University of San Diego

Digital USD

Undergraduate Honors Theses

Theses and Dissertations

5-2020

The Atomic Bomb and the Birth of Manga: Collective Memory in Post-WWII Japan

Bethany Harris

Follow this and additional works at: https://digital.sandiego.edu/honors_theses

Part of the [History Commons](#), and the [Japanese Studies Commons](#)

The Atomic Bomb and the Birth of Manga: Collective Memory in Post-WWII Japan

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty and the Honors Program
Of the University of San Diego

By
Bethany Rose Harris
History
2020

Introduction

Sakue Shimohira was only ten years old when she survived the horrific atomic bombing of Nagasaki, losing both her mother and brother to the blast. However, this was only the beginning of her battle to remain alive. Faced with nowhere to go, she and her younger sister had to fend for themselves. Eventually, her sister jumped in front of a train and committed suicide, leaving Shimohira alone. She tried to follow suit, but at the last moment became afraid and jumped out of the way. She said, “that day I realized there were two kinds of courage: the courage to live and the courage to die. My sister had the courage to die, and I had the courage to live.”¹ Japan in the post-war period contains many stories like Shimohira’s, and those that “had the courage to live” faced more challenges than psychological torment: 3-4% of the population, approximately 2.7 million servicemen and civilians, had died, millions were injured, sick, or malnourished, one-fourth of Japan’s wealth was destroyed, 66 major cities, including Hiroshima and Nagasaki, had been heavily bombed, and 9 million people were left homeless.² Photographs showing razed cities shocked even American audiences, “who had never really grasped what it meant to incinerate great cities.”³ It is in this climate that manga emerged as a genre, what initially was a way to entertain children in a destroyed post-war Japan evolved into a complex medium built on life-experience. Manga eventually became an outlet to express atomic bomb and war trauma.

In Lisa Yoneyama’s book, *Hiroshima Traces*, Yoneyama notes the trend of recent works defining memory as mutually exclusive, or even in direct conflict with, history, saying that

¹ Steven Okazaki, *White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 2007, New York, NY: HBO Documentary Films, HBO Video.

² John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999): 54-55.

³ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 55.

“memory has often been associated with myth or fiction and contrasted with history as written by professionals.⁴” The work in this paper is using collective memory, as it appears in manga, to tell a history, and the purpose is not to compare memory with “true history” but to understand the changing dynamics of history through the decades and analyze what this reveals about attitudes toward the atomic bomb and postwar healing. Pitting collective memory and history against each other creates, as Yoneyama puts it, a “false dichotomy⁵,” because history does not exist in a vacuum and always contains elements that are repressed or emphasized because victors and winners get to write history to their choosing. This paper will analyze post-WWII manga and show how different types of manga reflected different post-war experiences, conceptions, and memories of the war atom bomb. Beginning with Osamu Tezuka’s immensely popular *Astro Boy*, then moving to Keiji Nakazawa’s atomic bomb manga *Hadashi no Gen* (Barefoot Gen and *Ore wa Mita* (I Saw It), and finally ending with *Yūnagi no Machi, Sakura no Kuni* (Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms), this paper seeks to show the different ways the atomic bomb was conceived in the post-war period. Initially, with the help of the Japanese government and U.S. Occupation forces, the atomic bomb and its destruction was viewed as a terrible tragedy, but also a sacrifice that ushered in a new era of peace and stability, and in addition a new energy source, nuclear power. In the 1970s, this shifted to an abhorrence for the bomb and all aspects of it, in addition to condemnation of both the Japanese and American governments. In modern times, the bomb is viewed as a shared tragedy by all of humanity, and the cities it targeted, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, now serve as beacons of peace.

⁴ Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999, 27.

⁵ Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 27.

Comic art runs deep in the culture of Japan. Many scholars agree that the oldest surviving example of comic art can be traced back to the twelfth-century scroll paintings, *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga*⁶, or in English “Scrolls of Frolicking Animals,” as seen in Figure 1.0. In total, this collection is comprised of four picture scrolls and it is attributed to Bishop Toba. It is believed that Japanese artists modified and adapted the Chinese illustrated scroll style to reflect Japanese art styles and texts. While narrative, comic, and satiric prints/paintings like the *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga* have existed for quite some time, the formal properties commonly associated with modern manga came into existence relatively recently. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the rectangular panels and speech bubbles characteristic of manga cropped up. But much of the other elements, like reading the panels right-to-left top-down and representation of sound, did not emerge until the Showa Era (1925-89).⁷ During the war and postwar period manga developed into its own unique recognizable medium thanks largely to comic artist, Osamu Tezuka, who popularized “story manga,” where manga had a complex storyline similar to that of books or movies. The modern image of manga that developed in the post-war period will be the main focus for this paper.

In the postwar period, an impoverished audience arose for cheap instant entertainment. The late 1940s saw activities such as *rakugo* (storytelling) and *kamishibai* (picture card shows) become immensely popular. Picture card storytellers do what their name implies: use picture cards in order to tell a story;⁸ some manga artists began their career as picture card storytellers. After graduating from storytelling, these manga artists would write for rental manga publishers,

⁶ Natsu Onoda Power, “Tezuka Osamu: An Intertextual History of Comics in Post-World War II Japan” PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2005, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (3177786), 29.

⁷ Natsu Onoda Power, “Tezuka Osamu,” 29.

⁸ Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’I Press, 2000), 24.

which would print a very limited amount of the books or magazines and distribute these to rental manga shops.⁹ The 1950s saw a large expansion of rental manga shops which would be found in places people often commuted: train terminals, street corners, etc. and would rent out manga at ¥ 10 for a two-day borrowing.¹⁰ With the influx of rural countryside workers to urban areas as cities became reconstructed, the rental manga business changed to suit these new readerships' tastes, therefore *gekiga* (dramatic pictures) developed as a new genre of manga. *Gekiga* was characterized by its more realistic style and increasingly political and serious plotlines more suitable for mature audiences.

Developing with *kamishibai* and rental manga, various other manga formats were published. *Akabon* (red books) were sold by street vendors in Osaka. In fact, Osamu Tezuka's *Shin Takarajima* (New Treasure Island) was published in this format and sold over 400,000 copies¹¹ which helped bolster popularity for the *akabon* format. Retaining this format of "story manga," the first color children's magazine containing manga post WWII was *Manga Shōnen* (Manga Boy) and Osamu Tezuka published *Jungle Taitei* (Jungle Emperor) in it. Children's story-book manga reflected a Walt Disney influence because of the U.S. Occupation and the influx of U.S.-style comics: like Mickey Mouse and Betty Boop. Unlike the serious *gekiga*, children's stories retained a very "cute" Disney-like art style.

The late 1950s and early 1960s, because of Japan's economic growth, saw a shift in Japanese publishing; weekly news magazines and manga magazines characterized the national climate. Instead of rental manga and *akabon* books, the spread of "weekly" manga became popularized. The first weekly magazine, called *Magazine*, started in 1959 and was soon joined

⁹ Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga*, 24.

¹⁰ Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga*, 24.

¹¹ Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga*, 27.

by several other weekly manga magazines. Essentially, the timeline for manga was rapidly moved up, what was once a monthly publishing endeavor was now a weekly part of everyday people's lives. This also allowed manga to keep up with television broadcasting as a form of entertainment. Interestingly, manga and television developed a "symbiotic" relationship and worked and developed alongside each other rather than competing against each other.¹² Soon, *gekiga* and children's manga fused to form adolescent manga, which then branched off into the various genres of manga known to people today. By the end of 1966 *Magazine* was being read by one million people and by 1974 there were 75 manga magazines with a monthly circulation of 20 million.¹³ It is also in this climate that *Garo*, an alternative manga magazine, was launched and became closely tied with both political left movements and college political movements. From this point, manga only continued to expand and branch off into various genres from *Shōnen* (Boy's), *Shōjo* (Girl's), *Josei* (Women's), to anything in between, becoming one of the most recognizable elements of Japanese culture exported throughout the modern world.

There are two main approaches to analyzing manga. The first and more common approach views comics as reflecting society, as seen by Tsurumi Shunsuke and Fujikawa Chisui in *Shisō no kagaku*.¹⁴ In the mid 1990s, this reflection has received some criticism and critics like Natsume Fusanosuke called for an approach that paid closer attention to "expressions" in comics. The expression approach is known as *hyōgen ron* and the "social reflection" approach is known as *shakai han'ei ron*.¹⁵ These approaches do not have to be mutually exclusive and have been used as complements to each other before, like in Itō Gō's book *Tetzuka izu deddo* (Tezuka is

¹² Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga*, 31.

¹³ Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga*, 31.

¹⁴ Kenji Ito, "Robots, A-Bombs, and War: Cultural Meanings of Science and Technology in Japan Around World War II," in *Filling the Hole in the Nuclear Future: Art and Popular Culture Respond to the Bomb*, ed. Robert Jacobs (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 65.

¹⁵ Kenji Ito, "Robots, A-Bombs, and War," 65.

Dead). Because the purpose of this paper is to look at how the atomic bomb is remembered in manga, rather than the expressions of comics, it will utilize the *shakai han'ei ron* (social reflection) approach. While there are some limitations to this approach, namely that it is impossible to state that this manga artist reflects the reality for all “ordinary people” which implies homogeneity of people and a monolithic category of “postwar experience,” in order to mitigate this, manga across different time periods in history will be analyzed. Beginning with *Astro Boy*, which was released in the immediate postwar period, then moving on to *Hadashi no Gen*, which was not released until the 1970s, and then concluding with *Yūnagi no Machi, Sakura no Kuni*, which was published recently in 2004, these manga will show how the atomic bomb is viewed of in pop culture from right after the dropping, to only fifteen years ago. The hope is that by analyzing a different range of categories of postwar manga, a homogenous amorphous view of public perception after the war is avoided and instead a nuanced view is recorded.

