
Work of Mourning and the Collective Memory of War: Remembering Hiroshima's Perished Students

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(Translated by Glen Duncan McCabe)

Abstract

In this paper, we considered the relationship between individual memories and collective memories by examining the acts of mourning the mobilized student-workers who were killed by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. More specifically, we considered the relationship between individual acts of mourning the deceased and collective memory of not only the level of Japanese society as a whole but also, returning to Halbwachs' arguments, of small-scale social groups such as families and schools by looking at materials published by the classmates and bereaved family members of Hiroshima Prefectural Hiroshima Daiichi Junior High School, Hiroshima City Daiichi Women's High School, and the Hiroshima Prefectural Association of the Victimized Mobilized Student-Workers. The differences in character between a group formed to conduct memorial services at the school level and a group lobbying for honoring by the state, and the differences in the relationship with the deceased between bereaved family members and classmates, are reflected in the shape of the acts of mourning. There is an interrelationship between collective memories and individual acts of mourning the dead in small-scale groups. At the same time, bearing in mind the commonality visible between groups in the shape of acts of mourning, we can conclude that the collective memory of Japanese society provide an even larger context to the shape of acts of mourning.

Keywords: mourning the war dead, collective memory, atomic bombing of Hiroshima, mobilized student-workers, Asia Pacific War

1 Prior Research and the Significance of this Paper

The act of mourning the dead does not only involve remembering the deceased and immersing oneself in sorrow. While attempting to come to terms with someone's death, those left behind come to question the significance of both the death of the deceased as well as their own lives. In particular, when someone dies without having seen out the course of their natural life, it is not easy for others

to accept their passing without finding some significance in it. Therefore, it becomes important to affix a context of causal relationships to the death and create a narrative around it.

The mnemonic practice concerning the deceased, known as mourning, is an extremely personal act involving emotions of sorrow and love, but is also a social activity utilizing cultural resources called 'narratives'. That is to say, acts of mourning the deceased and memorial services should be examined within social contexts. Among these, the collective memory of war at a societal

level is an important reference point for acts of mourning of the war dead in modern times. This is because how a war is remembered in society has an influence on the processes of attaching significance to someone's death and finding significance in having survived. Acts of mourning of the war dead cannot be separated from the collective representation, i.e., the collective memory, of a war in society.

In the first instance, mourning the dead is not an act that is carried out entirely by individuals; rather, it is held among families or community groups. The deceased are remembered by a range of social groups. In the case of the war dead, in countries which have been victorious in war, they are honored by the state as noble sacrifices to the righteousness of war, and in countries which have been defeated, they tend to be forgotten or remembered negatively by society. In either case, the war dead are remembered as national subjects, reconstructing national unity after a war (Harada 2013; Mosse 1991). In order to unravel the politics surrounding such mourning of the war dead, significant amounts of research has been conducted utilizing the concept of memory. Among this research, a large volume has been conducted analyzing the relationship between mourning of the war dead and nationalism with reference to Halbwachs' (1968=1980) concept of collective memory. However, Halbwachs primarily theorized about the memories of primary and intermediate groups, such as families, schools, and villages, while it was Pierre Nora who expanded and applied the concept to the level of the nation-state in his *Realms of Memory*. In this paper, we will not only consider collective memory at the level of the nation-state, but also (returning to Halbwachs' arguments) focus on social groups such as families and schools, and through the case of the mourning of the war dead, consider the relationship between individual memories and collective memories.

Quite apart from the study of memory, in recent years there is a growing body of research (principally in the academic fields of history and folklore in Japan) that focuses on rituals and memorial services in communities and homes, and which

positions memorial services for the war dead not in terms of the state, but in community or folklore practices (Ichinose, 2010; Iwata, 2003; Namihira, 2004). In contrast to previous research, which criticizes memorial services for the war dead by the state while focusing on the Yasukuni Shrine¹⁾ issue, this recent research attempts to analyze memorial services for the war dead from the perspectives of individuals and social groups, such as families and villages. However, as suggested by Tanakamaru Katsuhiko (2002), there is a high probability that memorial services and rituals in homes and local community are a medium for connecting the individual and the state, and are not necessarily a replacement for state-centric memorial services for the war dead. At the same time, this is not to say that individual memorials inevitably act in service of the state. From the sociological perspective provided by theories of collective memory, it is important to elucidate not only how individual acts of memorial or mourning are regulated by the state or shaped by society, but also how they contribute to the production and maintenance of collective memories, or how they contain the possibility of modifying collective memories.

In order to analyze the above issues, we will consider the relationship between collective memory and individual acts of mourning the deceased through the example of the mobilized student-workers who were killed by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. We will focus on the mobilized student-workers for three reasons in particular.

As Akazawa Shiro has shown, acts of mourning the war dead in early postwar Japan was connected to pacifism (Akazawa, 2005: 8), but from around the end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 1960s, the dominant narrative split into two streams, the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative and the 'pacifist' narrative (Akazawa, 2005: 122-123). Representative of the former is the memorial acts of Yasukuni Shrine and the *Nihon Izoku-kai*²⁾, and representative of the latter is the mourning of those killed by the bombing conducted by peace groups. However, for the mobilized student-workers who were killed by the atomic bombing, there is in fact

a context in which they have been remembered in terms of 'martyrdom for the country'. This is illustrated by how an organization lobbying for enshrinement of the students at Yasukuni Shrine was formed, and how they became subject to actual enshrinement and their bereaved family members received state reparations. That is, mourning and memorial services for the mobilized student-workers are located at the point where the streams of the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative and the 'pacifist' narrative intersect. Therefore, through analysis of these services, it is possible to promote reconsideration of the dominant depictions regarding memorials for the war dead in Japan, which allow only the choice between the two stark contrasts of Yasukuni Shrine and pacifism.

The second reason for selecting the mobilized student-workers to be the subject of analysis is the diversity of groups conducting acts of mourning. There is some prior research regarding the mourning of mobilized student-workers who were killed by the atomic bombing, including Nishimura (2006) and Shijo (2012), but they each analyze mourning at only one educational institution; Nagasaki Medical University by Nishimura, and Nagasaki Junshin Women's High School by Shijo. By contrast, we will consider two schools and an organization lobbying for honoring of the dead by the state. Furthermore, through comparative consideration of acts of mourning by individuals affiliated to various groups while paying attention to the differences in the relationship with the deceased, we will see the relationship between social groups and mourning³.

