

Exploring a Bridge between Hiroshima and the U.S.: Tanimoto Kiyoshi and His Activities in the Early Postwar Period

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Introduction

Some historical figures become parts of shared memory; others fall into oblivion. This paper is an attempt to pull Tanimoto Kiyoshi (1909 – 1986), a Methodist pastor, survivor of the Hiroshima bombing, and activist back from the edge of oblivion. Perhaps the movement and projects to which Tanimoto contributed have become more famous than Tanimoto himself. One such project is the International World Peace Day Movement (hereafter IWPDM), commonly known as the “No More Hiroshimas” movement. This movement to observe August 6 as “World Peace Day” was triggered in the spring of 1948 when a peace activist in the U.S. read an article on Tanimoto. Even better known are two projects by the Hiroshima Peace Center (hereafter HPC). An associate institution was first established in New York in March 1949; then, HPC in Hiroshima was founded in August 1950. One of HPC’s projects was the moral adoptions project (1950 – 1959), in which American “adoptive parents” gave financial and psychological support to children orphaned by the Hiroshima bombing. Another is a series of projects to bring young female victims to Tokyo, Osaka, and ultimately to the U.S. for plastic surgery (1952 – 1956). The success of these two HPC projects has often been attributed to Norman Cousins (1915 – 1990), a well-known world federalist, advocate for the international control of atomic weapons, and editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* magazine. However, this paper reveals that the part Tanimoto played in putting IWPDM and HPC into motion should not be ignored.

IWPDM and HPC were unique in that both were started early in the postwar period, several years before the Bikini Incident in March 1954 that triggered Japanese anti-nuclear movements and movements by the survivors of the atomic bombing, or hibakusha, which resulted in the enactment of the first law that addressed the sufferings of hibakusha: the Act for Atomic Sufferers’ Medical Care (1957). Thus, though small in scale, IWPDM and HPC were among the earliest attempts to speak out against atomic weapons or to lend support for hibakusha in Hiroshima.¹

IWPDM and HPC were also unique in that they were based on the joint effort of counterparts in the U.S. and in Hiroshima, and were established in unfavorable political and social contexts in the U.S. and Japan. The 1940s and 1950s was a difficult time for the anti-bomb movements in both countries. In the U.S., there was strong public support for the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. A poll taken in December 1945 found that 76.2 percent of people polled thought that the bombs should have been dropped on Japan sooner.² While there were voices of opposition--some scientists, pacifists, and religious figures condemned the use of the atomic bombs and advocated the international control of atomic weapons--their numbers were relatively small.³ Moreover, the Soviet test of an atomic bomb in August 1949 propelled American public opinion favorably towards the stockpiling of more atomic weapons. Resistance to the use of atomic bombs became more marginal, losing its influence amid the hard political realities of the time.⁴

In Japan, the peace movement was working in the context of the U.S. occupation. General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (hereafter SCAP) not only censored publications on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings and on atomic weapons but also scrutinized political movements, including peace movements, critical of SCAP policy. One of the most important reasons for this suppression was that the U.S. government was concerned that movements critical of the use of weapons of mass destruction could damage its moral reputation. Among prohibited texts and images were illustrations of the post-bomb landscapes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, especially the damage wrought on human bodies, the effects of radiation, and expressions of anger and sorrow. These were all viewed by SCAP as criticism or hostility directed towards the Allied occupation and the U.S.⁵ SCAP's policing of movements critical of its occupation and the war hardened as the Cold War deepened and as the leftist peace movements gained more popular support in Japan.

Some scholars have examined IWPDM or HPC projects, particularly their position within the context of postwar American society. Asai Rieko examined how IWPDM influenced August 6 commemorations by the American Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in the 1950s.⁶ Christina Klein argued that the representation of Japanese people in the moral adoptions project was an example of "Cold War Orientalism" to envision U.S. global expansion as a series of reciprocal exchanges that benefited both Asians and Americans rather than a process of exclusion and containment of the communists. According to Klein, HPC projects reinforced this discourse by offering "a way to imagine U.S.-Asian integration" in terms of sentimental and voluntary affiliation.⁷ Shibusawa Naoko and Kristina Zarlengo both concluded that HPC projects "allowed Americans to channel their guilt about the bombs." Shibusawa also showed that these two projects depicted Japanese orphans and the female victims as dependents of the Americans and thus "naturalized American beneficence as well as their authority

over the Japanese.”⁸

Where my work differs from the approaches that I have outlined above is that it places more attention on the transnational construction of these projects, which I argue were co-produced from the interaction that developed between people in the U.S. and in Hiroshima. More specifically, this paper unearths the role that Tanimoto played in setting IWPDM and HPC into motion, with particular emphasis on the personal history that inspired him to carry them on. The first section of this paper follows his unique career in the U.S. and Japan. Tanimoto was an American-educated Christian pastor and survivor of the Hiroshima bombing who became well known among the American public through John Hersey’s “Hiroshima.” The second section argues that Tanimoto played important roles both as the idea maker for IWPDM and HPC and as the interlocutor between their participants outside Japan and the people of Hiroshima. While Tanimoto was not the leader of IWPDM, he was certainly the central figure in HPC from its beginning in the late 1940s through the 1950s. The third section discusses how Tanimoto’s efforts to seek sponsors for HPC invited the attention of Cousins. In the end, I conclude that Tanimoto--his career, strategies, and the spatial disposition of the enterprises he was involved in--demonstrates that Hiroshima bombing discourses took shape as a result of the transnational interaction of people and narratives.

