ed. *Nagasaki Journey: The Photographs of Yosuke Yamahata, August 10, 1945* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1995), 94.
9. Ibid., 19, 48, 107.
10. Takashi Nagai, *The Bells of Nagasaki*, trans. William Johnston (New York: Kodansha, 1984), v–viii, 68, 83, 92.
11. Ibid., 107, 109.
12. Paul Glynn, *A Song for Nagasaki* (Hunter's Hill, Australia: The Catholic Book Club, rev. ed., 1989), 137, 142, 153.
13. Sumiteru Taniguchi, "Eternal Scars," in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors, A Record of the Devastation of Nagasaki*, eds. Teruaki Ohbo and Terumasa Matsunaga (Nagasaki: Nagasaki City, 1985), 46.
14. Ibid., 47.
15. American Friends Service Committee, "Quaker Organization Nominates Hiroshima Survivors for Nobel Peace Prize, Nihon Hidankyo Represents Hiroshima Survivors of Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Blasts," www.commondreams.org/news2005/0127-02.htm, accessed 1-27-05.
16. Ibid.
17. Sr. Yoko Hamada in discussion with the author, Dec. 1986.
18. Pope John Paul II, "Appeal for Peace," *The Meaning of Survival, Hiroshima's 36 Year Commitment to Peace* (Hiroshima, Japan: Chugoku Shimbun, 1983), 280.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akizuki, Tatsuichiro. *Nagasaki 1945*. Translated by Keiichi Nagata. New York: Quartet Books, 1981.

American Friends Service Committee. "Quaker Organization Nominates Hiroshima [sic] Survivors for Nobel Peace Prize, Nihon Hidankyo Represents Hiroshima [sic] Survivors of Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Blasts." http://www.commondreams.org/news2005/0127-02.htm, accessed 1-27-05.

Committee for the Compilation of Materials Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings*. Translated by Ishikawa and David Swain. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981.

Fukuda, Eiko. 1986. Interview with the author.

Glynn, Paul. *A Song for Nagasaki*. Hunter's Hill, Australia: The Catholic Book Club, rev. ed., 1989.

Hamada, Sr. Yoko. 1986. Interview with the author.

Jenkins, Rupert, ed. *The Photographs of Yosuke Yamahata August 10, 1945*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1995.

Lifton, Robert. *Death in Life, Survivors of Hiroshima*. New York: Random House, 1967.

Nagai, Takashi. *The Bells of Nagasaki*. Translated by William Johnston. New York: Kodansha, 1984.

*Nagasaki Speaks, A Record of the Atomic Bombing*. Translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney. Nagasaki: Nagasaki International Culture Hall, 1993.

Pope John Paul II. "Appeal for Peace." *The Meaning of Survival, Hiroshima's 36 Year Commitment to Peace*. Hiroshima, Japan: Chugoku Shimbun, 1983.

Public Information Section, Nagasaki City Hall, ed. *'89 Municipal Centennial Nagasaki 100*. Translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney. Nagasaki: Nagasaki City, 1989.

Taniguchi, Sumiteru. "Eternal Scars." *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors, A Record of the Devastation of Nagasaki*. Edited by Teruaki Ohbo and Terumasa Matsunaga. Nagasaki, Japan: City of Nagasaki, 1985.

———. 1986. Interview with the author.

Wada, Koichi. 1986. Interview with the author.

To receive more recent sources on Nagasaki, contact the director of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, Nagasaki, Japan. In addition, the Peace Resource Center at Wilmington College has the largest lending library of materials on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the United States. (Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, Ohio 45177, Phone: (937) 382-6661, ext. 371, E-mail: prc@wilmington.edu.)

**LYNNE SHIVERS** is retired from a career teaching English at the Community College of Philadelphia. In 1966–67, she worked as a volunteer at the World Friendship Center in Hiroshima, a peace center jointly run by Japanese, especially atomic bomb survivors, and Americans. In 1986, she served as interim director of the center. Since her retirement, she has put her full attention toward organizing and publishing her research about the lives of Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors since 1945.