Finally, there is the fact that memorial and mourning for the mobilized student-workers have been conducted in a dedicated manner, and there is a rich array of materials available to assist in considering the mourning of those killed by the atomic bombing. It is notable that groups linked to the students have mourned the dead more ardently compared with other groups. According to Ubuki Satoru, among the accounts of the atomic bombing published over the following 50 years, groups related to the mobilized student-workers, such as their classmates or bereaved family members,

have been the organizations publishing 10.7% of the total publications. This is the second-largest percentage after community *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) groups at 19.5%, and exceeds the percentage of other organizations at the time of the bombing, such as public offices and businesses (Ubuki, 1999: 393-396). Through the lens of these accounts, we will conduct comparative consideration of the differences in the forms of mourning the dead between groups in the context of the linkage with collective memories of the atomic bombing.

2 Data and Methods of Analysis

We will first cover materials published by the classmates and bereaved family members of Hiroshima Prefectural Hiroshima Daiichi Junior High School (Daiichi Junior)⁴ and Hiroshima City Daiichi Women's High School (City Women's)⁵. The materials include a total of 448 individual accounts recorded in collections of accounts published over the period from 1946 to 1995. We will then move onto analyze 134 individual accounts collected in books published by the 'Hiroshima Prefectural Association of the Victimized Mobilized Student-Workers' (Victimized Student Association)⁶. Many students of Daiichi Junior and City Women's were victims of the bombing, and groups related to these schools began publishing memorial collections from a relatively early stage after the war; the Victimized Student Association has been publishing memorial collections since the mid-1960s.

In our analysis, we will focus on how the deceased are remembered in each of the accounts, but we will pay particular attention to the significance attributed to them being killed by the atomic bombing. Since the beginning of the 1950s, those killed by the atomic bombing have been portrayed as 'the first victims of nuclear weapons in the history of the human race' and 'a tragedy that must not be repeated', and have functioned as a symbol that supports the anti-war pacifist and anti-nuclear weapons public opinion in Japan (Naono, 2013). In the

collective memory of Japanese society, mourning those killed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki has clearly become fused with pacifism. Having said that, pacifism may not always be visible in individual memories; as described above, the dead are also mourned in terms of ‘martyrdom for the country’. We will consider how each of the three dominant narratives of mourning of the war dead in postwar Japan are employed in the accounts when attributing significance to the deceased being killed by the atomic bombing. These narratives are: ① ‘praying for peace’ (a narrative that attempts to console the deceased by praying for peace in ‘not repeating the tragedy of war’, etc.), ② ‘martyrdom for the country’ (a narrative that praises the deceased by advocating that ‘the war dead gave up their lives for the country’), and ③ the ‘foundation for peace’ (a narrative that thanks the deceased by advocating that ‘the sacrifice of the war dead brought peace (and prosperity) to Japan’). As part of this analysis, the ‘praying for peace’ narrative will be positioned as including not only pledges for peace, but also words or feelings of war-weariness that ask for peace, and praying for the abolition of nuclear weapons. ‘Martyrdom for the country’ shall include not only narratives of ‘death for the state’, but also praising the deceased as ‘war heroes’ that affirms enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine. Finally, accounts that attribute significance to those killed by the atomic bombing as bringing about the end of the war (i.e. ‘peace’) and expressing gratitude that the sacrifice of the deceased contributed to the maintenance of peace and prevention of the recurrence of war shall be positioned as ‘foundation for peace’.

It is possible that more than one of the three narratives is employed in attributing significance to the deceased being killed by the atomic bombing. There are cases in which two or even all three of the narratives are used together. In particular, the ‘foundation for peace’ narrative has points of commonality with both the ‘martyrdom for the country’ and ‘praying for peace’. The ‘foundation for peace’ narrative can, as with the ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative, attribute significance to dying in a war as making a contribution to the nation. On the

other hand, as Akazawa indicates, in order not to portray the deaths of the war dead as a waste, the ‘foundation for peace’ narrative can also come to encourage the living to achieve peace, and thus it can also coincide with the ‘praying for peace’ narrative (Akazawa, 2005: 160). Moreover, the ‘martyrdom for the country’ and ‘praying for peace’ narratives can be used together. If those who conduct mnemonic practice believe that the deceased wished for peace in the motherland, working for the cause of peace would console the souls of the deceased who attained ‘martyrdom for the country’. As part of our analysis of the accounts, we will decipher what kind of significance is assigned to being killed by the atomic bombing by considering how these three narratives are employed. Through our analysis of the accounts, we will consider how those who survived have remembered the students killed by the atomic bombing in light of their relationship to the Japanese collective memory of the bombing.

3 Hiroshima Prefectural Hiroshima Daiichi Junior High School

3.1 The Fountain

Published in August of the year after the atomic bombing, the earliest such materials, *The Fountain – Collection 1: an offering before the spirit of the deceased* (including 37 accounts) is a valuable collection of experiences of the bombing. Furthermore, this memorial to mobilized student-workers is unusual in that it was written not by bereaved family members, but by fellow students. It was written by 27 students, mostly members of one class that lost many of its members to the bombing, about their memories of their lost classmates. Also written in part by students from Hiroshima Prefectural Daiichi Women’s High School (Prefectural Women’s), who were engaged in labor service in the same factory until the summer of the bombing, it records the situation in which the students of Daiichi Junior worked in those days, and their final

moments there.

Even though they were born into a world of wartime and striving in labor service to devote both mind and body to the country, death was still a conceptual notion for children who were still of junior high school age, and there is no question that the actual deaths of their classmates would have been a major shock to them.

Azuma-kun was given life as a Japanese, and it was his greatest ambition to dedicate his life to his country. He died beautifully, becoming a breakwater to protect his country (Sugo Yoriki)

Sugo emphasizing that his friend died 'for his country' is echoed in how other students wrote lines such as 'he fell dedicating his precious young life to the country' (Ota Kazuo); in total, 8 accounts (21.6%) honored their friends' deaths as 'martyrdom for the country'. But even if their final moments were honorable, their deaths were far too soon. This is precisely why many (14 or 37.8%) of the accounts vowed to rebuild the school or revive Japan in recompense for their deaths and in memory of the souls of the young students.

Should we not work to make up for those who left us before they realized their ambitions, to drive the renaissance of a new Japan and to contribute to a peaceful world, by way of tribute to the souls of our friends? (Sawamura Hitoshi)

Sawamura's narrative can be read as the germination of the prayer for 'peace and against nuclear weapons' which became dominant in mourning of those killed by the atomic bombing from the mid-1950s onwards. However, it can also be linked with the narrative honoring the dead in terms of 'martyrdom for the country'. Sawamura attributes significance to his friend's death as 'he died a martyr for his country', and because the memorial act of 'rebuilding Japan, the loser of the war, as a member of the peaceful world' is a declaration

of intent to protect 'his country', which his friend gave his life for, it can be said to be closer to the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative.