I. From “American Spy” to “Hero of Hiroshima”: Tanimoto’s Early Life

A. Life at Emory

After the Hiroshima bombing, Tanimoto dedicated the remainder of his life to the international peace movement and to social work projects for hibakusha in Hiroshima. This dedication in large part sprang from, and was made possible by, three events: living in the U.S to study Divinity, the experience of surviving the Hiroshima bombing, and his being featured in “Hiroshima,” an influential account of the bombing.

Tanimoto was born in 1909 in Kagawa Prefecture. Although he grew up in a devoutly Buddhist family, Tanimoto became interested in Christianity as a young man. In 1925, he decided to be baptized over the stiff opposition of his parents, especially his father. In 1934, he graduated from the School of Theology at Kwansai Gakuin University, a Methodist-based institution in Osaka, then, in July 1937 he left for the U.S. in order to pursue more education for his pastoral work. In June 1940, he received a Bachelor of Divinity degree from Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Tanimoto briefly served at Hollywood Independent Church in Los Angeles before returning to Japan in March 1941, at which time he was appointed the minister of Naha Central Church in Okinawa Prefecture. In 1943, Tanimoto transferred to Nagarekawa church in downtown Hiroshima city, where he spent the rest of his career as a pastor.⁹ After serving at Nagarekawa church for almost 40 years, Tanimoto retired from his pulpit in

March 1982, three years before he passed away on September 28, 1986 at the age of 77.¹⁰

Attending Emory University was a life-changing experience for Tanimoto. He nurtured such a deep attachment to his alma mater that he even called it his “home away from home.” At a time when most Japanese people rarely had acquaintances in the U.S., Tanimoto built up a large network of contacts among the alumni and faculty members of Emory, which turned out to be quite helpful in pushing HPC projects forward.¹¹

At the same time, Tanimoto also experienced hostility, not only in the U.S. but also back in Japan, due to the deteriorating relations between the two countries. Although Tanimoto’s memoirs only briefly mention the “incessant storms of anti-Japanese sentiment” he endured in the U.S., other documents provide examples of his experiences.¹² More than once, Tanimoto faced questions about his opinion of Japan’s war against China. And on one occasion, a Chinese boy that Tanimoto had met “doubled his fists” and shouted, “Me Chinese--we enemies--our nations at war!” then “sulked away in the opposite direction.”¹³ Even after returning to Japan, Tanimoto’s status as an American-educated Christian minister put him in a precarious position, especially after the Pearl Harbor attack. The police questioned him several times,¹⁴ and a detective of the Special Political Police always attended his services.¹⁵ Once, an influential acquaintance in his neighborhood even claimed that Tanimoto was an American spy and that his wife and mother were prostitutes for the Westerners.¹⁶ Being conscious of his position, Tanimoto was careful “to show him[self] publicly as a good Japanese” by taking on the chairmanship of his local Neighborhood Association (*tonarigumi*) and working in a military factory.¹⁷

B. August 6, 1945

Like many other hibakusha, the atomic bombing on the morning of August 6, 1945 altered the course of Tanimoto’s life. The “survivors’ guilt” he felt was one of the primary factors that pushed him to various enterprises. Since Tanimoto was approximately three kilometers away from the epicenter, he did not suffer from terrible burns or injuries. Worried about the safety of his wife and infant daughter, he rushed toward the center of the city and immediately encountered countless sufferers who were fleeing the city. Tanimoto also heard the desperate pleas for help from many people who were trapped beneath collapsed houses, and stopped for a moment to offer assistance. But what could he do? Moreover, fear clutched his heart that his family might be suffering the same fate. So Tanimoto continued on his way, feeling profound remorse over not helping them even though he was a pastor and he was unharmed. His guilty conscience was so acute that he later resolved he should atone for this past by doing what he could do for hibakusha and for the cause of peace.¹⁸

It is impossible to know Tanimoto’s innermost thoughts about the responsibility of waging war or of dropping the atomic bomb. Yet his memoirs suggest that

Tanimoto resolved his inner conflict by focusing on the rather abstract issue of war and peace. Tanimoto certainly identified himself with Japan. Because he thought that the victims in Hiroshima had endured their hardship in order to fight the war until the end, he was so shocked at the news of Japan's surrender that he "crept into bed to weep" as soon as he went home.¹⁹ Then Tanimoto took a step toward psychological recovery as he read the Imperial Rescript on Surrender in a newspaper, because it referred to the Hiroshima bombing as one of the primary factors for accepting the Potsdam declaration. He found meaning in the Hiroshima bombing by believing that it could become the cornerstone for world peace, and that it let the Japanese people forever renounce war and dedicate themselves to building a peaceful nation.²⁰ Tanimoto hardly expressed criticism or bitter feelings about the bombing, or about the U.S. and its responsibility. Instead, he emphasized that it was the war itself that should be blamed.²¹