The field of analyzing war manga in English was established in the 1990s. Anthropologist and Ph.D. recipient, Saya S. Shiraishi says in “Japan’s Soft Power: Doraemon Goes Overseas” that there is something people around the globe are recognizing and identifying in Japanese comics, and these comics must have some sort of cross-cultural basis for identification.¹⁶ After the globalization and popularization of manga, English study of manga as a medium for expressing and coping with tragedies of war and memory began cropping up. In 2003, Eldad Nakar published an article titled, “Memories of Pilots and Planes: World War II in Japanese “Manga,” 1957-1967,¹⁷” in the *Social Science Japan Journal*. Nakar wanted to analyze

¹⁶ Saya S. Shiraishi, “Japan’s Soft Power: Doraemon Goes Overseas,” In *Network Power: Japan and Asia*, edited by Katzenstein Peter J. and Shiraishi Takashi, (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 234-272, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv5rflps.12>.

¹⁷ Eldad Nakar, “Memories of Pilots and Planes: World War II in Japanese “Manga,” 1957-1967,” *Social Science Japan Journal* 6, no. 1 (2003), 57-76, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30209413>.

the factors leading to the construction and “pervasive acceptance” of what he refers to as “distinctively skewed images of the past.” Here, Nakar is referring to war memory and one of the popular tropes recognized in Japanese manga, the victimization narrative. Some Japanese manga artists have coped with the war by painting Japan as innocent victims of the bomb.

Thereafter, a “shared experience” narrative became popular, and studies comparing Japanese and American reactions to the bomb and the war in general were being published. In 2007, historians Ferenc M. Szasz and Issei Takechi published a comparative study of how America and Japan dealt with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its implementation.¹⁸ This article is useful because it clarifies that for America, the atomic bomb begins with the Manhattan Project. But for Japan, the atomic bomb does not begin until the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima. These scholars argue that although the texts are a reflection of the country they were developed in, there is a search for shared understanding. Artists in both Japan and America are trying to cope with the same issues, like grappling with this newfound nuclear power that has the potential to wipe-out mankind.

In 2012, political scientist Frank Robert Fuller published “The Atomic Bomb: Reflections in Japanese Manga and Anime.”¹⁹ Fuller’s purpose was to examine post WWII anime and manga based on the bomb’s after-effects and changes in the Japanese mindsets resulting from the war, specifically looking at Osamu Tezuka and artists influenced by his works. His overall argument is that Japanese political cultural elements can be traced in the plotlines and themes carrying hidden messages in manga and anime referencing the bomb’s effects in the 1945-65 and 85-96

¹⁸ Ferenc M. Szasz and Issei Takechi, “Atomic Heroes and Atomic Monsters: American and Japanese Cartoonists Confront the Onset of the Nuclear Age, 1945-80,” *The Historian* 69, no. 4 (2007), 728-52, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24453578>.

¹⁹ Frank Robert Fuller, “The Atomic Bomb: Reflections in Japanese Manga and Anime,” *ETD Collection for AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library* (2012), 1-162. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/10678952.pdf>

periods, specifically in post-apocalyptic, science fiction, and fantasy genres. The study of the Japanese mindset continued and there was a shift from scholars looking to reason with “false memories” to rather understanding them without labeling them “correct” or “incorrect.”

Japanologist Ory Bartal looked at Japan as a case study in his article, “From Hiroshima to Fukushima: Comics and Animation as Subversive Agents of Memory in Japan,”²⁰ for the way graphic novels and animation serve as a key facet of shaping collective memory of nuclear Holocaust. He wanted to address questions like why did the Japanese present atrocities of war in this medium? How did this presentation allow for a new historiography and the processing and construction of a new memory? Bartal looked at how comic books and animation proved a powerful tool for processing and coping with a traumatic historical event and thereafter how personal memories in popular culture sometimes replace the historical narrative. This paper hopes to continue on this trend of analyzing postwar experience and memories, not for “correctness” but for understanding a mindset and bringing us closer to the postwar experience in Japan.

Section 1: Astro Boy, the “Mighty Atom” and Popular Support for a New Identity in Japan

World War II cast an ironic shadow over the face of Japan: the land that was once the powerful colonizer led by an aggressive military dictatorship, was now occupied by American troops and transformed into a peaceful and passive democratic nation. By reinventing its identity, Japan was able to recover from its devastating defeat and capitalize on the global economy.²¹ This shift is reflected heavily in popular manga during this time period, specifically Osamu Tezuka’s, often referred to as the God of Manga in Japan, *Astro Boy*. *Astro Boy* was born into the

²⁰ Ory Bartal, “From Hiroshima to Fukushima: Comics and Animation as Subversive Agents of Memory in Japan,” In *Interdisciplinary Handbook of Trauma and Culture*, (Switzerland: Springer, 2016), 101-114.

²¹ Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000): 12.

context that Maruyama Masao identifies as a “community of contrition.”²² This “community of contrition” represents the shared experiences of Japanese people post-WWII: “widely sharing experiences of the wartime regime, military defeat, and the subsequent changes of the postwar years.”²³ As Lisa Yoneyama interprets it, this “community of contrition...[is] a product of collective memory present at the war’s end, a kind of remembering that was generated by, and in turn reinvigorated, a sense of shared experience and unity among those who participated in the restructuring of postwar society and culture.”²⁴ The citizens shared a sense of critique for Japan’s wartime militarism, as well as guilt and remorse, with an urgency for moving on and creating a new Japan in light of these wartime acts. *Astro Boy*, in this sense, represents more than just a robot powered off of nuclear power: he is representative of a new ideal that people were longing for in postwar years, and this longing helped bolster his popularity not just in Japan, but worldwide.

In order to analyze *Astro Boy*’s depiction of war memory, first the accepted narrative must be proven and then deconstructed. Unsurprisingly, the United States was the main perpetrator of Japan’s new identity as a peaceful nation instead of an aggressor.²⁵ Japan’s surrender to the Allied Nations and the United States as the “leader” of the Allied Nations led to the Americans singlehandedly occupying Japan, with General McArthur having nearly unchecked control. Thereafter, the nations developed close economic ties. “As in many other cases of militarization and decolonization throughout the world, Japan’s transition was seen by all as a gendered process²⁶,” meaning: the narrative was spun into a masculine versus feminine construction: the

²² Lisa Yoneyama, “Postwar Peace and the Feminization of Memory,” in *Hiroshima Traces*. University of California Press, 1999, 187.

²³ Lisa Yoneyama, “Postwar Peace,” 187.

²⁴ Lisa Yoneyama, “Postwar Peace,” 187.

²⁵ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 12.

²⁶ Lisa Yoneyama, “Postwar Peace,” 187.

United States “rescued” Japan “from the menace of its militarists, and Japan was converted into a peaceful, democratic country under U.S. tutelage.²⁷” Japan’s imperial structure could then be preserved, with Emperor Hirohito painted as much a victim as the Japanese citizens themselves. The ideological conflict between the United States and Japan was effectively repressed in order for Japan to move on and enter into its economic boom. Japan became a “model loser,²⁸” and privileged an alliance with the United States in order to move on from wartime atrocities on both sides. Japan was now seen as a friend who was led astray by militant rhetoric and rescued by the Americans: in this way Japan could always be seen as a friend regardless of what happened during the war.

With this shift in identity came the acceptance of democratic values, and thus the acceptance of science and technology, which was previously regarded as merely a tool of the enemy in Japan.²⁹ The atomic bomb also played a huge role in this shift, people were in awe of the A-bomb and its power. Osamu Tezuka himself named the boy robot, who is referred to as Astro Boy in English, after the atomic bomb by calling him *Tetsuwan Atomu* in the original Japanese version. This is best translated as “mighty atom” and emphasizes the influence of the atomic bomb in post-WWII Japan.

The reason for analyzing Tezuka’s works in this paper owes to the fact that he is best regarded as the main popularizer of manga in Japan. Such popularity is in large part due to his works, such as *Astro Boy*, supporting a positive new identity of Japan and a hopeful portrayal of nuclear power. Tezuka was born in 1928 and began his career training as a doctor at the

²⁷ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 12.

²⁸ Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory*, 41.

²⁹ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War: Cultural Meanings of Science and Technology in Japan Around World War II,” in *Filling the Hole in the Nuclear Future: Art and Popular Culture Respond to the Bomb*, ed. Robert Jacobs (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 63-64.

University of Osaka medical school.³⁰ However, he would never go on to become a practicing physician. Instead, “he became the most important comic artist in twentieth-century Japan³¹” by transforming comics into a “genre of entertainment that has a complex movie-like storyline and its own graphical and textual expressions.³²” This is saying that manga went from small comic strips to longer narratives more similar to the plotlines in movies or novels. In the period after the war, poverty was rampant in all parts of Japan and people were seeking cheap forms of entertainment. With an environment like this, Tezuka’s hopeful and positive manga was quickly popularized.

The main manga written by Tezuka that this paper will focus on is *Astro Boy*, which is “highly contextualized in the post-war Japan under the occupation.³³” *Astro Boy* is a never-before-seen type of “superhero” unique to Japan. Unlike American superheroes who exuded patriotism and justice and contained superpowers from “alien” or unknown sources, *Astro Boy* was a manmade robot.³⁴ He was based on scientific principles, reflecting not only Tezuka’s own background in medical school, but also the obsession with science that reigned in Japan in the post-war period. Lastly, *Astro Boy* did not fight for Japan, he fought for peace. This attitude also fits in with the Japanese governments own post-war stance, rather than “getting back” at the Americans and increasing hostilities, *Astro Boy* promoted positivity in the post war period. *Astro Boy* helped express this sentiment of “moving on from the war” that so many people desired, which contributed to its widespread popularization over other works that condemned the war and played out war trauma.

³⁰ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 77.

³¹ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 77.

³² Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 77.

³³ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 82.

³⁴ Osamu Tezuka, *Astro Boy*, vol. 1, trans. Frederik L. Schodt (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002), 6.