Those who lost their lives in the atomic bombing are now resting peacefully as a noble sacrifice for world peace. We students of Prefectural Women's who luckily or unluckily remained pray for the souls of our guardian corps, working to cover our and their shares as we construct a new Japan (Nakanishi Taeko).

Nakanishi, attributing significance to the dead as 'a noble sacrifice for world peace' in her narrative stems from the doctrine that the atomic bombing brought about peace, which was repeated even in the areas that suffered atomic bombing from directly after the war ended. Its interpretation of the events is that the atomic bombing brought about the end of the war and in doing so brought peace to Japan and the rest of the world.

'Martyrdom for the country' can also be seen in Nakanishi's account, as she quotes 'martyrdom for the good of the country is our true honor as students' from the 'song of those mobilized as student-workers', and praises 'our guardian corps' as having 'scattered like flowers'. Here, it is clearly evident how they have taken on the patriotism of the Daiichi Junior students and are striving to rebuild the nation-state.

Surviving students such as Sawamura and Nakanishi, who attempt to remember the spirits of the deceased, sing the songs of defending the state, even though the state had betrayed the deceased by accepting 'unconditional surrender'. Nakanishi wrote 'betraying their and our hopes, the motherland Japan suffered the bitter experience of losing the war', but she does not pursue the issue of the state's responsibility for the war.

Nakanishi attributes a conceptual significance to their deaths as 'a noble sacrifice for world peace', but the students' deaths did not occur in the abstract.

I was shocked when I saw the Daiichi Junior students return almost naked after being evacuated. They had lost their manly dignity, their smart and sharp robustness. They had been transformed to such a degree by the burns they suffered that I was stunned and did not know what to do.

Nakanishi was shocked by the stark difference to the manly form which had been striving in the cause of patriotism, but this is precisely why it is likely that she thought that the dead students would not rest in peace if she did not connect their deaths to the righteousness of ‘world peace’ and ‘the state’.

Oh no! They died believing in the certainty of victory. My chest tightened when I imagined that they died wanting to fight more. Instead of the certainty of victory, we were praying to construct a new Japan. (Shishido Nobuko)

Granting the wishes of the deceased in ‘wanting to fight more’ and ‘attacking the enemy’ in order to console their souls was especially not possible under the Allied occupation of Japan after it lost the war, the climate in which the text of *The Fountain* was written. Instead, by praising the patriotism of the deceased through the ‘foundation for peace’ and ‘martyrdom for the country’ narratives while pledging to rebuild the state, they looked away from the fact that those who had survived the war had betrayed the deceased.

3.2 In Remembrance

The next material considered will be *In Remembrance* (which includes 79 accounts). Published in 1954, it is a collection of accounts of mourning, written by bereaved family members, mostly parents in memory of their lost children.

This collection includes some narratives which utilize ‘martyrdom for the country’ while attempting to cope with the pain of losing a child, such as ‘resigned to him going off to war and dying a

glorious, honorable death in war, I spend every day praying for the soul of my child’ (Nishikawa Seiichi). However, the authors of other narratives attempt to console themselves through the ‘foundation for peace’ narrative, such as ‘I must not cry or feel sorrow if our child who fell to the atomic bombing becomes a foundation stone for world peace’ (Okada Samiko). While *In Remembrance* contains only three of the former accounts, it contains 10 (12.7%) of the latter. However, unlike *The Fountain*, only one account is linked with both. It can be inferred that in the ten years since the end of the war, the righteousness of the state has faded in significance in memorial services for the war dead. By contrast, 17 accounts (21.5%) utilize ‘praying for peace’.

The period when *In Remembrance* was written was one when Hiroshima City was promoting recovery initiatives under the banner ‘A City of Peace’, and the germination of movements for the prohibition of nuclear weapons could be seen among residents. Given this background, the ‘praying for peace’ narrative was visible comparatively frequently; the memorial cenotaph for the Atomic Bomb Victims was unveiled in 1952, and memorial services for the victims of the atomic bombing and praying for peace had become clearly linked. Among the bereaved family members as well, there were those who prayed for efforts towards peace as memorial services for the deceased, such as saying ‘we believe that building a peaceful and happy society and state so that the war which brought about this tragic sacrifice can never occur again is itself precisely a memorial service for the precious souls of those lost’ (Hattori Marumitsu). However, such narratives would not necessarily help ease the pain of having lost a child.

However much they imagined that they were making a contribution to ‘peace’, it is not easy for parents left behind to accept the deaths of their children at such a young age.

It might have helped usher in an era of peace, or it might have helped prevent the world becoming ensnared in a violent war.

But, for us as parents, however much we rethink that atomic bombing, it is without question a repugnant and vile thing. (Yanagi Takeshi)

Even after the sixth anniversary of his son's death, Yanagi could not come to inter his son's remains, and he even carried part of his remains around with him at all times. Yanagi had still not come to terms with his son's death and could not accept his son's death as 'a noble sacrifice for peace'. His son fought to the end believing in the 'holy war', but Yanagi could also not attribute significance to this as 'martyrdom for the country'. Furthermore, while expressing his hatred of the atomic bombing, he could also not receive solace from 'praying for peace'.

As with Yanagi's example, 54 of the accounts (at 68.4%, a majority) in *In Remembrance* do not utilize any of the three narratives to mourn the war dead. Rather than attempting to receive solace by discovering significance by linking the children's deaths to the righteousness of the state or peace, there are many parents who attempt to find emotional support in having being present in their children's final moments, or in the memories of enjoyable times together while they were alive. An overwhelming majority of the parents remained unable to assign significance to their children's deaths, and simply had to endure the sadness and torment of losing their young children.

However, when these accounts of mourning by the bereaved family members were published nationwide, they came to be received as 'praying for peace'. In August 1954, several months after the publication of *In Remembrance*, 33 of its accounts were republished in *The Stars are Watching*, which was distributed through a publishing company with nationwide reach. Published as movements for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs were spreading nationwide, *The Stars* was praised as a book advocating 'peace' and 'the prohibition of A- and H-bombs'.

The Stars has continued to be widely read as an account of the atomic bombing, being part of

the 'peace library' in 2010. Given its inclusion in the 'peace library', and how it also became used as materials in peace education, the ongoing positive reception of *The Stars* is clear. However, the impressions that emerge from the accounts actually collected within it are of the parents left behind writhing in emotional agony as they try to somehow accept the deaths of their children, and of the situation of the young students who lived as 'young men of the Empire'. The mobilized student-workers were not only inculcated in the patriotic spirit of wartime and mobilized to death and massacre, but even after being released from active duty, they were made to bear a role in supporting the righteousness of Japan – this time, the 'peace-loving nation'.