C. "Hero of 'Hiroshima'"

Once again, the life of Tanimoto was changed significantly when he became widely known to the American public as one of the main characters in John Hersey's best-selling account of the bombing, "Hiroshima." First published in the *New Yorker* magazine on August 31, 1946, and made into a book later in the same year, it became an immediate sensation in the U.S. because it was the first account of the Hiroshima bombing that "visualize[d] the actual experience" of the individuals "with whom readers could identify" as fellow human beings.²²

Hersey used interviews to trace the ordeals of six hibakusha at the time of the blast and their life after the bombing. One of the highlights of Hersey's reportage is the scene in which Tanimoto, who felt relieved to know that his wife and daughter survived the blast, made heroic efforts to rescue victims. In a garden where many sufferers gathered in search of temporary refuge, Tanimoto rowed a boat for many hours with nothing more than a thick bamboo pole in order to ferry the wounded across the river.²³ Later, when a "fire swept into the woods" of the park, he organized a volunteer team and "fought the fire for more than two hours, and gradually defeated the flames."²⁴

The publication of "Hiroshima" was key in helping Tanimoto expand his network in the U.S. and beyond. The correspondence between Tanimoto and his friends in the U.S. resumed as they read "Hiroshima" and learned how Tanimoto survived the bombing.²⁵ In January 1947, an acquaintance of Tanimoto in South Carolina commented that "Hiroshima" was "one of the saddest and most moving stories I have ever read" and implored, "how can we aver[ever] repent!" Moreover, Tanimoto obtained huge popularity among general audiences; he received a stream of letters from people whom he had never met previously, almost all of whom had read about him in "Hiroshima." In one such letter, a 23-year-old woman wrote that she had enjoyed *Hiroshima* "more than any[thing] I have read in a long time," and that she wondered quite often how the six characters, including Tanimoto, were doing.²⁶

D. The Genesis of Tanimoto's Postwar Activities

Tanimoto spent most of the fall of 1945 on his back suffering from radiation sickness. Once he got back on his feet, he launched into various activities.²⁷ Along with his efforts to reconstruct Nagarekawa church, which had been largely destroyed by the bombing, he was particularly energetic in relief activities for hibakusha as well as peace movements. These are the activities that eventually grew into IWPDM and HPC as Tanimoto deepened his partnerships with American activists.

From the beginning, the support Tanimoto received from the U.S. underwrote his relief activities. His friends from Emory and the audience of "Hiroshima" did not stop at writing to Tanimoto: they also sent aid supplies so that Tanimoto could distribute them among his congregation and neighbors. In the spring of 1947, students and faculty members at the School of Theology at Emory University organized a "Hiroshima Project" to send packages of food and medicine to Tanimoto. To the volunteers, the packages were an expression of "atonement" for "the great damage and destruction caused by the atomic bomb."²⁸ Also, in January 1947, Tanimoto received a letter from a Mr. Yaeck, a real estate broker in Montana and his wife. They had just finished reading "Hiroshima" and were "impressed with the suffering and heartaches that atomic bomb has wrought." The couple expressed their "wish to offer aid to someone personally whom you may know." The Yaecks, together with the members of Christian service groups in their neighborhood, had sent at least 18 packages of food and clothing by the beginning of 1948. They even attempted to send a live "milk goat" to Hiroshima.²⁹

As a member of the Hiroshima League of Religions, Tanimoto was also active in organizing religious peace movements.³⁰ Tanimoto represented the Protestant denominations and offered prayers at the First Anniversary Memorial Service for the War Dead, which took place on August 6, 1946 near the epicenter of the blast and was co-hosted by Buddhist, Shintoist, Protestant, and Catholic representatives.³¹ He was also a central figure in the Hiroshima League of Religion's plan to hold a "World Peace Assembly," which would have brought together religious adherents from around the world in order to promote world peace. Although the plan was never realized, the group took its plan seriously and in March 1948 sent Tanimoto and a Buddhist priest to Tokyo to consult with SCAP about its advisability.³²

II. Between "World Peace Day" and "No More Hiroshimas Day": the International World Peace Day Movement

A. The Origin of the International World Peace Day Movement

Although IWPDM enjoyed more popularity outside Japan and many of its key figures lived in the U.S., Tanimoto's contribution was critical in important respects. First, the basic idea of observing August 6 as a day to promote world peace came from Tanimoto. Second, Tanimoto served as a liaison between

Hiroshima and those interested in the idea of IWPDM.

In March 1948, presumably when Tanimoto went to Tokyo to consult with SCAP about the religious World Peace Assembly, he was interviewed by a UP correspondent named Rutherford Poats. The article reported that Tanimoto bore in mind a project to “set August 6th [as] the World Peace Day, commemorating the anniversary of the first use of the atomic bomb” in order to express “the world’s hope that there will be *no more Hiroshimas* [italics mine].”³³ An Austrian refugee named Alfred W. Parker happened to read this article. After immigrating to the U.S., Parker had settled in the basement of the office building of the Tenth Avenue Baptist Church in Oakland, California, where he devoted himself to relief programs for war sufferers in Europe.³⁴ Parker was enthusiastic about the idea of World Peace Day and, together with Pastor Geistweit of Tenth Avenue Baptist Church and some other Christian leaders around the San Francisco bay area, he established the International World Peace Day Committee, a core organization of IWPDM.³⁵