Kristof, Nicholas D. "Through Survivors' Tales, Nagasaki Joins Japan's Timeless Folklore." *The New York Times*, August 9, 1995.
<http://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/09/world/through-survivors-tales-nagasaki-joins-japan-s-timeless-folklore.html?pagewanted=1>

# Through Survivors' Tales, Nagasaki Joins Japan's Timeless Folklore

**By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF Published: August 9, 1995**

**NAGASAKI, Japan, Wednesday, Aug. 9—** Since near the dawn of Japanese history, storytellers called kataribe have spun folk tales for younger generations, but the ancient legends of dragons and ogres cannot match the stories of Toshiyuki Hayama.

"I still see her sometimes in my dreams," said Mr. Hayama, who was 15 and badly burned in the atomic bombing of Nagasaki 50 years ago today. "In front of me was a mother carrying a baby in a cloth on her back, and she was gently rocking back and forth so it could sleep.

"After a while I looked more closely, and I saw that the baby no longer had a head."

Mr. Hayama, one of dozens of modern kataribe who pass on the oral tradition of the atomic bombings, paused and his jaw tightened.

"She didn't seem to grasp what had happened," he said. "She herself was very badly burned and hurt, and so maybe she had lost her mind."

Half a century after American atomic bombs obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki and ended World War II, the kataribe are part of a struggle, in Milan Kundera's phrase, of memory against forgetting. Particularly here in Nagasaki, a beautiful hilly city on a bay, citizens seem to slip back and forth between a desire to move on and bury the horrors of the past and a powerful yearning to give dead friends meaning by keeping the past alive.

The modern kataribe, like Mr. Hayama, are among the most powerful forces for memory. They inherit a rich tradition, for kataribe began telling their stories of warring gods and heroic emperors more than 1,300 years ago, and when today's kata ribe speak to schoolchildren they offer a bridge to history.

Japan's Prime Minister, Tomiichi Murayama, and other officials attended a memorial service today to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nagasaki bombing. That bomb killed about 75,000 people by the end of 1945, and perhaps another 25,000 died prematurely over the next few decades from cancer and other ailments linked to radiation.

The Hiroshima bombing occurred three days earlier and eventually killed more than 150,000.

After 50 years, the bombings are fading out of the "past" and into "history." But it is one thing for a child to plow through a history book, and quite another to hear a kataribe like Sakue

Shimohira, who tells how she was a 10-year-old who stepped out of an air raid shelter after the Nagasaki blast to find a changed world.

"I reached my house, and I found a body, all burned, on the ground, with its hands covering the face," Mrs. Shimohira said. "When I pulled the charred hands away, I could see the face. It was my older sister."

Yet only a tiny number of survivors are willing to be kataribe, to tell their stories. For most, it is too painful and it means embracing a past from which many wish to flee.

"At first I refused to tell my story," Mrs. Shimohira recalled. "When I started, it hurt so much that I was always crying. It always feels as if it just happened yesterday. Like the time when I tell how I found my mother in a friend's house, and I tried to pick up her body and the ashes crumbled."

There is another reason why the survivors are reluctant to come forward. They are sometimes treated as second-class citizens.

"We're afraid that if we let people know we're survivors, there'll be big problems when it comes time for our kids to be married," Kikuyo Nakamura said. "My sister never wanted to let her in-laws know that she was a survivor, because if she had a problem having kids, then the in-laws would say it was because she was exposed to radiation." City's Poor Bear Biggest Burden

The burden of the survivors is particularly apparent in Nagasaki. In contrast to Hiroshima, where the bomb hit the center of the city, Nagasaki was hit not in the intended target area -- downtown -- but in the poverty-stricken northern outskirts.

This neighborhood was the home of many Christians and of outcasts called burakumin. The burakumin are ethnically the same as other Japanese but are the descendants of those who worked in jobs regarded as unclean, like slaughtering animals and digging graves.

Discussions of burakumin are a taboo in Japan, and history books and museums ignore the fact that they were disproportionately the victims of the American bombing. By one account, vigorously denied by most Nagasaki residents, burakumin suffered not only in the original bombing but again when they were turned away from refugee shelters.