According to Tezuka, *Astro Boy* was a product of the occupation. Tezuka's generation was familiar with American soldiers and dealt with them on a daily basis:

One day, a GI asked him something in English, which Tezuka did not understand and answered by repeating "What?" The angered American soldier gave the boy a punch. Tezuka, shocked and furious, produced various manga on the difficulties of cross-cultural communication and on conflicts between different cultures...according to him, this is what *Astro Boy* is about.³⁵

While *Astro Boy* does deal with racial conflicts and ideas about humanity, it should not be forgotten that the original Japanese name, *Tetsuwan Atomu*, conjured up images of the atom bomb. The original idea for *Astro Boy* came in the context of the nuclear bomb test on Christmas Island in 1950.³⁶ Tezuka wanted to make a comic about the peaceful use of nuclear power, rather than the destructive use akin to the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Additionally, over 2 million people had died in Japan from WWII and the majority of Japanese cities were incinerated due to U.S. air raids: *Astro Boy* was a brightening element of hope in the bleak war-torn Japan.

Similar to most Japanese sentiments, Tezuka regarded nuclear weapons with contempt and disgust. Osamu himself, having survived the fire-bombings in Osaka while working at the arsenal, was profoundly impacted by his experience.³⁷ He was distrustful of technology which could get out of hand, like the atomic bombs, and he was suspicious of military leaders and politicians.³⁸ His first idea of writing a manga about an "atom continent" was not as successful as he had hoped. Wishing to write about a coalition of people who use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes,³⁹ Tezuka had created the idea of the atom continent in an attempt to reconcile Japan's new identity of a peaceful nation and the new ally, the United States', continual testing of

³⁵ Kenji Ito, "Robots, A-Bombs, and War," 82.

³⁶ Kenji Ito, "Robots, A-Bombs, and War," 82.

³⁷ Yuki Tanaka, "War and Peace in the Art of Tezuka Osamu: The Humanism of His Epic Manga." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 8, no. 1 (2010): 3.

³⁸ Yuki Tanaka, "War and Peace," 4.

³⁹ Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, Manga/Anime Revolution*, (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007): 19-20.

nuclear weapons. Editors suggested that Tezuka focus on human characters to increase his idea's popularity, which resulted in the *Ambassador Atom* comics, however the comics were still not gaining traction or much popularity. The storyline was too complicated. One editor suggested that he make *Atom* the star of the comics, which resulted in the creation of *Astro Boy*.⁴⁰ This shows that popularized manga at this time did not reflect only the author's ideas, but also the opinions of major publishing house editors and what they believed would sell. In addition, Astro was an orphan after he was disowned by his creator, and in the context of the time period in which *Astro Boy* was published, there were war orphans throughout Japan. Astro, like these war orphans, "had to gain his own identity, striving to be accepted by society through his contribution to the community."⁴¹

To give a brief summary of the plot, just as the birth "of atomic energy as a technological, cultural, and political reality [that] occurred through the sacrifice of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, so does [*Astro Boy*] found its narrative arc on death."⁴² Astro was created by Dr. Tenma, who was working for Japan's Ministry of Science, on April 7th, 2003. After Dr. Tenma's son, Tobio, was killed in a horrific car accident, Dr. Tenma was looking to replace him with a robot son. However, Dr. Tenma soon realized that *Astro Boy* would never be a suitable replacement because he is not a real boy. This realization led him to sell *Astro Boy* to a robot vendor. Soon thereafter, Dr. Tenma becomes unhinged and must leave the Ministry of Science; he is replaced by Professor Ochanomizu. Professor Ochanomizu finds Astro and becomes his father; he also creates a robot family for Astro to be a part of. Astro has several

⁴⁰ Schodt, "The Astro Boy Essays," 20.

⁴¹ Yuki Tanaka, "War and Peace," 5.

⁴² Alicia Gibson, "Out of Death, an Atomic Consecration to Life: Astro Boy and Hiroshima's Long Shadow," *Mechademia* 8 (2013): 317.

amazing powers but still attends elementary school with an eccentric teacher, *Higeoyaji* (in the translated version he is Mr. Mustachio) and goes on all sorts of adventures.⁴³

Astro Boy is a robot created with top-of-the-line technology available in the futuristic universe, and thus has superhuman powers. He “has the strength of one hundred thousand horsepower, can fly, and can fire missiles. He can hear sound humans cannot, and his eyes flash like search lights...[he] can speak fifty languages...[and] can tell a good person from a bad one just by looking.”⁴⁴ Eventually, whether Tezuka intended or not, Astro Boy became a symbol of democratic ideology, specifically American democracy.⁴⁵ He culturally becomes a symbol of atomic power, which was what America possessed at the time of Astro Boy’s writing.

The very first time the character of Astro appeared in Tezuka’s writings was in the *Atomu Taishi* (“Ambassador Atom”) series serialized from April 1951 to March 1952 in *Shōnen* magazine. Astro was so popular in this installment that Tezuka went on to create a spin-off series with Astro as the central character. “Ambassador Atom” was eventually released as “chapter 0” in the *Astro Boy* volumes published in the 1970s. In this manga, refer to Figure 1.1, there is an alien race that existed in a parallel universe separate from the humans on Earth as we know it. This alien race used to live on its own Earth, which was destroyed, and had been scourging the galaxy looking for another Earth to inhabit. Every single person on Earth has an identical copy of themselves as someone of the alien race, the only difference being that the aliens had larger ears. In Figure 1.1, Professor Ochanomizu sees his copy and exclaims “I feel like I’m looking in a mirror.” His alien copy says that they “came from an Earth, too...I’m sure you find it hard to believe, but there are many, many identical solar systems throughout the universe.” Soon, these

⁴³ Frederik L. Schodt, “Introduction,” in Osamu Tezuka, *Astro Boy*, vol. 1, trans. Frederik L. Schodt (Milwaukee, WI: Dark Horse Comics, 2002), 7-8.

⁴⁴ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 83.

⁴⁵ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 84.

aliens are allowed onto Earth and begin populating the planet. However, soon it becomes evident that there are not enough resources to support the aliens and the original humans inhabiting Earth. Parallel to Japan bombing Pearl Harbor, the humans begin using a substance that can shrink the cells of a person down and shooting the aliens with this substance and the aliens retreat back to their ship. However, this attack demands retaliation and the aliens are quick to plan an attack.

When the aliens return to their ship, we see a scene that parallels that prior to the bombing of Hiroshima: the “LeMay leaflets.” This is not unique to Hiroshima, often times Allied bombers would drop leaflets on a city telling civilians to evacuate, or encouraged civilians to force their government to surrender. These were distributed over a variety of cities, as not to warn the Japanese which cities would specifically be targeted so that the planes could be shot down. As seen in Figure 1.2, the alien people dropped pamphlets that read “To all Earth People. We shall exact maximum revenge on you in 24 hours. The Space People.” The humans begin panicking, ready to blame Dr. Tenma, who was the one who ordered the shooting of the aliens with the shrink guns. We have a scenario here where the citizens are victim to orders and militarization at the behest of one individual, Dr. Tenma, but in Japan this was at the behest of the militaristic government and Emperor Hirohito. Figure 1.2 shows an option that the Japanese did not have at the time when negotiating with the Americans, a neutral party. Professor Ochanomizu exclaims, “Whether we’re dealing with Earth or Space People, Astro’s the only one who can stop this conflict now!” Astro, because he is neither alien nor human, acts as an intermediary between the two forces on the brink of war. While never directly referenced, Astro does run off of nuclear power and it is interesting that the same deadly force that destroyed cities, also prevents a war from breaking out between the aliens and the humans.

The title of this manga owed to the events happening in Figure 1.3. Astro appears “on behalf of the Earth people,” and is able to create a compromise that will satisfy both parties. He says, “Why not have half the Earth people and half the Space people move to another planet?” In this way, Astro prevents a war from breaking out but his character and involvement also touches on a few key things critical to how the war is being remembered in the 1950s. For one, the absurdity of fighting against “aliens” that are actually just humans with larger ears highlights the absurdity of humans fighting each other in war. The differences between us are superficial, like the enlarged ear size. This story serves as a different type of way the Americans were being presented to that of popular films, like *Gojira* (Godzilla). When *Gojira* was released a few years after the publishing of this comic, the post-war monster-invasion story revolves around the “theme of the ultimate survival of the Japanese in confrontation with bizarre and threatening “others,” [whereas] the main theme of this first episode of Astro Boy is “reconciliation” between the two different species.⁴⁶” Through this manga chapter, Astro is symbolic of a peaceful use of nuclear energy and representative of an alternate perspective on the nuclear age and the new identity of a peaceful Japan.

A story that capitalizes on the victimization of the Japanese people during WWII is *Chijō Saidai no Robotto* or in English, “The Greatest Robot on Earth,” that was published between June 1964 and January 1965 in *Shonen* magazine. It is one of the most popular stories ever drawn for *Astro Boy* and was drawn when the anime series was at the peak of its popularity.⁴⁷ The main premise of the story is that a power-hungry sultan, having recently been exiled from

⁴⁶ Yuki Tanaka, “War and Peace,” 6.

⁴⁷ Osamu Tezuka, *Astro Boy*, Vol. 3., translated by Frederik L. Schodt (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002): 11.

his country, has the strongest robot in the world built in order to crown himself King of the World. This robot, named Pluto, is sent on a mission to destroy the world's strongest seven robots so that he can become "King of the Robots" and allow his master to become King of the World. Quickly though, sympathy is gained for poor Pluto who is not to be blamed for his actions since he was only following orders. In Figure 1.4, after Pluto confronts the first robot he must destroy, North #2, he says, "I have no hatred of you, North, but my master has ordered me to destroy you, and I must obey him." There is a direct parallel here between poor Pluto and the Japanese people who fought in WWII under Japanese militarism. They were just following orders as well.