In 1948, World Peace Day events were held in at least 26 countries. Typical events included religious or non-religious gatherings and the adoption of resolutions. The following year, the participating groups spread over 50 countries, including many western European countries, India, New Zealand, as well as some South American and African countries, although only one Communist country participated. World Peace Day was also not well-known in Japan, probably as a result of the occupation policy. Whereas in Europe secular peace organizations were active participants in IWPDM, in the U.S. the role of Christian organizations was notable.³⁶

It must also be noted that IWPDM was not a unified peace movement governed by a single, centralized institution, even though participants all shared the primary purpose of praying for world peace on August 6. IWPDM should rather be understood as the name given to the entirety of various activities by multiple organizations scattered over many countries, each of which operated individually. Parker and his International World Peace Day Committee functioned as the hub of the network of these organizations, as well as the publicity office of the entire movement.³⁷

B. The International World Peace Day Movement and Hiroshima

The relationship between IWPDM and Hiroshima was at once both distant and close. The two were distant in that the focus of IWPDM was not on Hiroshima itself, but rather on fragile international conditions regarding atomic weapons. Yet, they were close in the sense that both IWPDM and the city of Hiroshima regarded each other as mutual sources of authority. Here again, Tanimoto was a key person in linking the two counterparts across the Pacific.

The participants of IWPDM were driven primarily by a deep anxiety that the presence of atomic weapons posed an imminent danger to world peace, particularly because the Cold War was growing more serious. Under the

circumstances, they thought that Hiroshima--the city that redefined war in the atomic age--best symbolized this fear, and they drew on that symbolism to advocate that all countries abandon war itself in order to prevent a potential nuclear war and the annihilation of the entire human race.³⁸ The participants of IWPDM were not alone in having such nightmarish fears of nuclear war. Although an overwhelming majority of Americans approved the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many Americans, as well as people in other countries, also felt that future wars fought with atomic bombs would be fatal to humanity.³⁹

Because the most important concern of IWPDM participants was global destruction, there was little space left in their imagination for Hiroshima itself, for example, what people experienced at the time of the bombing and what kind of lives the hibakusha--injured, sick, and destitute--were leading in that ruined city. Therefore, unlike HPC, as we will see in the next chapter, IWPDM was not a movement designed to extend hands to hibakusha in Hiroshima by sending relief aid or financial support, or to let the world know about the terrible suffering of those in Hiroshima. In other words, for IWPDM, Hiroshima was a symbol of the possibility of human annihilation but not an actual city where real people lived, or where real people died.

Despite this abstraction of Hiroshima, IWPDM and the city of Hiroshima each did refer to each other, and once again, Tanimoto was one of the channels that connected them. IWPDM needed to refer to Hiroshima to enhance its credibility precisely because Hiroshima best symbolized the destructive power of the atomic bomb. Therefore, in order to make IWPDM more influential by using the name of "Hiroshima," Parker and other members of the International World Peace Day Committee repeatedly requested that Tanimoto send them various materials published in Hiroshima. At the end of July 1948, Parker requested that Tanimoto send "a report about observation [of August 6] in all Japan" and a copy of the speech by Tanimoto and the Mayor of Hiroshima, Hamai Shinzo, with their photos.⁴⁰

In turn, although IWPDM was not well known in Japan, Hiroshima city authorities and the local media paid close attention to it and mentioned it frequently. In fact, the phrase, "No More Hiroshimas," appeared publicly for the first time in the Peace Declaration proclaimed by Hamai at the Peace Festival on August 6, 1948.⁴¹ A large sign reading, "No More Hiroshimas," was put up at the festival as well. The following year, Mayor Hamai clearly mentioned IWPDM by saying that "it is absolutely gratifying that the movement is spreading to the world to have August 6 designated as the World Peace Day."⁴² Here, Tanimoto cooperated with the city authorities by contributing articles that introduced IWPDM to local media. On August 1, 1948, for example, Tanimoto wrote an article, "Forward, No More Hiroshimas," that explained the outline of IWPDM.⁴³

This repeated reference to IWPDM was part of a discursive strategy by Tanimoto and city authorities. First, it was related to one of the most urgent tasks for the city: the reconstruction of the utterly devastated city of Hiroshima. When

Hiroshima had to compete with countless war-suffering cities all around Japan for reconstruction funding and materials, Hiroshima city authorities were able to secure a greater allocation from the national budget by noting that Hiroshima had the attention of the world.⁴⁴ Secondly, World Peace Day was a way for city officials and the local media to refer to the suffering of Hiroshima under SCAP surveillance. IWPDM seems to have been a less dangerous movement to SCAP because it was promoted not by the survivors themselves or the Japanese people in general, but by voices from the world outside, especially Americans, and because its primary focus was not on the Hiroshima or Nagasaki bombings themselves.

III. Tanimoto, Cousins, and Hiroshima Peace Center

A. Tanimoto's Visit to the U.S.

Tanimoto found that another door was opened for him to realize his plan when he received an invitation from the Board of Missions and Church Extensions of the Methodist Church (hereafter the Mission Board) in March 1948, around the same time as his interview with Rutherford Poats.⁴⁵ Tanimoto left for the U.S. in September 1948, where he spent more than a year before returning to Hiroshima in January 1950.⁴⁶ His visit to the U.S. eventually resulted in the founding of the Hiroshima Peace Center and its social work projects, including the moral adoptions project and the medical treatment of female victims. Although it is true that Cousins was a key figure in these projects, he developed his passion for them under the influence of Tanimoto.

