achieved of organized science in history. It was done under high pressure and without failure.

We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.

It was to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth. Behind this air attack will follow sea and land forces in such numbers and power as they have not yet seen and with the fighting skill of which they are already well aware.

The Secretary of War, who has kept in personal touch with all phases of this project, will immediately make public a statement giving further details.

His statement will give facts concerning the sites of Oak Ridge near Knoxville, Tennessee, and at Richland near Pasco, Washington, and an installation near Santa Fe, New Mexico. Although the workers at the sites have been making materials to be used in producing the greatest destructive force in history they have not themselves been in danger beyond that of many other occupations, for the utmost care has been taken of their safety.

The fact that we can release atomic energy ushered in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces. Atomic energy may in the future supplement the power that now comes from coal, oil, and falling water, but as yet it cannot be produced on a basis to compete with them commercially. Before that comes there must be a long period of intensive research.

It has never been the habit of the scientists of this country or the policy of the Government to withhold from the world scientific knowledge. Normally, therefore, everything about the work with atomic energy would be made public.

But under present circumstances it is not intended to divulge the technical processes of production or all the military applications, pending further examination of possible methods of protecting us and the rest of the world from the danger of sudden destruction. I shall recommend that the Congress of the United States consider promptly the establishment of an appropriate commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States. I shall give further consideration and make further recommendations to the Congress as to how atomic power can become a powerful and forceful influence towards the maintenance of world peace.

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**AKIHIRO TAKAHASHI**

**Memory of Hiroshima, 1945/1986**

The author of this selection, Akihiro Takahashi, was fourteen years old on August 6, 1945, when the United States bombed Hiroshima. He was standing in line with other students in the courtyard of the Hiroshima Municipal Junior High School. His and other survivors' recollections of that day and its aftermath were recorded, transcribed, and translated some forty years later by a Japanese peace project called "The Voice of Hibakusha." How do you weigh the experience of Akihiro Takahashi against the reasons given by President Truman for dropping the bomb?

**THINKING HISTORICALLY**

One of the difficulties in thinking about the unthinkable is remembering the details we want to forget. Trauma victims often repress memories that are too painful to bear. In some cases time revives memories as well as heals. Akihiro Takahashi's recollections display both a prodigious and courageous memory. How might this process of remembering and telling be helpful to him? How might it be helpful to others?

... We saw a B-29 approaching and about fly over us. All of us were looking up the sky, pointing out the aircraft. Then the teachers came out from the school building and the class leaders gave the command to fall in. Our faces were all shifted from the direction of the sky to that of the platform. That was the moment when the blast came. And then the tremendous noise came and we were left in the dark. I couldn't see anything at the moment of explosion like in this picture. We had been blown by the blast. Of course, I couldn't realize this until the darkness disappeared. I was actually blown about 10 m. My friends were all marked down on the ground by the blast just like this. Everything collapsed for as far as I could see. I felt the city of Hiroshima had disappeared all of a sudden. Then I looked at myself and found my clothes had turned into rags due to the heat. I was probably burned at the back of the head, on my back, on both arms and both legs. My skin was peeling and hanging like this. Automatically I began to walk heading west.

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1. Japanese term for the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, literally the "explosion-affected people."

because that was the direction of my home. After a while, I noticed somebody calling my name. I looked around and found a friend of mine who lived in my town and was studying at the same school. His name was Yamamoto. He was badly burned just like myself. We walked toward the river. And on the way we saw many victims. I saw a man whose skin was completely peeled off the upper half of his body and a woman whose eye balls were sticking out. Her whole body was bleeding. A mother and her baby were lying with a skin completely peeled off. We desperately made our way crawling. And finally we reached the river bank. At the same moment, a fire broke out. We made a narrow escape from the fire. If we had been slower by even one second, we would have been killed by the fire. Fire was blowing into the sky, becoming 4 or even 5 m high. There was a small wooden bridge left, which had not been destroyed by the blast. I went over to the other side of the river using that bridge. But Yamamoto was not with me any more. He was lost somewhere. I remember I crossed the river by myself and on the other side, I purged myself into the water three times. The heat was tremendous. And I felt like my body was burning all over. For my burning body the cold water of the river was as precious as a treasure. Then I left the river, and I walked along the railroad tracks in the direction of my home. On the way, I ran into another friend of mine, Tokujiro Hatta. I wondered why the soles of his feet were badly burnt. It was unthinkable to get burned there. But it was an undeniable fact that the soles were peeling and red muscle was exposed. Even though I was terribly burnt, I could not go home ignoring him. I made him crawl using his arms and knees. Next, I made him stand on his heels and I supported him. We walked heading toward my home repeating the two methods. When we were resting because we were so exhausted, I found my grandfather's brother and his wife, in other words, great uncle and great aunt, coming toward us. That was quite a coincidence. As you know, we have a proverb about meeting Buddha in Hell. My encounter with my relatives at that time was just like that. They seemed to be the Buddha to me wandering in the living hell.