As Pluto begins destroying more robots, he becomes damaged and asks Astro Boy if he would press a button on his chest that would call his master over to repair him. Because Astro Boy is morally good, he obliges. Down the road, Pluto does not forget this favor, and the readers can see that Pluto is not a bad robot, he really is following orders, as seen in Figure 1.5. In this instance, Pluto has the opportunity to destroy Astro Boy after beating him in a battle, but he decides not to saying, "Once before, you saved my life, Astro. Now I shall spare yours." He then adds on that they will inevitably have to fight but says, "I don't really want to fight you. It's just my master's orders." In this instance, Pluto exercises agency by going directly against orders of his master to reflect some of the same moral good that Astro Boy exhibited earlier. Like Emperor Hirohito, who was portrayed as also victim of Japanese militarism that got out of control, Pluto felt he had minimal control over his actions and had to continue destroying robots around the world. In this way, not only is Pluto representative of Emperor Hirohito, but also Japanese soldiers in general who were following orders handed down to them. Pluto is not to blame, just as the narrative stressed the Japanese were victims as well and also not to blame for the war.

Eventually, Pluto goes against the orders of his master and chooses not to fight Astro. He realizes that Astro is truly the strongest robot in the world, not because of horsepower, but because of his values. Astro, representative of peaceful uses of nuclear power, is spared. Unfortunately, another robot, Bora, in the same situation as Pluto but being controlled by another master, destroys Pluto just as this transformation takes place. As seen in Figure 1.6, losing Pluto was tragic, but the sultan learned his lesson. Bora was a creation by another robot to show the sultan that it is wrong to use robots in that manner. Just as it is wrong by governments to force their citizens into war against each other over battles that do not concern them. In Figure 1.6, Astro turns to Professor *Higeoyaji* and asks, “How come robots fight when they don’t really hate each other,” and the Professor answers, “I don’t really know, Astro...But maybe it’s because humans make them do it...” This can be interpreted as a condemnation of war in general and the people who are conscripted. Astro ends the comic strip, surrounded by all of the great robots who perished because of one man’s greed, and says at the bottom of Figure 1.6, “I still believe robots will all become friends someday and never ever fight each other again...” There is a hope here for peace, just as there is a hope in Japan for world peace, where hopefully one day humans will stop waging war against each other. Also evident here is a glimmer of hope in the nuclear age that perhaps a conflict on the scale of WWII will never happen again.

By analyzing *Astro Boy* as a form of war memory, its booming popularity can be in part, attributed to its positive perception of Japan post-war, and its hopeful and peaceful message that many people in Japan resonated with. Both the United States government and the Japanese government worked together to transform Japan from a militaristic aggressive enemy-nation, to one that could be seen as misguided by evil leaders and truly a pacifist friend all along. Japan’s successful transition to a democracy with the help of American investment and technological

innovation is also reflected in *Astro Boy*. The main character, Astro, used nuclear energy peacefully in order to stop a war between aliens and Earthlings, in addition to fighting Pluto and teaching him how to be a good robot. Symbolism that reflected Japan as victims to their government supports the modern narrative that stresses Japan's economic boom and a peaceful new identity that could only be constructed after the tragedies that occurred in WWII. In the following sections, manga that deals directly with the atomic bomb will be analyzed.

Section 2: A *Hibakusha*'s Memory of the Atom Bomb through Manga

In a matter of seconds, a city could be completely razed: buildings incinerated and people reduced to stained shadows on the ground. But in a way, these were the lucky ones. Still thousands more limped for hours, crying for water only to drink it and immediately collapse dead. The ones that did survive were plagued with not only trauma from the incomprehensible destruction they witnessed, but trauma from worries about radiation. Radiation sickness could take a *hibakusha*'s, explosion-affected-person, life at any point in time following the dropping of the bombs. Even if a survivor thought they escaped the worst of it, they might wake up one morning losing their hair and vomiting blood, signaling the impending death from radiation poisoning. The nuclear fallout from Hiroshima and Nagasaki left an indelible mark on Japan that also helped in forming Japan's new peaceful anti-war identity that is still largely in place to this day. Due to censorship from Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), the bomb could not be discussed at all until the end of the Occupation. Following Japan regaining its sovereignty, atomic bomb literature began cropping up. Keiji Nakazawa, who pioneered the documentary form of manga, will be the main focus of the section, including an analysis of *Ore wa Mita* (I Saw It) and *Hadashi no Gen* (Barefoot Gen). Through this analysis,

this paper will show that another response to WWII and the atomic bombs that pervaded popular culture was an abhorrence for war, Japanese militarists, the Emperor, and America.

The Occupation of Japan not only prevented the publication of pro-militaristic or anti-democratic viewpoints, it also prohibited the sharing of any information about the atomic bomb. From September 1945 to October 1949,⁴⁸ the Japanese populace at large remained widely in the dark about the effects of the atomic bomb. Occupation censorship prevented atomic bomb victims from sharing their stories, gaining psychological help, and overall slowed the government assistance victims so desperately needed.⁴⁹ In this climate, misinformation about *hibakusha* spread like wildfire and discrimination became evident. *Hibakusha* were rejected as marriage prospects because there was fear that radiation sickness could spread to their offspring, faced workplace discrimination if they were physically disfigured from the bomb, and had no outlet for which they could gain assistance until 1957. In this year, the Japanese Diet passed the “A-Bomb Victims Medical Care Law,” which overtime, and with more revisions, allowed *hibakusha* to receive free medical treatment and a monthly allowance.⁵⁰ It is no surprise then that Keiji Nakazawa did not publish his own experience about the atomic bomb until October of 1972.

Nakazawa moved to Tokyo in hopes of becoming a successful *mangaka* (cartoonist), and hid the fact that he was a *hibakusha* because of the prevalent discrimination *hibakusha* faced.⁵¹ Starting off as a paid assistant to *mangaka*, eventually he released his own manga, *Spark One*, about car racing and espionage in 1963. But after the passing of his mother, his motivations for

⁴⁸ Kenji Ito, “Robots, A-Bombs, and War,” 73.

⁴⁹ John W. Dower, “The Bombed: Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japanese Memory,” (*Diplomatic History* 19, no.2, 1995): 283.

⁵⁰ John Hersey, *Hiroshima*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1989): 136.

⁵¹ Hillary L. Chute, *Disaster Drawn: Visual Witness, Comics, and Documentary Form*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016): 115.

writing manga took a sharp turn. His mother, Kiyomi Nakazawa's, cremated body contained no bones because the radioactive cesium from the bomb caused them to disintegrate. In Japanese funerary practice, after the cremation takes place, the relatives of the deceased pick bone fragments out of the ashes in a practice known as *kotsuage*.⁵² Without any bones to place in an urn, the atomic bomb had deprived Nakazawa the right to put his mother to rest properly. As seen in Figure 2.1, one of the last pages of his documentary-manga *Ore wa Mita*, Nakazawa vows to keep his mother's memory alive and fight back against her death by making manga about the atomic bomb. Her image with the nuclear explosion as the backdrop emphasizes the atomic bomb is still affecting her to this day, having eaten away at her bones. By publishing manga, Nakazawa wants to explain his frustration with the Japanese militaristic policies that led to the dropping of the bombs, along with the cruel Americans who willingly dropped the bomb on innocent civilians. By outing himself as a *hibakusha*, Nakazawa bravely opened himself up to discrimination and judgment in the name of condemning the atomic bomb.

Ore wa Mita was released in 1972, appearing in the magazine *Monthly Shōnen Jump*. After Osamu Tezuka popularized story manga, Nakazawa took story manga and turned it into the first documentary story: an autobiography of his experience of the bombing of Hiroshima.⁵³ Surprisingly, *Ore wa Mita* was highly successful despite being released in a time when talk of the atomic bomb was met with embarrassment and shame.⁵⁴ For the first time, the bomb could be seen from a Japanese perspective rather than the Western perspective, already seen in John Hersey's *Hiroshima*. The publishing of *Ore wa Mita* started a new culture for nonfiction manga

⁵²Natacha Aveline-Dubach, *Invisible Population: The Place of the Dead in East Asian Megacities* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012): 43.

⁵³ After *Ore wa Mita*, the first documentary form of manga, was published, in 1974 Osamu Tezuka published his own documentary manga of his experience in the firebombing of Osaka titled *Kami no Toride* (The Paper Fortress)

⁵⁴ Hillary L. Chute, *Disaster Drawn*, 118.

in Japan, previously there had been nonfiction manga but it was mostly political satire and about current events. Before, there had also been works known as *senki mono* (records of war), but they were fictionalized, opting to combine real historical settings, dates, and figures with fictitious plots. The closest manga to *Ore wa Mita* was seen in the 1960s in a genre known as “artist manga,” about aspiring manga artists, but these were only semi-autobiographies.⁵⁵

The morning of August 6 1945 was much like any other morning for Keiji Nakazawa, a six-year-old resident of Hiroshima. After a B-29 Bomber was spotted, residents of Hiroshima took refuge in an air raid shelter. Air raids were not uncommon in Japan during WWII, and this one was deemed a false-alarm. After leaving the shelter, Nakazawa said goodbye to his father, sister, and little brother and went on his way to school, as seen in Figure 2.2. This would be the last time he would see them alive. Taking a closer look at Figure 2.2, also note that the version of the comic being used is colorized, the original was black and white, the light airiness conveys a time of transitional ease between air raid warnings and the actions of everyday life. The panels themselves smoothly flow into each other and showcase the normalcy of the events at play: Susumu and Keiji bantering about their soon-to-be sibling, Keiji leaving without his sister because she is running late, and Susumu waving to Keiji as he heads off to school. These events feel commonplace and the nostalgia for these times is palpable among the frames of the manga. Hauntingly, the sky was beautiful and clear with the bright sun unobscured by clouds or trees, taking up most of the frame in the last panel. The blinding brightness of the sun is the last object associated with Keiji’s departure from the rest of his family, it almost seems like a precursor for the following inevitable events.

⁵⁵ Hillary L. Chute, *Disaster Drawn*, 113-114.