3.3 Yūkari's Friend

In 1974, 30 years after *In Remembrance* was published, the surviving students were in the prime of their lives. Many of those who had survived had escaped death very narrowly – the first year class was annihilated, with only 19 members remaining. Those first-year students formed the core of the editorial group for *Yūkari's Friend* (which includes a total of 213 accounts).

From the surveys of bereaved family members collected in it, the message is clear that the sorrow of parents who lost children has not completely subsided. There were even some parents who were lost for words, only being able to note 'I cannot find the words to speak. Nor can I find them to write' (Nomi Isao). However, what is also clear is that, compared to the distraught grief visible through *In Remembrance*, with the passage of approximately 20 years after their children's deaths, the intensity had dissipated along with the parents growing old.

Parents attempting to accept their children's deaths through the 'martyrdom for the country' and 'foundation for peace' narratives were visible in *In Remembrance*, but by doing so, they were in fact trying to somehow manage the unbearable sadness. By contrast, a certain sense like resignation is evident in *Yūkari*.

It was a noble, noble sacrifice for the country. With innocent and beautiful hearts, they just fought for their motherland, to become foundation stones of peace that would save the motherland. With shovels in hand, I feel that they died in the same way as the soldiers holding guns. (Okano Aiko)

Apart from that he was caught up in the atomic bombing while being evacuated from the building where he was working, Okano was never able to find out when and how her only son died. This is perhaps precisely why she tries to convince herself that her son dying as a result of striving in labor service is a 'noble, noble martyrdom for the country'.

The 'martyrdom for the country' and 'foundation for peace' narratives are used together in Okano's account only. Two other accounts utilize 'martyrdom for the country' and one uses 'foundation for peace', but they express one way or another a resignation in that the parents think their son's deaths were beneficial to the state or peace, saying 'it can't be helped, I think this was also for his country' (Mimura Sueyo) and 'I think that he died for peace at the famous school Daiichi Junior'. (Suzuki Hatsugo, Suzuki Sugiyo)

Atomic and hydrogen bombs continue to create this living hell. I am writing to express my deepest wish that they will be absolutely prohibited by all the countries of the world. (Matsunaga Shigeru)

The 'praying for peace' narrative is visible in accounts by five bereaved family members, such as Matsunaga. However, perhaps due to having responded to items in a survey, there are few descriptions attributing significance to the children's deaths in *Yūkari*, and there are also not many words expressing sentiments as there were in *In Remembrance*.

In contrast to the many parents who responded to the survey, many of the surviving students kept their silence. This is because, even while there

are those among the parents who express remorse that they were unable to prevent their son's death, indebtedness to the deceased is felt more intensely among the surviving students.

Hara Kunihiko, who compiled *Yūkari*, also lived shouldering the heavy burden of being a surviving student. In his account of the experience, written in 1946 at the request of the school principal, while alluding to the horrific condition of his classmates directly after suffering the bombing, he makes no mention of his terribly injured or even dead friends he came across while traveling to find shelter. And while by contrast in *Yūkari* he describes them through mentioning them by name, he does not use any of the three narratives used by so many others. So intense were the burden of his experience that he could not use the narratives to confer significance to his friends' deaths. Hara continued to wonder why they had to die at such a young age and why he had survived. Such was the weighty burden of being a surviving student.

Among the five surviving students who contributed accounts to *Yūkari*, two used the 'praying for peace' narrative, such as 'I believe that voices demanding peace must not be silenced so that such a calamity may never be repeated' (Honda Shigeo), but some had still not gained a sense of closure after a quarter of a century. This tendency was particularly visible in those who (for whatever reason) had been off school that day.

There were few surviving students who contributed accounts to *Yūkari*, and it is not possible to come to a firm conclusion about them. However, the shape of mourning by surviving students emerges more clearly from the City Women's memorial collections to be considered in the next section.

4 Hiroshima City Daiichi Women's High School

4.1 *The Floating Lantern*

The Floating Lantern (including 38 accounts)

was published in 1957 by the bereaved. It was a time when those who got through the atomic bombing began a movement to 'not allow any more *hibakusha* to be created' while redefining themselves as 'sufferers of the atomic bombing' by forming the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Naono 2013). However, while the 'praying for peace' narrative links working for the cause of peace and prohibition of nuclear weapons to memorial services for the dead, only four accounts in 'The Floating Lantern' utilized it. The 'foundation for peace' narrative was even less utilized, at a mere two accounts.

Peace was revived at last by your sacrifice, and the country was saved from collapse. Your older brother, your younger brother, and your younger sister all give sincere thanks in gratitude to you in heaven every morning and evening that they have reached their full potential living in peace. (Miyamoto Masakazu)

Miyamoto suffered terribly, being 'overwhelmed with shame' that his junior high-school student daughter had died, even though he, as a serviceman, had made it through. Perhaps this is precisely why he attempts to attribute significance to his daughter's death as having been meaningful. The shadow of the sorrow of a parent who has lost a child is concealed within narratives that position the death of their child as contribution to the state. However, because he feels that his daughter, whose whereabouts remain unknown, 'might come running out, calling "Daaadddy"', Miyamoto describes how he passes by the place his daughter last attended on the way to work every day. Here are visible bonds between father and daughter not mediated by the relationship with the state.

There are also only three accounts which promote the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative such as by attempting to embrace the deaths of their children as 'war heroes defending the country' or in support of enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine. While recalling how her daughter said with a smile

'we the mobilized student-workers will be, even as women, celebrated at Yasukuni Shrine' Nagata Tome states that she 'will continue to wait this year and next' until the day her daughter is enshrined. However, it cannot be considered that their sorrow and grief would disappear even if enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine were to be granted. This is because 'whatever ceremonies providing solace they conduct [for our daughter], a mother's emotions never fade... it is simply too painful to resign ourselves to our fate'.

Furthermore, parents whose daughters were still so young when suddenly taken from them could not receive solace, whatever the cause invoked. Approaching the 12th anniversary of their child's death, these parents were still living in anguish.

I didn't manage to do even one thing [for my child] that a parent should do. At least, had she still been alive today, I would have been able to make her a little happy. All I did was to try to persuade her to endure until we win. I hope she can forgive me. (Sawada Ichiyo)

There were many parents who, like Sawada, apologized to their deceased children. The mobilized student-workers began their lives during wartime, and died knowing nothing but war. Many parents apologized that they could not feed their hungry children enough to make them full, or that they could only offer them a life without freedom. Above all, they feel great regret that they allowed their children to die.