Afterwards I was under medical treatment for one year and half and I miraculously recovered. Out of sixty junior high school classmates, only ten of us are alive today. Yamamoto and Hatta soon died from the acute radiation disease. The radiation corroded their bodies and killed them. I myself am still alive on this earth suffering after effects of the bomb. I have to see regularly an ear doctor, an eye doctor, a dermatologist and a surgeon. I feel uneasy about my health every day. Further, on both of my hands, I have keloids. My injury was most serious on my right hand and I used to have terrible keloids right here. I had them removed by surgery in 1954, which enabled me to move my wrist a little bit like this. For my four fingers are fixed just like this, and my elbow is fixed at one hundred twenty degrees and doesn't move. The muscle and bones are attached to each other. Also the fourth finger of my right hand doesn't have a normal nail. It has a black nail. A piece of glass which was blown by the blast stuck here and destroyed the cells of the base of the finger. That is why a black nail continues to grow and from now on, too, it will continue to be black and never become normal. Anyway I'm alive today together with nine of my classmates for this forty years. I've been living believing that we can never waste the deaths of the victims. I've been living, dragging my body full of sickness, and from time to time I question myself; I wonder if it is worth living in such hardship and pain and I become desperate. But it's time I manage to pull myself together and I tell myself once my life was saved, I should fulfill my mission as a survivor; in other words, it has been and it is my belief that those who survived must continue to talk about our experiences. To hand down the awful memories to future generations representing the silent voices of those who had to die in misery. Throughout my life, I would like to fulfill this mission by talking about my experience both here in Japan and overseas.

**Reflections**

Short of war, the world community has adopted three strategies to counter genocide and the mass killing of civilians. The first is the trial of war criminals. At the conclusion of World War II, the victorious Allies conducted war-crime trials of leading Nazi and Japanese officials. Twelve high Nazi officials and seven Japanese leaders, including Iwane Matsui for the “Rape of Nanking,” were sentenced to death. Many others served prison sentences. Critics argued that some of the alleged crimes (“wars of aggression” and “crimes against peace”) were vague and that the victorious Allies might be guilty of these as well. Other charges—specifically war crimes and “crimes against humanity”—were devised as a response to the trials, an ex post facto (after the fact) violation of standard procedure where prosecution must be based on criminal statutes.

The problem was that the technology and practice of warfare had largely outrun international agreements. The first Geneva Conventions, dating from 1864, were mainly concerned with the treatment of the wounded and prisoners. Therefore, the second strategy was developing and refining international laws regarding human rights and the protection of civilians. In 1948, the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” passed by the United Nations, itself a shaper and guardian of international law, offered a recognized standard and continuing process for defining and preventing genocide, mass murder, and “crimes against
humanity.” A fourth Geneva Convention in 1949 added the destruction of civilian populations in time of war to the list of war crimes for which a country would be held responsible. In addition, the precedent of the “International Military Tribunal” that tried Nazi and Japanese officials led to the creation of international laws and courts for the prosecution of war crimes and mass murder. The legacy continues. In 2002, the United Nations’ International Court of Criminal Justice in the Hague, Netherlands, brought President Milošević of Yugoslavia to trial for the “ethnic cleansing” of Muslims in Kosovo and Bosnia, and (at this writing) the court continues with the prosecution of others. An International Tribunal for Genocide in Rwanda is similarly trying Hutu Rwandans charged with the mass murder of Tutsi fellow citizens in 1994.

A third strategy has emerged in recent years, largely where human rights abuses or civilian casualties have occurred within a national population. Often without the benefit of international courts or agencies, governments seeking to put past grievances aside, rather than prosecute offenders, have created “truth and reconciliation” commissions. In 1995, after decades of racist violence, the new South African government under Nelson Mandela established such a commission. Former white officials were guaranteed immunity from prosecution in return for complete and remorseful testimony of their crimes. Similarly, in El Salvador after a decade of violence in the 1980s, a new government established a Truth Commission in 1992 with United Nations assistance.

Finding the truth is the beginning of any strategy toward renewal.

To promote understanding, archives must be opened, press and Internet censorship must be challenged, and laws such as the Freedom of Information Act must be used aggressively. But in addition, we must develop sensitivity to the plight of victims, knowledge of the victimizers’ motives, and understanding about the ways that the horrendous can happen.

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The Cold War and the Third World

Vietnam, Cuba, Argentina, and Afghanistan, 1945-1975

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, were allies during World War II, but the heads of state of both countries could be strained by their different war aims and reached many agreements, including the division of Europe and the formation of the United Nations and other international organizations. The United States and the Soviet Union insisted that these agreements about postwar international organizations, but it was clear that the countries had different views of their differences and antagonisms. U.S. policy, the “modernization” of Latin American regimes through U.S. aid, and the Soviets never forgot Western encroachment on Central Asian territories in the 19th century and they never imagined a Latin American socialist revolution.

World War II ended with the establishment of a new world order and the exhaustion of England and France. The victory of the United States and the Soviet Union turned out to be the colonial system’s victory over the colonial powers. Some German colonies in Asia were turned over to the Allies; these were to be the colonies of the new larger world. By the 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the superpowers of the world. Although the Soviet Union has moved, it should be noted, to the United States as a result of the Cold War, it has maintained its superpower status.