The initial plan of HPC had two branches: a peace research institute and facilities for social work, such as a hospital, an orphanage, and a home for the aged.⁴⁷ In developing his ambitious plan, however, Tanimoto was counting on the Mission Board to sponsor it financially and institutionally.⁴⁸ This expectation grew out of his experiences of receiving relief aid and letters from the U.S. Tanimoto came to realize that Christian society in the U.S. had both material affluence and concern for Hiroshima, while he could not find either of these in Japan, which was suffering from extreme distress after the devastating war.

Contrary to his expectations, the Mission Board turned down his request for it to adopt HPC as one of its institutional projects, because the appeal had not first been discussed in the appropriate agencies and because the Mission Board could not accommodate more projects for Japan when it was already engaged in the foundation of International Christian University.⁴⁹ Unwilling to give up HPC, Tanimoto, with the help of Garland Evans Hopkins, revised his initial plan, placing more emphasis on the creation of an "international and non-sectarian" institution for peace research and peace education to increase its appeal to secular society.⁵⁰ Facilities for social services, such as a "hospital particularly equipped to deal with atom patients, homes for war widows and children, an orphanage, a home for the aged, a social rehabilitation center for juvenile delinquent," were described as "subsidiary agencies," borne mainly by the Protestant churches in

Hiroshima and in the U.S.⁵¹

Tanimoto and his associates visited many institutions and influential figures, explaining HPC and requesting support for it. Among them were the Department of State, UNESCO, Far East Committee, Pearl S. Buck, a Nobel laureate, Joseph C. Grew, the former Ambassador to Japan, Albert Einstein, and Harry Emerson Fosdick, a popular preacher of the Social Gospel. It was in this process that Buck introduced them to a person who turned out to be a critical figure for HPC: Norman Cousins.⁵²

In the meantime, since the Mission Board did grant Tanimoto permission to raise funds as an individual for the reconstruction of his church, he traveled extensively throughout the country giving lectures and interviews. He recorded that during a 15 month period he visited 256 cities in 31 states, mainly in the East Coast and South (where many alumni of Emory ministered), and in the West Coast (where there were many Japanese and Japanese Americans.) In all, he delivered 582 lectures to as many as 160,000 hearers.⁵³

B. Norman Cousins and the Moral Adoptions Project

With Norman Cousins and also with a couple of fortuities, HPC was realized in a way that neither Tanimoto nor Cousins had anticipated. Because the moral adoptions project that Cousins started received overwhelming support, HPC developed primarily as a social work institution. The facilities for the peace movement and peace education were never realized.

Cousins was clearly attracted to the idea of HPC as soon as Buck first introduced it to him. In February 1949, he asked Tanimoto for permission to reprint Tanimoto's memorandum on HPC in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (hereafter *SRL*). Soon, the memorandum, titled "Hiroshima's Idea," appeared in its entirety in the March 5 issue of *SRL*, with a notation that "the editors enthusiastically endorse and . . . will associate themselves" with the plan.⁵⁴ Cousins was also quick to convene the first meeting for the Hiroshima Peace Center Associates (hereafter HPCA). Gathering in New York on March 23, 1949, the founding members included Cousins, Tanimoto, Buck, Hopkins, and Hersey.⁵⁵ At this point, their plan for HPC was quite grandiose. A newspaper article in May 1949 reported that HPC was planning facilities for peace research and education as well as for social work that would occupy over 25 acres of land, and that the estimated cost exceeded 2.5 million dollars, or 900 million yen. The selected site was where Hiroshima Castle had stood until the atomic bombing.⁵⁶

Cousins' affiliation with HPC not only accelerated HPC but also affected the way Cousins himself saw the Hiroshima bombing. Cousins had been one of the first persons to speak against the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, publishing "Modern Man Is Obsolete" within two weeks of the Hiroshima bombing. However, as was the case with the participants of IWPDM, Cousins, an advocate of world federalism, had been far more concerned about the necessity of the international control of atomic weapons than about the situations in Hiroshima or

Nagasaki after the bombing.⁵⁷ Cousins frequently published editorials on *SRL* and argued that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki raised the need for world government “to such dimensions that it can no longer be ignored.” Yet, his editorials rarely referred to the lingering damage to the people and communities. Clearly, reading Tanimoto’s memorandum helped Cousins pay more attention to Hiroshima as a real city with real people.⁵⁸

A further change in perspective occurred to Cousins when he visited Hiroshima in August 1949, a change that drove him to the moral adoptions project. After attending the official Peace Festival for the fourth anniversary of the bombing and the groundbreaking ceremony for the HPC building, Cousins went on a tour of hospitals, as Tanimoto had suggested that he do. There, Cousins was shocked to discover the miserable condition of the survivors, which, as he put it, “whatever sanity you may have had cried out against.” He also visited an orphanage, small yet exemplary in the treatment it offered to the children. With firm belief that such treatment must be extended to many more orphans in Hiroshima, Cousins advocated the moral adoptions project in the September 17 issue of *SRL*. As Cousins explained it in the moral adoptions project, “children would continue to live in Japan . . . but the American families would be responsible for their care and upbringing.” Then, “if the Congress passes a law permitting Japanese children to come to America, these morally adopted children could become legally adopted as well.” Cousins estimated that it would cost “a parent” two dollars and twenty-five cents per week to take care of a child and proposed that “[i]f any *SRL* readers would like to adopt Hiroshima orphans on this basis, I should be glad to act as a middleman.”⁵⁹