4.2 *The Floating Lantern – Continued*

The Floating Lantern – Continued (including 53 accounts) was published in 1977, the 32nd anniversary of the deaths by the atomic bombing, by bereaved family members and classmates of the City Women's students. Similarly to *Yūkari*, it contains several accounts which evoke the impression that even the passage of many years would not be effective against the sorrow of a parent who has lost a child.

Unable to persuade her sick daughter to stay home that day, Miyamoto Misao (unrelated to Miyamoto Masakazu above) explains how no amount of lamenting that failure is ever enough. The whereabouts of her daughter, who left home that day to work for ‘her country’, remain unknown. It is likely that parents cannot go without finding some meaning in their children’s deaths in order to somehow manage the distraught sorrow of being left behind. Miyamoto attributes significance to her child’s death as being ‘scattered to the winds’ ‘for her country’. However, she also states ‘I say that fate is truly a fine line, but it is pitiful and distressing, and my heart is filled with regret’. The ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative was only visible in three accounts in *Continued*, but as Miyamoto’s narrative indicates, their attitude is markedly distant from any praising of the deaths.

The ‘foundation for peace’ narrative was also infrequently used, in only three accounts. Sakamoto Fumiko implores people reveling in prosperity and forgetting the war dead not to forget the dead, stating ‘we have been able to enjoy living in peace for 32 years since the end of the war thanks to the noble sacrifice of the people burned to death in the atrocity of that atomic bombing’. Here can be seen concern that there will be no one to remember the tragic death her daughter met with after the parents have passed away.

Continued contains not only 13 accounts written by bereaved family members, but also 35 accounts written by classmates. While only two accounts written by bereaved family members utilize the ‘praying for peace’ narrative, it is utilized in 22 accounts written by classmates.

Saved from the bombing by having been off work sick, Morihara Shizue came to be tormented by guilt at having survived. Having survived was enough for her to feel guilty; in addition, she had the words ‘the shirker was saved, but those who went to work diligently met that fate’ hurled at her by the parents of her classmates who died. This went as far as Morihara blaming her older sister ‘because it was so painful to live with the guilt for having survived that [I] wanted instead to have

died with my classmates’. However, after 30-plus years had passed, this has become linked to hope that the tragedy of her classmates’ lives being cut short at such a young age will not be repeated, saying ‘I want the children to understand the value and importance of peace, so that we do not forget that so many people became victims of war. We put our hands together in prayer.’ In its hopes for achieving peace, this expression can surely be considered to contain the ‘praying for peace’ narrative.

The surviving students came to be tormented for the rest of their lives that they had survived the atomic bombing in which so many of their classmates died. In particular, many surviving students such as Morihara had heartless words hurled at them by parents of deceased students in the period soon after the atomic bombing, and came to avoid bereaved families by no longer attending memorial services. Although they had lived on, many surviving students had been exposed to radiation, and came to suffer aftereffects or poor health. Some of them later lost their lives to illnesses caused by atomic-bomb radiation. But above all, even though it was not the fault of the surviving students that their classmates had not survived, and the surviving students knew that, they still felt an indebtedness that they had lived. But as the years passed, by confronting their guilty consciences they discovered the meaning in having survived, and channeled their survival into actions to record the last days of their classmates. As a result, collections of accounts written by surviving students such as *Yūkari* and *Continued* began one after another to appear in public from the 1970s onwards.

4.3 *The Floating Lantern – Part Three*

The Floating Lantern – Part Three (including 29 accounts) was published in 1987, a further 10 years after *Continued*. With the parents either having passed away or having reached an elderly age where they were no longer active, the great majority of the accounts were written by classmates, with only two written by bereaved families. As many accounts were written in response to requests to ‘write about the labor you did when mobilized

as a student-worker', some make no mention of the atomic bombing; however, the 'praying for peace' narrative is most commonly utilized, being used in nine accounts. In contrast, there was not even one use of the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative, and the 'foundation for peace' narrative was only utilized in two accounts written by classmates that combined it with the 'praying for peace' narrative. This offers the insight that, with the passage of 40 years, memories of the deceased have become united with the collective memory of the bombing at a societal level.

As she did not go to perform her labor on the day of the bombing, and although being exposed to radiation in a different location, Asao Sanae was saved from being killed. She channels her responsibility as a survivor into striving for peace.

The first use of an atomic bomb in the history of the human race created many victims. Those of us who remain are even more deeply aware of our heavy responsibility towards and mission regarding peace, so that such a war may never happen again.

Asao also contributed an account to *Continued*. In it, she clearly expressed her anger at her friends' lives being taken, and the pain of the scars of the atomic bombing. Even though it used the same 'praying for peace' narrative, it is more powerful than her abstract writing in *Part Three*.

Why did the U.S. use nuclear weapons to bring an end to the war? If that atomic bomb had not been dropped on Hiroshima, then everyone would not have died... While nursing a body that was drenched in radiation and hoping for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons, I have been working to make the very most of my remaining years.

As can be seen in Asao's example, the fierce emotions visible in *Continued* cannot be perceived in *Part Three*. One reason is that there are few memorial writings by parents, but a major factor is

likely to be that as 40-plus years have passed for the surviving students, their indebtedness and torment of having survived have somewhat dissipated. As they reached milestones such as their children becoming adults and grandchildren being born, they had passed major 'break points' in their lives, and the vector of their memories that had been oriented to the past shifted its focus to the future.

5 Hiroshima Prefectural Association of the Victimized Mobilized Student-Workers

5.1 Overview of Association activities

The Hiroshima Prefectural Association of the Victimized Mobilized Student-Workers was founded in February 1957. Some assistance measures for the veterans and bereaved families were enacted in 1952, but bereaved families of the mobilized student-workers were only paid a small amount of condolence money, much less than soldiers' bereaved families received. Bereaved family members and former students who were dissatisfied with the treatment of the mobilized student-workers organized the Association to begin a movement demanding state support (Hiroshima kenritsu Hiroshiima kokutaiji kotougakko hyakunenshi henshu iinkai, 1975: 67-73). Giving the reason that the wartime activities of the mobilized student-workers were 'exactly equal to the activities of soldiers at the front', the Association's founding prospectus demanded state reparations under the slogan 'the same as soldiers and civilian military employees'. In addition, bereaved family members have made strong demands for enshrinement of deceased students at Yasukuni Shrine since the time the Association was founded⁸⁾. Along with Associations in Yamaguchi Prefecture and Osaka Prefecture etc., it linked with the national organization 'Support Association for Mobilized Student-Workers' to advance its activities. The movement achieved results, in that enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine was achieved in 1963, and students were decorated by the Emperor from the summer of 1965. Further-

more, in 1972 disability pensions and the allowance for bereaved family members were increased to the same level as civilian military employees, achieving a long-cherished wish (Hiroshima kenritsu Hiroshiima kokutaiji kotougakko hyakunenshi henshu iinkai, 1975: 86-97).