"The fact that the bomb dropped in that area makes us wonder why we have to suffer discrimination as atomic bomb survivors on top of regular discrimination," said Yoshikazu Nakamura, 53, a burakumin survivor.

"The people in the city center were cold to us survivors," Mr. Nakamura added. "The papers said that survivors had radiation in their bodies that could cause health problems in the future, or that they could infect those close to them."

The kataribe try to tell people not only about the horror of the bombing itself, but also about the scorn that survivors suffered in later years. Mrs. Shimohira, who speaks to about 200

groups a year, tells of her younger sister, who survived the bombing but never recovered her strength. One Woman's Ordeal Ends in Suicide

After a stomach operation, the wound never healed, and maggots grew in the sore. The sister would pick the maggots out with chopsticks, but still they multiplied and the wound gave off an offensive odor, so that people held their noses when she approached. Finally the sister jumped in front of a train.

Such calls for sympathy for the survivors, paradoxically, offend some survivors. Some of them scorn the kataribe, feeling that they speak too openly about private horrors that can scarcely be articulated.

"A lot of them are Communist-oriented," Katsuichi Fukahori, who heads a group of survivors in Nagasaki, said of the kataribe. "And they describe experiences that don't always ring true."

The tradition of kataribe had disappeared and the word fallen into disuse when the survivors began to speak out, particularly in the 1970's and 80's. Now there are about 150 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined, even though there are several hundred thousand atomic bomb survivors.

Most of the survivors are more like Tomitaro Shimotani, a quiet man who lost his right arm and right eye to the bombing of Nagasaki. Deeply uncomfortable, he related how the blast threw him to the ground and mangled his arm.

Doctors began to amputate his arm in the late morning of Aug. 15. At noon, while he was still on the operating table under a local anesthetic, with his arm half sawn off, the surgeon told him that they had to take a break to listen to an important radio broadcast.

"Just hold on for a moment," the surgeon told Mr. Shimotani.

That was how Mr. Shimotani heard Emperor Hirohito's broadcast announcing Japan's surrender and the end of the war. When the Emperor had finished speaking, the surgeon returned and completed the amputation.

Mr. Shimotani said he had never before told anyone, other than fellow survivors, the story of the amputation. He said he had not told even his children and grandchildren.

"I don't want to recall those memories," he said. "What's the use of telling about it after we lost the war, after I lost my arm in the war? I don't think I'll ever tell it again."

Nagasaki, an old trading port visited by St. Francis Xavier in 1549, had the biggest concentration of Christians in Japan, about 10 percent of the city's population. It also had the largest Catholic cathedral in East Asia, but the bomb sent the roof crashing down to kill dozens of worshipers waiting to give confession.

The Christians of Nagasaki traditionally refer to "four catastrophes" in which the shoguns attacked Christianity and tortured, crucified or beheaded those who refused to renounce their faith.

"Some Christians here say the atomic bomb was the fifth catastrophe," said Hitoshi Motoshima, a Catholic who was the longtime Mayor of Nagasaki.

Mr. Motoshima's grandfather was tortured and crippled by the Government in the "fourth catastrophe," a round of repression in the 1860's, but that was mild compared with the "fifth catastrophe." The bombing killed about 9,000 of Nagasaki's 22,000 Christians, almost all of them Catholic.

One might expect that such a disaster would raise doubts among the faithful, or lead them to the traditional theological puzzle of how an omnipotent and omniscient God can allow cruelty and pain. But in fact, Nagasaki's Christian community seemed to feel uplifted by the bombing.

"It was good that the bomb dropped on Urakami," the Christian neighborhood, an elderly woman was quoted as saying from her hospital bed. "If it had dropped on people without faith, they could not have borne the burden."

A famous Catholic doctor, Takashi Nagai, who lost his wife in the bombing, wrote a best-selling book in which he said that Nagasaki's Catholics were being tested by God, as Job had been. And this, he said, was a sign that Nagasaki's Christians were chosen for God's special attention.