Support from the readers was so overwhelming that Cousins later remarked that “he had no idea that he would get such an enthusiastic response” when he proposed the moral adoptions. Cousins received forty-three offers for adoption within two weeks. By October 26, the number of the offers had grown to 149. By December 1950, there were more than 300 “moral parents,” which exceeded the number of children orphaned by the bombing of Hiroshima.⁶⁰ Many of these “parents” explained their contribution as a way of soothing “the guilt of belonging to a race which dropped the first atomic bomb.”⁶¹

C. The Moral Adoptions Project and Hiroshima

At first, HPC projects seemed to proceed without difficulty. However, as early as spring 1950, disagreements arose between Cousins, Tanimoto, and the Hiroshima City Committee, which bore a part of the administrative burden for the moral adoptions project. Cousins and his staff members at *SRL* realized that they could not continue to handle the moral adoptions project “which now had assumed very large dimension,” and were “inclined to hand the whole matter over to a responsible local group.” There were growing frictions between Tanimoto and the Hiroshima City Committee, too. While Tanimoto presumed that the moral adoptions project had to be brought within the scope of HPC, the City

Committee opposed his position and maintained that it was an independent project sponsored by Cousins. In addition, although SCAP tolerated the moral adoptions project, it was skeptical of HPC as a whole, not only because of these conflicts between the concerned parties, but also because of the impression that HPC was a “visionary’s plan” dependent on financial support from the U.S.⁶² Criticism of Tanimoto grew in the local communities as well over his being away from his congregation or doing little pastoral work for extended periods of time. Some even charged that Tanimoto misappropriated the funds that he raised in the U.S. for HPC.⁶³

One reason behind such criticisms of Tanimoto would be the apparent peculiarity of the discourses he employed. Whether in Hiroshima or on the road in the U.S., he spoke carefully never to directly condemn the bombing of Hiroshima or the postwar U.S. policy of stockpiling more atomic weapons. When Tanimoto talked about the Hiroshima bombing, he emphasized that the hibakusha was not angry at the U.S. He even apologized for the Pearl Harbor attack as if it canceled out the Hiroshima bombing. Tanimoto also reiterated that the atomic bombing brought Hiroshima a complete metamorphosis from a military city to a peaceful city.⁶⁴

It is easy to imagine that it was not Tanimoto’s intent to minimize the moral gravity of the bombing or to absolve the U.S. of its responsibility for it. Rather, it was, at least in part, his desire to bring HPC to realization that, as Tanimoto himself admitted later, made him acutely conscious of “what to say and what not to say.” Given that Japan was under the occupation of SCAP, which did not permit discourses subversive to U.S. interests, and that the majority of American citizens approved of the Hiroshima bombing, Tanimoto strategically adopted the winners’ narratives about Hiroshima.⁶⁵

Conclusion

This paper has shown that Tanimoto and his activities provide a historical example to question the still persistent assumptions that the memory of the Hiroshima bombing has first and foremost been a national one, and that the majority of factors involved in its formative process were domestic ones. Prior to the Bikini incident, when the Japanese public knew little about the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, Tanimoto served as a direct channel between Hiroshima and the world outside Japan’s boundaries, beginning with the U.S. In the case of IWPDM, a remark by Tanimoto was seized upon by Alfred W. Parker, a pacifist in the U.S., and developed into an international peace movement against atomic weapons. HPC was also based on Tanimoto’s plan and was realized when his search for sponsors reached Norman Cousins and transformed Cousins’ perspective.

There were several reasons that both IWPDM and HPC grew into such transnational enterprises. One reason was that the Hiroshima bombing and the

presence of atomic weapons raised burning questions in the U.S. and in many other countries under the dark cloud of the Cold War, even though the concern about the Hiroshima bombing did not necessarily translate into concern about hibakusha. Moreover, Tanimoto as an individual played a critical role in negotiating such concerns. Such dynamic and transnational actions were possible for him largely because of his career. As an American-educated pastor, he had human connections among Christians in the U.S., a good share of whom were deeply concerned about the Hiroshima bombing. These connections were further strengthened and widened to general reading public when he was featured in John Hersey's "Hiroshima." Tanimoto's devotion to all these enterprises derived from the guilty conscience he felt at the time of the bombing and from his life in the devastated city after the bombing.

In advancing these enterprises, especially HPC, the discourse that Tanimoto employed was severely restricted by the international political and social conditions, most importantly, the U.S. occupation of Japan. At the same time, Tanimoto was conscious of those conditions and made the best of them to avoid intervention from SCAP as well as to accommodate the attention of Americans, even though that strategy caused conflict with and drew criticism from the local society of Hiroshima.

I would like to conclude by drawing a tentative sketch of a further argument. From a larger perspective, an important question is whether and how these enterprises affected narratives of the Hiroshima bombing within Japan. I would like to suggest that they did affect them. What mattered was less the ideas or the outcomes of the enterprises themselves, but rather the fact that these enterprises were reported in Hiroshima as international or U.S.-based enterprises.