When the atomic bomb drops, the scene is indescribably gruesome. In Figure 2.3, Nakazawa depicts severely disfigured people, with their skin melting off their bodies and hanging from the tips of their fingers. There is a dichotomy depending on if one was wearing white or black clothes: white clothes reflected the heat, and victims did not suffer as badly as those who wore black clothes, which absorbed the heat and burned all of the clothes and skin off of the victims. Seen through the eyes of a child, those badly burned look like “monsters,” and remain largely incomprehensible. When contrasted with the happy and nostalgic scene with Nakazawa’s family, the scene depicting the atomic bomb aftermath is bloody. The use of various types of shading chop up the frames into individual pictures that make the scene much different from the nostalgic scene that depicted a natural flowing together. The frames stagger into individual shots that depict the chaos going on around Nakazawa. The biggest frame depicts both males and females, with and without clothes, all standing amidst the crumbled buildings with skin almost as long as their legs hanging from the tips of their fingers. Nakazawa, having been protected by his school’s concrete wall, provides a stark contrast to the burned victims around him: he is at the center of the scene and the frames depict almost a panorama of horror going on around him, every place he looks. His aloneness is emphasized overtly.

Through these scenes in *Ore wa Mita*, Nakazawa was capturing two very important emotions felt not only by atomic bomb victims, but all of those living in the post war period: nostalgia for the way things used to be, and the utter aloneness and helplessness that was felt in the wake of Japan’s defeat. In contrast to *Astro Boy* and other comics that focused on a positive use of nuclear power and pushed for a “moving on” into economic prosperity, *Ore wa Mita* does not hide the negative emotions felt after Japan’s defeat. Nakazawa condemns the USA along with Japan’s military and appeals to humanity: the loss of his mother inspires him to fight on

behalf of the victims of the war through depicting reality in comics. The success of *Ore wa Mita* led to Nakazawa publishing *Hadashi no Gen* in the magazine *Shōnen Jump* from 1972-1975.

Unlike *Ore wa Mita*, *Hadashi no Gen* is not an autobiographical story, but rather what Nakazawa refers to as events that “really happened to me or to other people in Hiroshima.”⁵⁶ *Hadashi no Gen* follows a young boy named Gen living in Hiroshima. Set months before the bombing occurs, readers get a sense of what everyday life was like during the wartime period. The story eventually covers the bombing and then moves into the aftermath, providing a much longer account than *Ore wa Mita*. In addition to being much longer, *Hadashi no Gen* is also much more overt in displaying postwar problems like discrimination faced by *hibakusha* and Koreans, radiation’s devastating effects on the body, familial fracture and orphans, along with starvation and overall discontent. The manga is also much more critical of the Japanese Emperor and wartime government at large.⁵⁷ One of the main themes of the manga is Gen’s resilience: no matter what obstacle he faces, he overcomes it. This casts a hopeful light on the postwar situation and the survivors entering a new era, by the 1970s when this is published it has been twenty years since the end of the war and survivors have triumphed over their own difficult trials and tribulations.

The theme of resilience is best seen through the wheat crop imagery⁵⁸, seen in Figure 2.4. From the very first page of *Hadashi no Gen*, Gen’s father explains to his sons the high level of endurance the wheat plant has. Despite the cold winter frost, seen in the first panel on the top right, repeatedly being stepped on, the wheat plant grows strong and bears fruit in the summer.

⁵⁶ Hillary L. Chute, *Disaster Drawn*, 131.

⁵⁷ Christine Erica Wiley, “The Japanese Nuclear Imagery: Representations of the Nuclear Age in Postwar Japanese Art,” (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2010), 87.

⁵⁸ For more about the motif of wheat see Christine Erica Wiley, “The Japanese Nuclear Imagery,” 88. Wiley additionally describes the wheat as a metaphor for Japan’s postwar economic growth and industrialization.

The large panel highlighting the wheat with a red background conjures up images of the atomic bomb and the wheat representing the future *hibakusha*. The sun takes up most of the frame, acting as a surrogate for the atomic bomb flash that accompanies its dropping. The foreshadowing of the atom bomb begins from the very first page, and the motif of wheat's resilience also continues throughout the manga series. In the bottom right corner frame, Gen's father says to Gen and his younger brother, "*Omaetachi mo kono mugimitai ni narundazo*," which roughly means, "you guys also will become like this wheat." Gen continually thinks about the hardy wheat throughout the manga series and tries to overcome any challenges he faces as a *hibakusha*. Just as the wheat gets crushed and walked all over and survives the snowy season, Gen too will survive the fallout and eventually things will get better. The glimmer of hope is that someday he too will "bear fruit" and prosper like the wheat plant, despite the effects of the war.

The atomic bomb blast does not actually occur until almost the end of the first volume of *Hadashi no Gen*. Probably the most memorable scene from the blast in the comic is the horse that lit up in flames (see Figure 2.5.) that Gen came across in the immediate aftermath of the bomb. In Shintoism, the sun is the center of the religion, known as the goddess *Amaterasu*. Additionally, a common practice in Shintoism is offering *shinme*, steeds of the Gods, to Shinto Gods; this tradition goes all the way back to the Nara period. In this scene it is almost like *Amaterasu* herself has fallen from the sky in the form of the bomb and crashed with her horses running wild. This is yet another parallel between the sun and the atomic bomb blast. Coupled with the seemingly "magical/fantasy" aspects of the destruction of the nuclear bomb, the horse on fire is the central focal point of the frame. Gen and others are merely background characters; if the sun god's animal is terrified, so then must the residents of Hiroshima. The hopelessness

and panic of the situation is greatly emphasized and the flames foreshadow the fates of Gen's family.

When Gen finally returns home, he finds his brother, sister, and father all trapped in their house. This is the same scene that happened in *Ore wa Mita* to Nakazawa himself, except in Gen's version Gen was there to see his family die. In Nakazawa's autobiographical manga, his mother recounts to him having to leave the rest of his family to die because she could not save them before the flames burned their house up. The artistic choice to place Gen at the center of this horrific scene emphasizes the absolute lack of control anyone in Hiroshima had over the situation. After fighting frantically to free his family, it is no use. As seen in Figure 2.6, Gen's father tells him to go. He emphasizes that Gen's mother is pregnant and because he will soon die from the impending flames, Gen has a duty to live and take care of his mother and future younger sibling. As the fire approaches, Gen's younger brother exclaims "*Atsuiyo! Atsuiyo! Hi ga ashi no chikaku ni kitayo*" (It's so hot! The fire is coming close to my legs.) and his younger sister whimpers "*ku..kurushiiyo. Kāchan...*" (I'm in pain...mama). Gen and his mother are forced to leave before the fire can consume them too, and they must bear the pain of having watched helplessly as their loved ones burned alive.

After seeing the portrayal of the nuclear Holocaust in *Hadashi no Gen*, it is no surprise that Keiji Nakazawa is critical of the United States for dropping the bomb, and Japanese militarists for pushing the war too far. In *Ore wa Mita*, he vows, in Figure 2.1, to "show the ones who started the war. The ones who used us as their playthings," and after seeing the immense suffering on a human level, the promotion of peace becomes even more striking. The ambiguity of "the ones" invokes criticism of the United States and Japan as perpetrators in the war. Even to this day, *Hadashi no Gen* faces criticism from school curriculum because it casts Japan and the

Emperor in a negative light, but regardless it can be found in most school libraries. *Hadashi no Gen* became popular around Japan and several movie and TV adaptations have appeared. In a time where Japan's economic miracle was taking place and people were overall trying to reconstruct a new identity for Japan, Nakazawa reminds us that the war wounds are not yet closed. Many people were lost in the war effort, and it is not okay to move on and pretend it never happened.

As Sumiko Umehara, a *hibakusha* puts it, "if the suffering of the victims of the bomb was forgotten, it would be so easy for war to break out. I pray that survivors will speak out about their suffering to help build a world that will never again know war."⁵⁹ And many survivors have continued to spread this message of peace, with Tsumiteru Taniguchi saying that "while we survivors of the atomic bombing live, we will campaign resolutely, with the help of people of goodwill everywhere, for the banning of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth and for an end to war, so that our children may inhabit a world of peace."⁶⁰

Atomic bomb manga is another genre of manga that reflects a different version of war memory. While Osamu Tezuka's *Astro Boy* helped perpetuate the Japanese as victims of a militaristic state narrative, *Ore wa Mita* and *Hadashi no Gen* take this one step further, outrightly condemning the Japanese government, including the Emperor, and the American government. Also in contrast to *Astro Boy*, Nakazawa's manga was not only nostalgic of the past, it dwelled on the pain of the atomic bombings. Instead of ushering in a new era of economic prosperity and peace, Nakazawa's manga calls for immersing ourselves once more in the pain of the war, in order to promote further peace in the future. Nakazawa's narrative of WWII is one that is eternal,

⁵⁹ Gaynor Sekimori and Naomi Shono, *Hibakusha, Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, (Tokyo: Kosei Pub. Co., 2005), 145.

⁶⁰ Sekimori and Shono, *Hibakusha: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, 119.

down to the bones of his mother, and something that should not be forgotten or moved on from, but rather used as a reminder for why something of that magnitude can never occur again. However, both Osamu Tezuka's works and Keiji Nakazawa's works stressed the importance of world peace and friendship between nations, but the methodology of how this creates Japan's new identity differs. Nakazawa stresses remembrance in order to recover, Tezuka stresses moving on and focusing on the positive and the here-and-now.