"Non-Christians sometimes ask me why a Christian country like the United States dropped the atomic bomb on a Christian area like Urakami," said the Rev. Akiyoshi Fukahori, a priest at one of Nagasaki's 16 Catholic churches. "But if you turn that question around, it suggests that it would be O.K. to drop the bomb on non-Christians. And that would be a strange logic."
A Troubling Scene For Americans

For Americans, Nagasaki has always been an intensely troubling place to contemplate, more so than Hiroshima.

Even among Americans who believe that the bombing of Hiroshima ended the war earlier, many have reservations about the bombing of Nagasaki. The first bomb so thoroughly destroyed Hiroshima and the communications system that high officials in Tokyo had not had enough time to grasp the power of the bomb by Aug. 9. So some argue that even if one bomb was helpful, the bomb on Nagasaki was superfluous.

Moreover, Nagasaki was even farther west than Hiroshima, and so it was more difficult than ever for the authorities in Tokyo to learn what had happened in Nagasaki and feel the power of the bomb. It may be that an atomic bomb off Tokyo Bay, even if it killed relatively few people, would have caught the attention of the leadership in a way that the bombing 700 miles away in Nagasaki could not have.

Yet the evidence is mixed, and some of it suggests that the bombing of Nagasaki did help end the war. Sadao Asada, a historian at Doshisha University in Kyoto, noted that the War Minister, Korechika Anami, argued in a Cabinet meeting after the Hiroshima attack that maybe the Allies had only one atomic bomb.

At that moment a courier entered the room to announce that a second atomic bomb had just been dropped on Nagasaki.

Even then, the military argued vigorously against surrender, with Mr. Anami declaring to the Cabinet that evening, "I am quite sure that we could inflict great losses on the enemy, and even if we fail in the attempt, our 100 million people are ready to die for honor."

But at that point, Mr. Anami was overruled by the Emperor and other officials. Japan surrendered on Aug. 15, and World War II was over.

Photos: 1945: A deathly landscape near Nagasaki after the war's second atomic bomb exploded over the city on Aug. 9. This photo was taken by the United States Signal Corps not long after the bomb was dropped. (Associated Press); 1995: At a Christian cemetery in Nagasaki, a relative visited the grave of the Yamagami family, all killed by the atomic bomb, which struck a large Christian neighborhood. The parents and six children are buried here. (J. Van Hasselt/Sygma) Map of Japan

*http://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/09/world/through-survivors-tales-nagasaki-joins-japan-s-timeless-folklore.html?scp=29&sq=nagasaki&st=nyt&pagewanted=1*

## OUT OF THE STONE



Out of the stone they sound,
the voices of the tens of thousands who burned to death.
Charged with age-old bitter feelings,
they fill the night air.
*Mul! Mul talla! Mul talla!*
Water! Water, please! Water, please!

From the riverbank monument
for which there was no room in Peace Park,
all night long, they come, the voices
of the tens of thousands dead:
*Mul! Mul talla! Mul talla!*

Rounded up
as they tilled the soil of Korean fields,
rounded up
as they walked the streets
of Korean towns and villages,
not allowed to say even a word of farewell
to wives and children, parents, brothers, sisters,
they were packed like livestock into transports
and shipped off, across the strait.

Forced to pray to foreign gods,
to swear allegiance to a foreign ruler,
in the end burned in that flash, they were turned
into black corpses
for swarms of crows to peck at.

*Aigu! Mul! Mul talla!*
The homeland was torn in two,



and one torn half was forced to house
thousands of atomic weapons.
Why should the atom be forced
on us and our half?
Leave, you foreign soldiers!
Take your atomic bombs, and leave!
The homeland is one.
O Wind, take the message—that out of the stone
this torn half calls out to its own kind.

—July 1980

Kurihara, Sadako. "Out of the Stone." *Black Eggs: Poems by Kurihara Sadako*. Richard H. Minear, trans. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1994, 283-284.

RHM: Hiroshima's memorial to the thousands of Koreans who died on 6 August is outside Peace Park, at the western end of one of the bridges. The strait is Tsushima Strait, which separates Korea and Japan; *aigu* is an exclamation of woe.