5.2 Narratives of members

The Association's official narrative stance tends to emphasize the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative and the 'foundation for peace' narrative, but in order to understand how the members have remembered their deceased children and classmates, we will examine the accounts carried in the publications of the Victimized Student Association.

The 'foundation for peace' narrative was visible in five accounts in the *Journal of the Mobilized Student-Workers* (including 44 accounts), published in 1968. Perhaps reflecting the official stance of the Association, the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative was featured in some 10 accounts. In particular, while alluding to the realization of enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine and receipt of decorations, several narratives attempt to honor the deaths of the children. However, regarding their children who believed that they would be enshrined at Yasukuni Shrine if they died in the war, they might 'think that they are satisfied', but there are also mothers who state that 'my heart is filled with sorrow at losing my most precious one' (Hayashi Matsuko). As in Hayashi's case, there are many parents who cannot even assign significance to the deaths of their children.

The anguish due to the 'indebtedness of having survived' also visible in *Yukari* and *Continue* can be seen in the accounts of surviving students, such as 'I was involuntarily choking back tears, feeling remorseful that I was the only one to survive even though many of my classmates died' (Kakihara Yoko).

The most common (in 11 accounts) was the 'praying for peace' narrative. An example of this was 'I want to shout in a loud voice for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs' (Asahi Terukazu). Reasons for the frequent utilization

of the 'praying for peace' narrative include the presence among the members of multiple people involved in the movements for the prohibition of A-and H-bombs and *hibakusha* movements. However, while it may be the case that the Association honors the deceased, it does not mean that this attitude cannot coincide with the dominant narratives in the mourning of those killed by the atomic bombing, being the expression of the cause of peace and opposition to A-and H-bombs. This possibility of coinciding is visible in the examples of two accounts utilizing both the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative and the 'praying for peace' narrative together. The movements for the prohibition of A-and H-bombs occurred in the mid-1950s, and even after their spread among the Japanese people fractured along party lines in the 1960s, the ideals of the prohibition of A-and H-bombs and the cause of peace were widely shared among from reformist to conservative parties. However, they were in irreconcilable opposition regarding their specific contents and methodologies. This opposition was more clearly expressed in *The History of 30 Years since the War* (including 45 accounts), published in 1975.

The most frequently-used narrative in *The History*, visible in 13 accounts, is the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative. A mere three accounts use the 'foundation for peace' narrative, but 11 accounts utilize the 'praying for peace' narrative. While the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative and the 'praying for peace' narrative are in close competition in numerical terms, many uses of the 'praying for peace' narrative approach the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative in content. Only one account advocates an anti-war pacifist position that can be seen as being in the reformist camp, and three examples of the 'praying for peace' narrative use it together with the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative. Even when the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative is not visible, the writers advocate peace or the abolition of nuclear weapons while promoting patriotism or 'official' nationalism. Such promotion of 'official' nationalism and wartime morality is highly characteristic of the Victimized

Student Association, and this feature is reflected in its collective memory of the bombing.

The Journal of the Mobilized Student-Workers – 50th Anniversary Edition (including 45 accounts) was published in 1995. The ‘praying for peace’ narrative is visible in 23 accounts, nearly half of the accounts collected in it, comprising half of the accounts of both bereaved family members and surviving students. In contrast, the ‘foundation for peace’ narrative and the ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative were both few in number, at three and six accounts respectively, and all of them were written by bereaved family members. One account utilized all three narratives, taking pride in their daughter’s enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine and receipt of decorations while assigning significance to her death as ‘not having been in vain as it was for world peace’, and stating ‘I want all of the people of Japan to pray for world peace’ (Honchi Shizuyo). Another author utilized the ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative and the ‘praying for peace’ narrative together by making an annual pilgrimage to worship at Yasukuni Shrine while advocating that ‘we must absolutely not make war’ (Matsuda Yukimi). From these examples as well, it can be understood that the ‘praying for peace’ narrative is the overall mainstream approach.

6 The Relationship between Mourning and Collective Memories

We have so far considered the narratives related to three groups, namely Daiichi Junior, City Women’s, and the Victimized Student Association. We can now move on to a deeper examination of the relationship between collective memories of the atomic bombing and individual acts of mourning the dead.

6.1 Features of narratives in groups

The ‘praying for peace’ narrative is most commonly visible in all the collections of accounts, with the exceptions of *The Fountain* and *The His-*

tory; that is to say, a tendency to fuse mourning the dead and wishing for peace could be seen in every group. *The Fountain* was published the year after Japan was defeated in the war, but at that time memorial services for the victims of the atomic bombing were not linked to pacifism. Moreover, the students who contributed accounts had until a few months before writing them been engaged in labor service ‘for their country’ without fear of death, and had convinced themselves to attempt to praise the deaths of their classmates in the context of the righteousness of the state. In *The History*, many accounts were written including the realization of the Association’s aims, such as enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine, receipt of decorations, and obtaining state support equivalent to civilian military employees. In addition, many state-centric narratives such as the ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative were visible in the remarks at the round-table discussion on the topic of ‘working for the peace and security of the motherland’. The ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative is visible more often in relation to the Victimized Student Association compared to regarding Daiichi Junior and City Women’s. It can be said that the features of a group that lobbied for enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine are reflected in the narratives of the members, and it can also be said that such narratives constitute the collective memory of the Association. However, the Victimized Student Association shares two points with the bereaved family members of Daiichi Junior and City Women’s: While the ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative is utilized most often, the ‘praying for peace’ narrative is also utilized in almost as many accounts, and furthermore, many parents were unable to assign significance to their children’s deaths and became mired in sorrow.

6.2 Relationships with the deceased

Differences in the relationship with the deceased, being whether the writer is a bereaved family member or a classmate, are also reflected in narratives. Among those who contributed accounts to *Continued*, the proportion of classmates’ accounts which utilized the ‘praying for peace’ narra-

tive reached as high as 60%. In contrast, in 70% of the accounts by bereaved family members, none of the three key narratives used in mourning the dead are visible. Published at almost the same time as *Continued*, the accounts by bereaved family members contained in *Yūkari* show a similar trend, but as it includes few accounts by surviving students, comparison similar to in *Continued* is not possible. With regard to the publications of the Victimized Student Association, 29% of the accounts by bereaved family members in the *Journal* (1968) and 18% of their accounts in *50th Anniversary Edition* utilize the ‘martyrdom for the country’ narrative. However, this narrative cannot be seen in the accounts by surviving students.