Section 3: The Bomb in Memory: Hiroshima as a Site of Pilgrimage

The evolution of modern comics from their initial boom in popularity, in large part due to Osamu Tezuka, has resulted in comics made for specific purposes and intended for specific audiences. There is an inexhaustible categorization of manga that can fill practically any niche. Manga in Japan has become a central part of pop-culture and its ability to reach such a large audience has caused it to have a huge impact on collective memory in the postwar period.⁶¹ History as told in manga, like Keiji Nakazawa's *Ore wa Mita* or *Barefoot Gen*, "have probably shaped popular understandings of history at least as much as any textbook."⁶² When all of this is taken into account, the reimaginings of the atomic bombings in manga, written by authors who did not experience the event firsthand, is an important development showcasing collective memory into the modern era. In the modern era, comic-book artists can draw on more than the force of their artwork, but on the memories this artwork evokes of other comic books.⁶³

The focus of this section is Fumiyo Kōno's *Yūnagi no Machi, Sakura no Kuni* (Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms). Unlike Osamu Tezuka, who experienced firsthand firebombing in Osaka, or Keiji Nakazawa, who survived the atomic bombing, Kōno was born in

⁶¹ Tessa Morris, Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History*, London: Verso, 2005, 177.

⁶² Tessa Morris, Suzuki, *The Past Within Us*, 177.

⁶³ Tessa Morris, Suzuki, *The Past Within Us*, 195.

1968, over twenty years since the conclusion of WWII. She would have grown up reading Osamu Tezuka and Keiji Nakazawa's works, and in a sense, she represents the modern day reader of these types of comics, including us. The setting of *Yūnagi no Machi* is Hiroshima after the atomic bomb had dropped. This is significant because today, Hiroshima is known as a mecca of peace and, as the site of the first nuclear bomb explosion, the city has forged an identity of peace and anti-nuclearism that over one million visitors from around the world come to see;⁶⁴ it is through this lens that the reader digests the story. This story was written in 2004, which was only year away from the sixtieth anniversary of the atomic bomb explosion (2005), and it had an overall positive reception. Out of all the modern atomic bomb manga, *Yūnagi no Machi* is the focus of this paper because it is "acclaimed as the most outstanding achievement in the field of *Genbaku* [atomic bomb] manga since Keiji Nakazawa's Barefoot Gen."⁶⁵ Also, because it has won various awards including "the Grand Prize at the 9th Japan Media Arts Festival and New Life Award at the 9th Osamu Tezuka Cultural Prizes."⁶⁶

In the modern era, the victimization narrative that was present in Keiji Nakazawa's comics has been reimagined and taken one step further. In Nakazawa's comics, comfort women and Japanese militarism were criticized and the manga were not free from any wrongdoing of Japan's past. However, in new atomic bomb manga the bomb has come to represent "a dual emblem of American justice and Japanese innocence,"⁶⁷ so that both the American and Japanese memories of the bomb can be reconciled. However, a serious problem with this victim narrative is that Japan's own "perpetuation of violence is silenced."⁶⁸ Gradually, the wrongdoings of Japan

⁶⁴ Tomoko Ichitani, "Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms: The Renarrativation of Hiroshima Memories," *Journal of Narrative Theory* 40, no. 3 (2010): 364.

⁶⁵ Tomoko Ichitani, "Town of Evening Calm," 366.

⁶⁶ Tomoko Ichitani, "Town of Evening Calm," 366.

⁶⁷ Helen J. S. Lee, "Unending Stories of the Battleship 'Yamato': Narrating the Past, Creating a Phantom," *Japanese Language and Literature* 50, no. 2 (2016): 249.

⁶⁸ Helen J.S. Lee, "Unending Stories of the Battleship," 250.

during wartime have been erased from the collective memory in Japan. In part, this can be attributed to governmental censorship of textbooks. Then, when the atomic bomb is written about and conceptualized in the past decade, Japan becomes wholly a victim of the atrocity. For example, Kōno's manga entirely leaves out the marginalized group of Koreans who were also victim to the atomic bomb, despite the fact that the story focuses on a slum that Koreans widely inhabited. As long as the shortcomings of this representation can be acknowledged, the reimagination of Hiroshima can be appreciated and conducive to a peace narrative.

From the first page of the manga, the reader is encouraged to see the story of Hiroshima as a story that can be shared by all of humanity without any cultural boundaries. Lisa Yoneyama refers to this idea as “nuclear universalism.”⁶⁹ As seen in Figure 3.1, the text can roughly be translated as “To all people who love this world in which there is Japan and Hiroshima.” Before the reader even begins, Kōno includes them in this story and dedicates the manga to them. Already, there is a personal factor imbued into the text, making this a story not dedicated only to residents of Hiroshima or those who have families afflicted by the nuclear bomb, but to everyone, making this call for peace a cry that knows no boundaries.

Yūnagi no Machi follows three generations of a family which is “continuously disrupted by illness, societal discrimination, and psychological trauma caused by the bomb.”⁷⁰ As seen in Figure 3.2, Minami, a survivor of Hiroshima, is haunted by images of the bombing of Hiroshima and its aftereffects. The top panel represents what Minami sees in her mind, while the bottom panels are present time. Through this technique, Kōno gives the reader insight into Minami's mind and allows them to see her perspective, while simultaneously receiving Uchikoshi's

⁶⁹ Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 15.

⁷⁰ Helen J.S. Lee, “Unending Stories of the Battleship,” 250.

perspective of being rejected from a kiss in the bottom frames. Because of interviews, it is commonly known that *hibakusha* suffered PTSD symptoms and Kōno employs secondhand knowledge to illustrate this.

When romance is beginning to blossom with Uchikoshi, even though it has been ten years since the bomb dropped, Minami cannot help but see all those who died at every turning point in her life, as seen in Figure 3.3. She feels out of place in a world that does not recognize her trauma and is moving on. As she runs away from Uchikoshi in the top frame, we see into her mind as the frames become jaggedly divided and even rotated vertically. In the bottom right-hand frame, Minami is being pulled into the ground, tangled in grass, almost like being pulled into a grave. She remembers people asking for water, asking for help, and she could do nothing but run past them. In the left-hand panel, the perspective is flipped and it looks like Minami is falling as she runs past those who no longer appeared human, one of which was her mother. The reader gets this sense from the left-hand panel that recovering from this trauma is an uphill battle, constantly pulling you down and it seeps into every aspect of life.

Minami eventually succumbs to radiation sickness and passes away. Figure 3.4 shows her last thoughts. The title of the book comes from her explanation that the “evening calm” is finished. She says *ko no hanashi wa mata owarimasen*, this story is not finished yet. Then she says in the bottom frame, that no matter how many times the evening calm ends, this story will not. This evening calm ending could be representative of the people directly affected finally passing away, but no matter how many times this happens, as we see through the subsequent generations, the atomic bomb is still present and the story does not end. Helen J.S. Lee, a professor of Japanese literature, claims that “the presentation of the bomb in the plot is mysterious...it is not contextualized as the direct outcome of human action, but rather treated as

something akin to an unstoppable disaster that has cursed the people of Japan,⁷¹” but the text does not wholly support this notion. In fact, on page 33, Minami says in the left-hand most panel something that can be roughly translated as “Ten years have passed. I wonder if the people that dropped the atomic bomb are happy and think “Yes! We’ve killed another one!”” While not directly calling out the Americans, there is an element of blame here and in the absence of Japan’s actions that arguably could have led to the bomb being dropped, Japan is painted as an innocent victim and there is definitely anger felt toward those who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. However, some victims of Hiroshima really did feel anger at those who dropped the bomb; this is seen in Keiji Nakazawa’s *Ore wa Mita*. So perhaps this was just another way of presenting *hibakusha* in an authentic way supported by research. Finally, Minami’s death is then symbolized with a blank page, leaving the reader feeling empty as the story progresses to its next chapter.

In the next chapter of *Sakura no Kuni*, Nanami is concerned that her father could be going senile when he begins disappearing for long periods of time. She decides to follow him and ends up traveling from Tokyo to Hiroshima. In Figure 3.5, on the right-page we see Nanami’s perspective as she watches her father from afar. The left-page shows her father’s perspective. He sees the slum that used to make up the old area that was likely cleared away when Hiroshima was reconstructed post-war. He is represented as much younger and the juxtaposition between modern-day and past memories makes memory the forefront of this manga. At this point, the reader still does not know the reason Nanami’s father is remembering slums of Hiroshima wistfully, nor why he is visiting Hiroshima in the first place.

⁷¹ Helen J.S. Lee, “Unending Stories of the Battleship,” 250.

Later in the story, it is revealed that Nanami's father is actually Asahi, Minami's younger brother who was sent to live with their aunt and uncle to avoid radiation sickness and other unknown effects of the atomic bomb. In Figure 3.6, Asahi is remembering his life after he returned to Hiroshima for college and began living with his mother again. She was the sole remaining relative of his in Hiroshima that had not yet passed away from atomic bomb complications. A neighborhood girl helps around the house, and soon Asahi took her under his wing and began teaching her, despite her thinking that she is "slow" because she was a baby when the bomb dropped. It became evident that the more time Asahi spent with her, it was likely he was falling in love with her. In Figure 3.6, Asahi's mother says *Anta hibakusha to kekkonsuru kine?* Which is roughly, "Are you going to marry that *hibakusha*?" At the time, there was a concern that *hibakusha* would pass on effects from radiation sickness to their offspring and people discriminated heavily against them in terms of marriage. His mother then despairs that she just wants to die and does not want to see anyone else she knows die from the bomb.

When the story cuts back to modern time, we see Nanami, who we now know is the daughter of Asahi and the neighborhood girl and *hibakusha*, who had already passed away from complications from the atomic bomb. After her friend falls asleep on the bus, the sentiments echoed by Nanami's grandmother are candidly expressed. Nanami says that it was never directly said that her mother's death at thirty-eight was from the bomb, and that after her grandmother died at eighty nobody thought to blame the bomb, yet people still believe her and her brother could die at any point because of effects from the bomb. This uncertainty about atomic bomb disease and if radiation poisoning could affect future generations is something still being studied to this day. Overall, most studies say that there is no effect, but these studies are limited and not

enough time has passed to draw a certain conclusion. In reality, these anxieties are a very real facet of *hibakusha* lineage.