As we have seen, the basic ideas for IWPDM or HPC were not in fact foreign to Hiroshima. The point, though, is that those ideas were understood to be either foreign (as in the case of IWPDM) or joint projects based on the trans-Pacific network (as in the case of HPC). Therefore, when they were introduced to Hiroshima, they were introduced not as Tanimoto's ideas or Hiroshima's ideas, but rather as American, or foreign, ideas. As such, they were assumed to be expressions of a universalistic wish for peace or sheer humanitarian concern for Hiroshima from the international, and particularly American, communities.

As Lisa Yoneyama pointed out, "nuclear universalism," or an assumption that "the remembering of Hiroshima's tragedy should invoke natural and commonly shared human thoughts, sentiments, and moral attitudes not limited by cultural boundaries," has been an integral part of the nationalized memory of the Hiroshima bombing.⁶⁶ Therefore, precisely because the enterprises mentioned in this paper took place in the transnational context and appeared as expressions of the "natural and commonly shared human thoughts, sentiments, and moral attitudes," they served to reinforce the nationalization of the memory of the Hiroshima bombing.

Notes

1. Kondô Kôko, *Hiroshima, 60 nen no kioku* (Tokyo: Lyon, 2005), 4, 302-3. Note that the Hiroshima Peace Center focused on in this paper is different from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum or from the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, the administrative body of the museum. While HPC was realized in 1950 as a private institution, both Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (first opened in 1955) and Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation (founded in 1967) were run in close relation to Hiroshima city. The activities of HPC decreased after the 1950s, but it exists to this day. After Tanimoto died in 1986, it established the annual Tanimoto Kiyoshi Peace Award for those who make contributions to the cause of peace and love for humanity. Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, <http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/hpcf/index.html>; Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, "Museum History," http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/tour_e/tour_his_e.html#. Accessed May 5, 2010.
2. Lawrence S. Wittner, *One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement through 1953*, vol. 1, *The Struggle against the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 55-56.
3. Wittner, *One World or None*, 55-79.
4. Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 334-51.
5. For Censorship, see Monica Braw, *Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 1991).
6. Asai Rieko, "Commemoration of Hiroshima Day in the Antinuclear Weapons Movement in the United States, 1950-1955: The Case of the Fellowship of Reconciliation," *Tsuda Review* 46 (2001): 1-26.
7. Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 7, 13, 16, 146.
8. Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 216-17; Kristina Zarlengo, "Civilian Threat, the Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age American Women," *Signs* 24, no. 4 (1999): 954.
9. "Says His Country Must Expand to Meet Its Needs," [March 1941?], Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 142, privately owned by Ms. Tanimoto Chisa; Kondô, *60 nen no kioku*, 16, 144-47; Nihon kirisutokyô rekishi daijiten henshû iinkai ed., *Nihon kirisutokyô rekishi daijiten* (Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1988), 346, 850; Marvin W. Green, "Hero of Hiroshima," *Christian Advocate*, January 23, 1947, 9.
10. Kondô, *60 nen no kioku*, 183, 192.
11. Tanimoto Kiyoshi, *Hiroshima gembaku to Amerikajin: Aru bokushi no heiwaangya* (Tokyo: Nihon hôsô shuppan kyôkai, 1976), 56.
12. Tanimoto Kiyoshi, *Hiroshima no jûjika o daite* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1950), 38.
13. "Campus Made Battlefield for Verbal Chino-Jap Conflict," *Emory Wheel*, December 9, 1938, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 142; Green, "Hero of Hiroshima," 10.
14. John Hersey, *Hiroshima*, new ed. (New York: Knopf, 1985; New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 4. This edition published in 1985 includes a final chapter written in 1985.
15. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 11.
16. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 38; Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 28.
17. Hersey, *Hiroshima*, 4; Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 11.
18. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 16-19; Tanimoto Kiyoshi, "Watashi wa ikanishite