It can be said that the difference between whether the writer shared family life with the deceased students or were their friend at school is reflected in the mourning narratives in both *Continued* and the publications of the Victimized Student Association. Even after many years have passed, their parents remember their children as family members. This is precisely why they grieve the deaths of their children at such a young age, and why it is difficult for them to receive solace from any of the narratives of mourning the dead. That the parent-child relationship is maintained even after the child’s death can also be discerned from how the parents of the Victimized Student Association lobbied for their children’s enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine. This is because it was the children’s wishes to be enshrined at Yasukuni, and it is the parents’ wishes that the state recognize that their children’s deaths contributed to the state.

Among the surviving students, those who feel indebtedness at having survived have avoided facing the past. However, as they grew older, they came to remember their classmates who died at a young age by superimposing them onto the forms of their own children and children around them, and came to connect their wishes for a peaceful future with mourning the dead. Therefore, rather than the ‘martyrdom for the country’ and the ‘foundation for peace’ narratives that they emphasized in the past, the future-oriented ‘praying for peace’

narrative came to be frequently seen in *Continued*. Moreover, the surviving students who comprised the Victimized Student Association carried disabilities due to the atomic bombing, and rather than honoring the dead, made strong demands for state support the same as civilian military employees. Rather than maintaining the past group with their classmates through the act of mourning, alleviating their hardship from their disabilities was a more pressing concern.

6.3 The context of society

It can be understood from the discussion so far that the differences in character between a group formed to conduct memorial services at the school level and a group lobbying for honoring by the state, and the differences in the relationship with the deceased between bereaved family members and classmates, are reflected in the shape of the acts of mourning. There is an interrelationship between collective memories and individual acts of mourning the dead in small-scale groups. At the same time, bearing in mind the commonality visible between groups in the shape of acts of mourning, it can be considered that the collective memory of Japanese society provide an even larger context to the shape of acts of mourning.

As described previously, the war dead of modern times are remembered as members of the nation-state, and are often mobilized in the cause of national unity even after death. However, if the war itself comes to be seen as a mistake, the war dead are forgotten by society as ‘meaningless deaths’. As Oda Makoto points out, as the Asia-Pacific War was repudiated as having been a war of aggression and thus lost its righteousness, the Japanese war dead in general became ‘meaningless deaths’. This fact is difficult to accept for those who experienced the war, including bereaved family members. By glorifying the war, the war dead can be prevented from being considered ‘meaningless deaths’, but social isolation may result, and the aim of having the war dead honored by society cannot be achieved. Therefore, it is necessary to search for logic that even while repudiating the war also finds

some meaning in death in the war. To that end, the aesthetics of martyrdom are advanced in order to salvage death in the war as 'falling as flowers do' (Oda 1991: 9-10), and this trend is visible in *The Fountain*.

After the watershed moment of the war being lost, the surviving students were deprived of the righteousness of the war that they had believed in until that point, and were thus left perplexed about how they should assign significance to the deaths of their classmates. They were no longer able to assign significance to the deaths of their friends in the context of the righteousness of the war, but they could also not admit to them being meaningless deaths. This is because, until divided into those who survived and those who did not, they strove together with their friends in labor service, all prepared to lay down their lives 'for their country'. If the deaths of their friends were to be considered meaningless, then the wartime experiences of the surviving students would also become repudiated as meaningless. Based on this attitude of 'solidarity with the deceased' (Sakuta 1981: 164-166), they assign significance to the deaths of their friends as 'dying a beautiful death for their country', and pray for the rebirth of the state.

As the aesthetics of martyrdom treat death conceptually, it did not spread much among the bereaved, unlike among the young students who contributed accounts to *The Fountain*. Instead, a certain number of bereaved parents assigned significance to the deaths of their children utilizing the 'foundation for peace' narrative and 'martyrdom for the country' narrative, which do not operate through aesthetics. Even if it had been a war without righteousness, if the sacrifice of the deceased had brought an end to the war and peace to the country, their deaths came to have saved the nation-state from an existential crisis, and can be assigned significance as 'noble sacrifice'. In this sense, even though the 'foundation for peace' narrative does not have the romanticism of the likes of the aesthetics of martyrdom, as a result, the mobilized student-workers come to be remembered as 'warriors martyred for their country'. It can be said

that the righteousness of the state lived on even though it lost the war.

However, in order to champion the war dead as 'foundations of peace', postwar Japan must uphold peace. Therefore, people came to be encouraged to not only thank the war dead, but to also strive for 'peace'. However, since the end of the 1960s (which saw the period of high-speed economic growth), the 'peace' referred to here often included the conservative connotation of 'maintaining a peaceful household', i.e. maintaining the status quo in one's living situation. This is precisely why the 'praying for peace' narrative is also often visible in the accounts of the Victimized Student Association, which utilized the 'martyrdom for the country' narrative more than other groups.

As Takahashi Saburo (1988) and Nitta Mitsuko (2005) have argued, as the war deaths of combatants were handled in a repudiatory manner in postwar Japanese society, surviving soldiers have demanded societal recognition of their past experiences and the deaths of their wartime friends, and they have tended to lobby for Yasukuni Shrine being under state protection⁷). By contrast, the victims of the atomic bombing were recognized as a representative example of the sufferers of war, and have been remembered as a cornerstone of the opposition to nuclear weapons and as a symbol of the nobility of peace. As a moral authority promoting for peace, the victims of the atomic bombing have come to be paid respect regardless of whatever political position a person may hold. Therefore, when those who remained mourn the victims of the atomic bombing, there is no need for them to praise the deceased like the former soldiers do; in fact, by memorializing the dead using the 'praying for peace' narrative, they themselves were able to receive a little solace. This is illustrated by how the proportion occupied by the 'praying for peace' narrative is significantly higher than the proportions of the other two narratives in the memorial collections in general that we have considered in this paper.

7 Conclusion

We have considered how the three dominant narratives in mourning the war dead in postwar Japan are expressed in the mourning of those killed by the atomic bombing. It has become clear that the shape of those expressions differs depending on the groups that those conducting mnemonic practice are affiliated with and the social context they are in. At the same time, it cannot be overlooked that many bereaved family members lived in sorrow, unable to find meaning in their children's deaths, for decades. While they may have utilized narratives of mourning the war dead such as the 'praying for peace' narrative, it is evident from the analysis of their accounts that such utilization will not necessarily alleviate the intensity of their sorrow. The surviving students were also silent for many years due to the indebtedness of having survived. Through the bereaved family members and surviving students, it can be understood that a process of mourning the dead definitely exists which cannot be grasped by the framework of the collective memory of society. Even if they have assigned significance to the deaths of those around them through links to the righteousness of the state or peace, this cannot help them come to terms with those deaths. However, with the passage of time, the groups that the deceased were affiliated to (such as families and schools) will gradually fade away and their collective memories disappear as well. Therefore, there is a high probability that the mourning of those killed by the atomic bombings will also be absorbed into the more abstract collective memory of society and logic of the state.