One of the most beautiful and memorable pictures of the story is portrayed by Figure 3.8. In this scene, it is from Nanami's perspective before she was born, looking down on her parents and *soshite dare ka ni kono futari wo erande umarete koyouto kimetanoda*; she decided to be born to them. Memory is intersecting between the past and present, and is a main theme of this manga. As in many other pictures in *Sakura no Kuni*, the *Genbaku Domu* is a prominent fixture in the background. However, that is purposeful, the Atomic Bomb Dome is a part of the lives of those who were victim of the bomb, but it does not have to define them. The emphasis of this picture is on the cherry blossoms, a national symbol of Japan, also signifying a time of rebirth (because they bloom in the spring). The forefront of this picture gives hope, and the background reminds the reader that the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima will forever be a defining factor in the backdrop of humanity: representative of what should never be used again.

Despite criticisms that this manga only provided an ethnocentric perspective of the bombing of Hiroshima, by leaving out Koreans, and that it perpetuates a victimhood narrative absent of Japan's wrongdoings in WWII, this perspective can zero-in on the negatives without recognizing the positive aspects of this project. What others see as a story that portrays the atomic bomb as something "that ultimately robs all characters of their right to happiness,⁷²" is analyzed in this paper as something that ultimately caused undeniable hardship and suffering, but also something that was able to be recovered from and learned from. Hiroshima then becomes a sight of pilgrimage and remembrance for not just those affected by the atomic bomb, but all those who care about world peace and the mission to stop the pain and suffering of war.

⁷² Helen J.S. Lee, "Unending Stories of the Battleship," 250.

Conclusion

When looking at memory studies, in the words of Lisa Yoneyama, “we must also question why and how we remember—for what purpose, for whom, and from which position we remember—even when discussing sites of memory, where to many the significance of remembrance seems obvious.”⁷³ By studying manga in the post-World War II period in Japan, differing experiences and memories of the war can be highlighted that have been forgotten in the modern era. While it is impossible to monolithically sum up the Japanese postwar experience, there is definitely a change in collective memory and a shift toward a sharper victim narrative over time. In order to better understand the human condition and the process of healing, it is vital that these experiences are studied and we can ask ourselves why events are remembered the way they are, and extrapolate what this says about society at large.

In order to attain a more diversified perspective after WWII, this study chose three different manga artists across three different time periods to analyze. In the immediate postwar period, Osamu Tezuka, also the best known manga artist of all time in Japan, published *Astro Boy*, which inspired hope in the hearts of many. In the 1970s, Keiji Nakazawa, a survivor of Hiroshima, began documenting his experience of survival after his mother passed away and he was left wanting to do right by her memory. Lastly, in Fumiyo Kōno’s Genbaku manga, we can see how the atomic bomb is being remembered through vehicles like *Astro Boy* and *Ore wa Mita*.

This project began with a study and analysis of Osamu Tezuka’s renowned work, *Astro Boy*, in an attempt to not only understand the popularization of manga, but to understand what elements of what types of manga led to their popularity. The sustained images of hope, growth,

⁷³ Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 4.

and overcoming adversity that pepper *Astro Boy* align closely with the popular narrative of postwar Japan itself. A place that is now revered for its booming economy and its adjustment to the western ideals of democracy, Japan post WWII is hardly recognizable with Japan pre-WWII. Osamu Tezuka's representation of nuclear energy as a positive, combined with artwork heavily influenced by Disney resulted in a work that was renowned in its popularity, not only for its "cute" character, but also for its message that inspired hope throughout the nation, and transcended borders as *Astro Boy* even became popular abroad. Tezuka created a relatable and positive character that provided hope for those recovering in the postwar rubble of Japan.

Another type of manga that became popular in the postwar period was atomic manga. In this paper, Keiji Nakazawa's own personal biographical account of the bombing of Hiroshima, *Ore wa Mita* (I Saw It) is given close analysis to represent another demographic of those that experienced the war. For Nakazawa, the war did not end with the surrender of Japan in 1945. Just as nuclear radiation continued to kill and affect people, the war could not end for Nakazawa. After the death of his mother from complications from this extreme radiation exposure in the bombing, Nakazawa wanted his story heard, along with justice for his mother. He mirrored the voices and opinions of many people in Japan: an overall dislike for both America and the Japanese militaristic government.

In a time where it could be dangerous to contradict ideals of American democracy because of the occupation, Nakazawa's work was not released until much after the Occupation ended. There is condemnation for both the Japanese militaristic government for not surrendering and subjecting its people to the horrors of war even when it became obvious that they would not win, along with the American government for releasing such an evil and inhumane atomic bomb on not one, but two cities in Japan, attacking a civilian population that was not actively choosing

to be a part of such a conflict. The sustained effects of radiation plagued those who survived, known as *hibakusha*. Even among Japan, these people were discriminated against and largely forgotten in the wave that was attempting to move on from the war. For Japan, *hibakusha* were a physical manifestation of the war, a daily reminder of the conflict and mistakes Japan had made that resulted in the bombs being dropped in the first place. In an environment where people would want nothing more than to move on, the existence of *hibakusha* not only threatened this narrative from taking hold, it emphasized the scars of the war that Japan would have to continue to endure despite its economic boom and political shift.

The last section of this paper deals with Fumiyo Kōno's reconstruction of Hiroshima through the eyes of someone who had never experienced the bomb, nor someone who had relatives in her lineage that experienced the bomb. She chose to write about the bomb not only because of her editor's request, but because she realized that outside of Hiroshima, people did not know the reality of the bomb. In a translated quote at the end of *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*, she is referring to Minami's story and says "this story has no end—only the feelings that these 35 pages may evoke within you will lead to the true completion of this story. As you go forth and lead full and abundant lives, I believe this story will reach a powerful conclusion. That is my hope in creating this manga."⁷⁴ Not only has the intent shifted from earlier generations, education and keeping the memory alive, but in doing so, the erasure of Japan's part in WWII has been criticized.

While the main differences between these narratives has already been highlighted, the similar call for peace among all three of them cannot be ignored. The binding peace between Japan and the United States created after WWII changed Japan's identity, but it also is something

⁷⁴ Fumiyo, Kouno, *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*. San Francisco, CA: Last Gasp, 2015, 104.

that was desired to be maintained by all parties studied in this paper. *Astro Boy* reinforced a message of peace due to our common humanity. Keiji Nakazawa in *Ore wa Mita* and *Hadashi no Gen* advocated for peace through the horrors of war and the atomic bomb aftermath. Fumiyo Kōno's main purpose for writing *Yunagi no Machi, Sakura no Kuni* was to educate and inspire peace.

The significance of this project lies in our current state in global affairs. We are living in a nuclear climate and are becoming desensitized to the actual threat that faces us, we need to be reminded of the extent the atomic bomb, and war in general, that still victimizes people to this day, more than fifty years later. It is still evident in the Japanese media, specifically in manga, speaking to how far-stretching these effects are embedded in Japanese society. We have capabilities now to produce hydrogen bombs, which in theory can be made as big as materials supplied. In comparison, the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are merely a drop in the bucket to the capabilities we have today.

When I visited Hiroshima, the city was not centered around the atomic bomb and its devastation, but rather the famous building to survive the bombing: *Genbaku Dōmu* (Atomic Bomb Dome), emphasizing recovery. But people, Japanese and foreign alike snap selfies in front of the monument smiling and throwing peace signs. It seems that the meaning and severity has been lost on younger generations. Additionally, I spent the summer in Nagasaki, and it not an exaggeration to say Nagasaki has completely moved on, much more than Hiroshima has. Without visiting the Peace Park and Memorial Museum, you would have no idea Nagasaki was ever bombed. This was done intentionally, but I think this has made people forget the history of what has happened. I hope to in some small way contribute to the remembrance of these bombings and World War II, and show how these bombs are being remembered in Japanese

society. I hope to analyze manga as an expression of these effects and contribute to the study of coping with traumatic events and war memory and give more depth to the narratives that exist today.

Image Appendix

Figure 1.0

Toba Sōjō (Bishop Toba) (1053-1140), *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga*, “The Animal Scrolls,” 12th century, ink on parchment, unpublished, shows animals anthropomorphized as Buddhist clergy

Figure 1.1

Figure 1.2

Figure 1.3

Figure 1.4

Osamu Tezuka, "The Greatest Robot on Earth," in *Astro Boy*, Vol. 3., translated by Frederik L. Schodt (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002): 26.

Figure 1.5

Osamu Tezuka, "The Greatest Robot on Earth," in *Astro Boy*, Vol. 3., translated by Frederik L. Schodt (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002): 77.

Figure 1.6

Figure 2.1

Nakazawa, Keiji. *The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story*. Seattle, WA: Educomics, 1982, 46.

Keiji Nakazawa mourns his mother's death and decides to begin writing comics about the atomic bomb.

Figure 2.2

Nakazawa, Keiji. *The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story*. Seattle, WA: Educomics, 1982, 11.

Keiji Nakazawa is seen saying goodbye to his family on the morning of August 6th, 1945 before he goes to school.

Figure 2.3

Nakazawa, Keiji. *The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story*. Seattle, WA: Educomics, 1982, 15.

Keiji Nakazawa depicts people in the immediate aftermath of the atomic bomb.

Figure 2.4

Nakazawa, Keiji 中沢啓治. はだしのゲン第1巻 青麦ゲン登場の巻 [Barefoot Gen Volume 1]. 東京：汐分社、1984, 1.

Gen's father describes the resilience of the wheat plant to Gen and his younger brother, eventually comparing the two to the plant.

Figure 2.5

Nakazawa, Keiji 中沢啓治. はだしのゲン第1巻 青麦ゲン登場の巻 [Barefoot Gen Volume 1]. 東京：汐分社、1984, 256.

Gen spots a horse that burst into flames in the immediate aftermath of the bombing.

Figure 2.6

Nakazawa, Keiji 中沢啓治. はだしのゲン第1巻 青麦ゲン登場の巻 [Barefoot Gen Volume 1]. 東京：汐分社、1984, 269.