- Hiroshima Pisu Sentâ kensetsu undô o okoshitaka,” Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 201-203, 5-6.
19. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 26-27.
 20. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 28.
 21. Tanimoto to Ômori Minoru [draft], [1948?], Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 304-309.
 22. Michael J. Yavenditti, “John Hersey and the American Conscience: The Perception of ‘Hiroshima,’” *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (1974): 30-32.
 23. Hersey, *Hiroshima*, 37.
 24. Hersey, *Hiroshima*, 37-38.
 25. Hersey, *Hiroshima*, 4.
 26. R. H. Yaeck to Tanimoto, January 27, 1947; Mrs. Floyd E. Read, Jr. to Tanimoto, August 8, 1947, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 304-309.
 27. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 32-33; Hersey, *Hiroshima*, 68, 75, 84-85.
 28. Arva C. Floyd to Tanimoto, May 12, 1947, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 304-309.
 29. Mr. and Mrs. Yaeck to Tanimoto, January 27, September 17, December 13, 1947, and January 5, 1948, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 304-309.
 30. “Soren ni shirasetai heiwa no inori,” *Yoron shimpô*, August 2, 1948, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 112.
 31. “Mune utsu tsuitô no kôen,” *Chûgoku shimbun*, August 7, 1946.
 32. “Soren ni shirasetai heiwa no inori”; William C. Kerr, “Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, Christian, and Rev. Kozen Tsunemitsu, Buddhist, of the Hiroshima Pref. League of Religions,” March 2, 1948; P. W. Vieth, “Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, Christian, and Rev. Kozen Tsunemitsu, Buddhist, of the Hiroshima Pref. League of Religions,” March 4, 1948, Civil Information and Education Section, GHQ/SCAP Records, Microfiche, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library, Tokyo (hereafter cited as GHQ/SCAP Records), CIE(A)-08522.
 33. “No More Hiroshimas!” [1948?], International World Peace Day Committee, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA (hereafter cited as IWPDC).
 34. “One-man Drive Aids Needy,” *Oakland Tribune*, November 24, 1945; Eugene Relgis, “Austrian Serves Humanity,” *American Vegetarian*, March 1948, IWPDC.
 35. Tanimoto Kiyoshi, “Susume no moa hiroshimazu,” *Chugoku shimbun* August 1, 1948.
 36. Parker [to Hiroshima city?], June 17, August 31, December 6, 1948, May 15 and May 31, 1949, Hiroshima heiwa kyôkai ed., “*Heiwa to Hiroshima*” ni kansuru kokugaikarano shokan daiisshû (Hiroshima: Hiroshima heiwa kyôkai, 1949), 6-17, 57-61; “Atomic Peace Day August 6: Omahan Cites World Observance,” n.d., IWPDC; Hiroshima heiwa kyôkai, *Heiwa to Hiroshima*, 26-35, 57-61; *Yearbook of the Northern Baptist Convention 1948* (n.p.: American Baptist Publication Society, [1948]), 131.
 37. Parker [to Hiroshima city?], June 17, August 31, December 6, 1948, and May 30, 1949, Hiroshima heiwa kyôkai, *Heiwa to Hiroshima*, 6-17, 60-61.
 38. “No More Hiroshimas!” [1948], IWPDC.
 39. Wittner, *One World or None*, 78.
 40. Parker to Hamai and Tanimoto, May 13, 1948; Parker to Tanimoto, July 27, 1947, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 304-309.
 41. “Shôwa 23nen Hiroshimashi heiwa sengen,” *Hiroshima shinshi: shirhohen*, vol. 2 (Hiroshima: Hiroshimashi, 1982), 410-11.
 42. “Shôwa 24nen Hiroshimashi heiwa sengen,” *Hiroshima shinshi: shirhohen*, vol. 2, 427.
 43. Tanimoto, “Susume nô moa hiroshimazu.”
 44. For more details, see Ishimaru Norioki, “‘Hiroshima heiwakinentoshi kensetsuhô’ no

- seiteikatei to sono tokushitsu,” *Hiroshimashi kôbunshokan kiyô* 11 (1988): 1-56.
45. “Bei kara ryûgakuannai,” *Asahi Shimbun*, April 14, 1948, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 122.
46. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 46.
47. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 61.
48. Tanimoto, “Watashi ha ikanishite,” 7; Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 63-64, 67, 89.
49. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 63-64, 89.
50. Garland Evans Hokpins was the Associate Secretary of Missions, Business and Government in the Far East, Division of Foreign Missions. [The Methodist Church], *Journal of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions and Church Extension* (New York: The Methodist Church, [1948]), 299.
51. Tanimoto Kiyoshi, “Hiroshima’s Idea,” *Saturday Review of Literature* (hereafter cited as *SRL*), March 5, 1949, 20. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 64-65, 68-69.
52. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 42-44, 72-83, 93-97.
53. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 46.
54. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 77-80; Tanimoto, “Hiroshima’s Idea,” 20.
55. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima no jûjika*, 83-90.
56. “Hiroshima ni Pisu Sentâ,” *Asahi Shimbun* May 9, 1949, Tanimoto Kiyoshi Papers, no. 122.
57. Norman Cousins, “Modern Man Is Obsolete,” *SRL* August 18, 1945, 5-9.
58. Norman Cousins, “Sovereignty in an Atomic Age,” *SRL* October 13, 1945, 22.
59. Norman Cousins, “Hiroshima: Four Years Later,” *SRL* September 17, 1949, 8+. This planned building of HPC was never constructed.
60. “Editor’s Note,” *SRL* October 9, 1949, 27; “*SRL* Readers and ‘Moral Adoptions,’” *SRL* November 5, 1949, 23; Kathleen Sproul, “Genus: Parents--Species: Moral,” *SRL* December 13, 1950, 26; Dorothy Dessau to Chief, CAS, GHQ/SCAP, “Staff Study, Hiroshima Peace Center Foundation and Moral Adoption Scheme for Hiroshima Bomb Orphans,” August 10, 1950, Public Health and Welfare Section, GHQ/SCAP Records, PHW-01415.
61. Letters to the editor, *SRL* October 22, 1949, 20.
62. Dessau, “Staff Study.”
63. Tanimoto, “Watashi ha ikanishite,” 21-27.
64. John E. Zoller, “Japanese Pastor Relates His Experience at Hiroshima,” *Oakland Tribune*, October 10, 1948, Folder: Japan-Hiroshima Peace Center Foundation, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA; Tanimoto, “Hiroshima’s Idea,” 20; Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 52, 113.
65. Tanimoto, *Hiroshima gembaku*, 56-60.
66. Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 15.