The latter half of the 1980s until the 50th anniversary of the bombings was a period when memorial services for the victims of the atomic bombings were handed over from now-elderly parents to the siblings and classmates of the deceased, but it was also a period when the global anti-nuclear weapons movement and domestic *hibakusha* movements gathered widespread support. Drawing on this background, many of the memorial collec-

tions published around this time came to utilize the 'praying for peace' narrative. These were also a declaration of intent demanding that society continue to remember the sacrifice of the deceased as 'an unthinkable tragedy'. However, this also led to the intensely emotional sorrow visible in accounts written until the 1970s, particularly in the early stages, being turned into a master narrative of peace and anti-nuclear sentiment.

On the other hand, the Victimized Student Association demanded that not only Japanese society, but also the state, continue to remember the deceased. In 1978, the scope of membership was broadened by restructuring the organization into a legally-incorporated foundation aimed at 'improving social welfare', in the expectation that broader society would take over honoring the deceased from bereaved family members and classmates. At the same time, starting from the mid-1970s, it came to advocate Yasukuni Shrine being moved under state protection as a key plank of its policies. By broadening the scope of those who remember the deceased to the level of society and the state, they attempted to open the way to the deceased being remembered in perpetuity.

Pioneering Japanese folklorist Yanagita Kunio voiced concerns about deceased young soldiers becoming 'neglected spirits' with no one to remember and care about them. Like those young soldiers, the mobilized student-workers also lost their lives without having children or grandchildren to perform rituals in their memory at home. This is precisely why bereaved family members demand that the state and society, which have the appearance of 'everlasting life', continue to remember the deceased students.

At the same time, the bereaved parents and surviving students did not carry the burden of pinning down responsibilities for the war that brought death to the mobilized student-workers. Instead they asked for the state and society to honor the students' deaths. Among the accounts we have analyzed in this paper, there are a few authors who express anger at Japan's leaders for having conducted and prolonged the war that caused the drop-

ping of the atomic bombs, but there are extremely few voices who pursue the issue of responsibility even within the 'praying for peace' narrative. This is because, as it was a total war, someone pursuing the issue of responsibility for the war will find it coming back onto him or herself. This is likely why many accounts instead included the word 'sorry' with reference to the students' death.

Instead of pursuing structural factors that brought about their children's deaths, by lobbying for enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine, the parents of the Victimized Student Association were attempting to relieve themselves of 'being sorry'. Attempting to fulfil the wishes of their deceased children may seem natural for parents. However, individual memories through such memorial acts become, over time, united with the logic of the state, which while praising the deceased as 'war heroes', confines and restricts criticism of the state.

Apart from cases such as offering food that the deceased students liked at the home altar in prayer for their souls, fulfilling the requests they made while alive was not possible after Japan had lost the war. The students believed that millions would fight to an honorable death rather than surrender, and rather than pleading for 'no more Hiroshimas', they swore vengeance by striking down the enemy. However, by admitting defeat in the war, the Emperor, the state, and those Japanese who survived the war betrayed the deceased. By not facing up to that fact, and by lobbying for enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine while following the course set by the United States, reinterpreting the wishes the deceased made while alive as 'they wished for peace' and praying for the construction of a peace-loving nation, can (even when from those with a direct connection to the deceased) only be said to be deceitful. Neither by receiving honors from the state, nor by offering prayers for peace, can the wishes of the dead be fulfilled, nor their deaths be compensated for.

If those remaining, hypothetically, faced up to the fact that they betrayed the deceased, then not only the shape of mourning the war dead, but also of postwar Japanese society, would likely have

been different. The 'praying for peace' narrative would likely have carried a clearer aspect of criticism of the state, and voices demanding reparations from the state and initiatives for the people to face up to their responsibility for the war would likely have become more widespread. Mnemonic practice at the individual level had the potential to change the shape of the collective memory of society as a whole, and be the catalyst to create a new society. However, it may have been asking too great a burden of the parents who had lost their children at a young age and the surviving students shouldering the indebtedness of having outlived their classmates. The collective memory of postwar Japan was shaped by those who lived after the war – it is precisely we who created postwar society who had the opportunity to create a different collective memory. That is to say, these are issues that the 'postwar generation' should take upon ourselves.

Notes

1. Yasukuni Shrine was established as a state shrine in 1879 to honor the Japanese war dead in the name of the Emperor. It was re-organized into a private institution during the occupation by the Allied Powers, since it was regarded as a strong institutional base that had instigated militarism in Japan. Although it is a private organization, it is regarded by the war generation and conservatives, such as those who gather at the Nihon Izoku-kai, to have an official status. It does not honor all of the war dead, but only those, mostly fallen soldiers, who are acknowledged by the state to have made contribution to the nation by their death.
2. Nihon Izoku-kai is an organization established in 1947 that aims to honor the war dead as 'war heroes' (*eirei* 英霊) and memorialize them as having sacrificed their lives to the nation. It has served as a strong lobbying group to support the conservative Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, which has remained the leading political party for most of the postwar

era.

3. Nishimura (2006) also analyzes the narratives of the bereaved family members of Nagasaki Medical University students who lobbied for enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine, but his analysis does not distinguish between the perspectives of the bereaved family members and the classmates.
4. 353 students and 15 teachers were killed by the bombing. Among the students, first-year students suffered the most deaths, with 288 killed by the bombing (Chugoku Shimbun, August 14, 2010; Hiroshima kenritsu Hiroshiiima kokutaiji kotougakko hyakunenshi henshu iinkai 1977: 485). In terms of the number of collections of accounts published in the 50 years after the bombing, it has the second most among schools in Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the former Nagasaki Medical University.
5. A total of 666 students, including 277 first-year students and 264 sophomores and 10 teachers lost their lives in the atomic bombing, the most deaths of any school in Hiroshima (Chugoku Shimbun, February 28, 1999; June 22, 2000; June 23, 2000). Among the women's schools, it published the equal-highest number of collections of accounts, alongside Hiroshima Women's Higher Normal School Affiliated Yamanaka Women's High School.
6. According to the founding president, Teramae Taeko. The interview with her was recorded on February 21, 2012, in Hiroshima City.
7. Soldiers may have received negative treatment from society, but they have received gratitude from the state in the form of state reparations and decorations.

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