Gen returns home after the bombing only to find his little brother and father pinned underneath the rafters of his house. He is unable to save them before the fire burns them alive.

Figure 3.1

広島のある日本のあるこの世界を
愛するすべての人へ

Kōno,
Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕風の街 ; 桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms].
東京 : 双葉社、2004.

Figure 3.2

22

Kōno, Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕凧の街 ; 桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms. 東京 : 双葉社、2004, 22.

Figure 3.3

Kōno, Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕風の街; 桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms. 東京: 双葉社, 2004, 23.

Figure 3.4

夕風の街◆終

34

Kōno, Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕風の街 ; 桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms. 東京 : 双葉社, 2004, 34.

Figure 3.5

71

70

Kōno, Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕風の街 ; 桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms. 東京 : 双葉社、2004, 70-71.

Figure 3.6

Figure 3.7

Figure 3.8

Kōno, Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕風の街 ; 桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms. 東京 : 双葉社、2004, 94-95.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Hersey, John. *Hiroshima*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1989.

Ibuse, Masuji, Tamiki Hara, Katsuzō Oda, Yōko Ōta, Ineko Sata, Kyōko Hayashi, Mitsuharu Inoue, Hiroko Takenishi, and Kenzaburō Ōe. *The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath*. New York: Grove Press, 1985.

Ishii, Katsutoshi 石井勝利. マンガ版 太平洋戦史[Cartooned History of the Pacific War]. 東京：サンケイ新聞社出版局, 1972.

Kōno, Fumiyo こうの史代. 夕風の街；桜の国 [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms]. 東京：双葉社、2004.

Kouno Fumiyo. *Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms*. San Francisco, CA: Last Gasp, 2015.

Marumoto, Izumi and Taka Burke-Gaffnew. *Nagasaki: A Record in Manga= Manga De Yomu Nagasaki*. Nagasaki, Japan: Yamamaguchi Akira (Typint Gallery), 2015.

Minear, Richard H., Tamiki Hara, Yōko Ōta, and Sankichi Tōge. *Hiroshima: Three Witnesses*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Nagai, Takashi. *The Bells of Nagasaki*. Tokyo, Japan: Kodansha International, 1984.

Nakazawa, Keiji 中沢啓治. はだしのゲン第1巻 青麦ゲン登場の巻 [Barefoot Gen Volume 1]. 東京：汐分社、1984.

Nakazawa, Keiji. *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima*. Volume 1. Edited by Alan Gleason and Colin Turner. Translated by Project Gen. San Francisco, CA: Last Gasp of San Francisco, 2004.

Nakazawa, Keiji. *I Saw it: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima: A Survivor's True Story*. Seattle,

WA: Educomics, 1982.

Sekimori, Gaynor, and Naomi Shōno. *Hibakusha, Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*. Tokyo: Kosei Pub. Co., 2005.

Tsuge, Tadao. *Slum Wolf*. Edited and Translated by Ryan Holmberg. New York: New York Review Books, 2017.

Tezuka, Osamu, and Himekawa Akira. *Astro Boy*. Collingwood Vic.: Madman Entertainment, 2006.

Tezuka, Osamu. *Astro Boy*. Vol. 1. Translated by Frederik L. Schodt. Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002.

Tezuka, Osamu. *Astro Boy*. Vol. 3. Translated by Frederik L. Schodt. Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002.

Tezuka Osamu. *Astro Boy*. Vol. 15. Translated by Frederik L. Schodt. Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2003.

Tezuka, Osama 手塚治虫, et. al. 原水爆漫画コレクション[Atomic Bomb Cartoon Collection]. 東京：平凡社、2015.

Secondary Sources:

Ashworth, Tony. “The Live and Let Live System” in *The World War I Reader*. Ed. by Michael S. Neiberg. NYU Press, 2006, 208-224.

Aveline-Dubach, Natacha. *Invisible Population: The Place of the Dead in East Asian Megacities* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012.

Bartal, Ory. “From Hiroshima to Fukushima: Comics and Animation as Subversive Agents of Memory in Japan.” In *Interdisciplinary Handbook of Trauma and Culture*. Switzerland: Springer (2016): 101-114.

Brienza, Casey. *Global Manga "Japanese" Comics Without Japan?* City University London, UK: Ashgate, 2015.

Chute, Hillary L. *Disaster Drawn: Visual Witness, Comics, and Documentary Form*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016.

Dower, John. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999.

Fuller, Frank Robert. "The Atomic Bomb: Reflections in Japanese Manga and Anime." (PhD diss., Clark Atlanta University, 2012), 1-162, accessed December 14, 2019
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/10678952.pdf>

Gibson, Alicia. "Out of Death, an Atomic Consecration to Life: Astro Boy and Hiroshima's Long Shadow." *Mechademia*, 8. (2013): 313-320. Accessed May 1, 2020.
 doi:10.5749/mech.8.2013.0313.

Holmberg, Ryan. *Garo Manga: The First Decade 1964-1973*. New York: The Center for Book Arts, 2010.

Holmberg, Ryan. 2018. "Tadao's War Memory Manga." *The New York Review*, September 1. Accessed December 1, 2019.
<https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/09/01/tadaos-war-memory-manga/>

Ichitani, Tomoko. "Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms: The Renarrativation of Hiroshima Memories." *Journal of Narrative Theory* 40, no. 3 (2010): 364-390.

Igarashi, Yoshikuni. *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Ito, Kenji. "Robots, A-Bombs, and War: Cultural Meanings of Science and Technology in Japan Around World War II," in *Filling the Hole in the Nuclear Future: Art and Popular Culture Respond to the Bomb*, ed. Robert Jacobs. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010.

Jager, Sheilo Miyoshi and Rana Mitter. *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Kim, Kyu Hyun. "Japanese Manga and Anime on the Asia-Pacific War Experience." In *Divided Lenses: Screen Memories of War in East Asia*, edited by Berry Michael and Sawada Chiho (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016): 101-25.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvvn4cn.9>.

Kinsella, Sharon. *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Kitamura, Hiroshi and Jeremy Stoddard. "The Bomb and Beyond: Teaching Nuclear Issues Through Popular Culture Texts." *Social Education* 82, no. 3 (2018): 145-154.

Lamarre, Thomas. "Born of Trauma: *Akira* and Capitalist Modes of Destruction." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 16, no. 1 (2008): 131-156.
<https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/241295>.

Leach, Julianna Christine. "Memory Through Manga, Japanese Comic Book Representations of Mass Death in Hiroshima and World War II" (History Thesis, University of Puget Sound, 2018), 1-44, accessed October 25, 2019.
https://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1028&context=history_theses

Lee, Helen J. S. "Unending Stories of the Battleship "Yamato": Narrating the Past, Creating a Phantom." *Japanese Language and Literature* 50, no. 2 (2016): 247-71.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24892013>.

Lucken, Michael and Karen Grimwade. *The Japanese and the War: From Expectation to Memory*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017.

Morris, Suzuki, Tessa. *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History*. London: Verso, 2005.

Nabizadeh, Golnar. *Representations and Memory in Graphic Novels*. London: Routledge, 2019.

Nakar, Eldad. "Memories of Pilots and Planes: World War II in Japanese "Manga", 1957-1967." *Social Science Japan Journal* 6, no. 1 (2003): 57-76.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/30209413>.

- Nozaki, Yoshiko. *War Memory, Nationalism, and Education in Postwar Japan, 1945-2007: The Japanese History Textbook Controversy and Ienaga Saburo's Court Challenges*. London; New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Olick, Jeffrey K., Vered Vinitzsky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. *The Collective Memory Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Okazaki, Steven. *White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*. 2007. New York, NY: HBO Documentary Films. HBO Video.
- Otmazgin, Nissim. *Rewriting History in Manga: Stories for the Nation*, edited by Nissim Otmazgin and Rebecca Suter. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2016.
- Petersen, Robert. *Comics, Manga, and Graphic Novels: A History of Graphic Narratives*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011.
- Power, Natsu Onoda. *God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of Post-World War II Manga*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009.
- Saaler, Sven, Wolfgang Schwentker, and the European Association for Japanese Studies. *The Power of Memory in Modern Japan*. Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental, 2008.
- Schodt, Frederik L. "Introduction," in Osamu Tezuka, *Astro Boy*, vol. 1. Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2002.
- Schodt, Frederik L. *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, Manga/Anime Revolution*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007.
- Shibata, Yuko. *Producing Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Literature, Film, and Transnational Politics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.
- Shimazu, Naoko. "Popular Representations of the Past: The Case of Postwar Japan. *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (2003): 101-116.

Shiraishi, Saya S. "Japan's Soft Power: Doraemon Goes Overseas." In *Network Power: Japan and Asia*, edited by Katzenstein Peter J. and Shiraishi Takashi (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1997): 234-72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv5rf1ps.12>.

Strömberg, Fredrik. *Comic Art Propaganda: A Graphic History*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2010.

Szasz, Ferenc Morton. *Atomic Comics*. Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 2012.

Szasz, Ferenc M., and Issei Takechi. "Atomic Heroes and Atomic Monsters: American and Japanese Cartoonists Confront the Onset of the Nuclear Age, 1945–80." *The Historian* 69, no. 4 (2007): 728-52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24453578>.

Szczepanska, Kamila. *The Politics of War Memory in Japan: Progressive Civil Society Groups and Contestation of Memory of the Asia-Pacific War*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Tanaka, Yuki. "War and Peace in the Art of Tezuka Osamu: The Humanism of His Epic Manga." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 8, no. 1 (2010): 1-16.

Tsurumi, Shunsuke. *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan 1945-1980*. London; New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011.

Wiley, Christine Erica. "The Japanese Nuclear Imagery: Representations of the Nuclear Age in Postwar Japanese Art," (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2010), 1-169.

Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.

Yoneyama, Lisa. "Postwar Peace and the Feminization of Memory," in *Hiroshima Traces*. University of California Press, 1999.