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Nuclear Racism: From Hiroshima and Nagasaki to Gaza and Iran

Peter Trnka

Preface

This writing is based, in part, on an address given to the Network for Education and Research on Peace and Sustainability (NERPS) at Hiroshima University, which prepared the ground, in a way, for the ‘Nuclear Futures’ roundtable at Hiroshima City University a few days later (see this issue). At my first talk in Japan, also at Hiroshima University, titled ‘Settler-colonialism, residential schools, and negotiations with ghosts: perspectives from the north of Big Turtle Island,’ I had introduced myself (a necessity in political collaboration and alliance formation) through the history of my political work, from early involvement with trade union activism and strike command (Canadian Union of Educational Workers (CUEW) Local 2 at the University of Toronto, as a graduate student) to later collaboration with the Gwich’in Tribal Council in the North West Territories, with Maori scholars and tribal leaders in Aotearoa (New Zealand), and now as a member of Academics Act for Palestine.

Cosmopolitan collaborative negotiation and bilateral treaty making as a form of life. And literary sources for the way they compress life stories and political views. The same story, sometimes, in variations. One such glimpse, ghost, threshold that frames my work with the Gwich’in, and also may help in introducing the, here mutually implicated, themes of trauma, hell, point of view, and method (or way forward): Robert Alexie, then Chief of the Gwich’in Tribal Council, invited me to Inuvik to work, but my original trip had to be delayed as my host, the author, negotiator, and tribal leader, Robert Alexie, was found dead, of a gunshot wound, in his truck on the highway (I was taken to the location when I visited a few months later). The opening pages of his novel, *Porcupines and China Dolls*, describe an eerily similar scene. Prior to the first chapter, in a sort of prelude, titled ‘The Ultimate Journey to Hell,’ the novel begins: “Two hours later he stood beside the highway in the Blue Mountains like he’d done so many times before. His tall, dark figure looked foreboding against the dark clouds” (1). The prelude ends shortly after with the following:

He walked to his truck, removed the gun and loaded one bullet, then returned to the side of the highway. ...

It came to him that he’d always been alone. He’d always be alone. He then did something he’d thought about and tried before. But this time he knew he’d do it.

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With no hint of hesitation he got down on one knee, put the barrel in his mouth and pushed the trigger. He watched the hammer fall and closed his eyes. He tensed and waited for the explosion. It came. He heard it: metal on metal. It was the loudest sound he'd ever heard. It shook his entire body and deafened him.

He took a deep breath, dropped the gun and exhaled. He heard it: the peace and the silence.

He waited for his ultimate journey to hell. (2)

We learn more of the nature of this hell very shortly, in the first chapter, 'Legends, Beliefs and Newcomers':

In 1921, the last of the newcomers arrived, the Treaty Party. There's a lot of controversy about what was or wasn't in the Treaty, but most are not important to this story. What is important is that the government and the People agreed that the Treaty contained a clause that states: *'His Majesty will pay the salaries of teachers to instruct the children of the "said Indians" in a manner deemed advisable by His Majesty's government.'* ...

What they didn't know when they put their 'X' on the Treaty was that the church would be given the responsibility to educate their 'said children.' ...

Soon after, the first mission boat arrived in Aberdeen, and thirty-five children were herded out of the Blue Mountains and dragged off to mission school. The closest anyone has come to it is 'hellhole,' but that's beside the point. The point is that years later, twenty-four of the thirty-five would return. More importantly, eleven wouldn't.

It had begun, but no one knew what it was. Things were beginning to change. The future was unfolding, as it should. (6-7)

So ends the first chapter.

My introduction to the roundtable presented the concluding parts only of my longer presentation at NERPS. This is an expanded and updated write-up of parts of all three addresses, together with reflections on subsequent conversations in Japan and research completed later (primarily *A-bomb Drawings by Survivors*, edited by the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, and *Open Sky* by Paul Virilio).

I. Violence and Optics

The burning hell of horror is the burning of the sky—of the world—of light.

Consider weaponry as a (extreme, violent, limit-condition) form of *transport* (taking to a different place). Humanity's recent, one hundred years or so, history is the history of flying weaponry and self-destruction. Hiroshima/Nagasaki are the explosions of the sky ceiling; globalized reality-image command and drone bombing, today in Gaza and Iran, are total sky control.

War is, and always has been, in part, an issue of the production and reproduction of images. Today, the formal subsumption of violence by image is becoming a real subsumption. As Judith Butler writes, in *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*:

[T]he technological grasp and circulation of the visual and discursive dimensions of war ... is already an interpretative maneuver, a way of giving an account of whose life *is* a life, and whose life is effectively transformed into an instrument, a target, or a number, or is effaced with only a trace remaining or none at all. (2016, ix-xx)

Images produced to serve violence, the understanding, permission/legitimation/justification of it, and the looks of its target face, its colour and contour. (More below on the manufacture, circulation and embedding of such images.)

Racism is technologically hardwired, not only into the nuclear logic, but into the more general logic of war. The nuclear and nuclear-type (sky-disaster-earth-obliviation) are extreme forms. The colonial humiliation narratives are unapologetic, fanatical, and more and more intensively and extensively technologically inserted into the machinery of global society and, especially, the global war machine; they decide automatically, in the moment of visual identification, what is human and what is nonhuman:

[I]f certain populations—and the Palestinians are clearly prominent among them—do not count as living beings, ... if their very bodies are construed as instruments of war or pure vessels of attack, then they are already deprived of life before they are killed, transformed into inert matter or destructive instrumentalities, and so buried before they have had the chance to live, or to become worthy of destruction, paradoxically in the name of life. To kill such a person, indeed such a population, thus calls upon a racism that differentiates in advance who will count as a life, and who will not. (Butler xxix-xxx)

The automatization of the decision to kill erases the appearance of the decision and its ethical dimensions, making it appear as a moment of perceptual identification.

II. The Racist Nuclear Imaginary

Nuclear weapons are, as Arundhati Roy has phrased, now iconically, in *The End of Imagination*, at “the very heart of whiteness” (2016, 50). By nuclear weapons, I mean to include the production and distribution of uranium and other resources for the production of nuclear weapons, as well as their possession, use, decisions for their use, the fallouts of their use, and so on. From a broader perspective still, there is the racism of the entire nuclear complex, nuclear weaponry and nuclear power, what Jessica Hurley calls the violence of the nuclear mundane: “The nuclear mundane is the slow violence of the atomic age; like all slow violences, it distributes its damage unevenly. Poor people, people of colour, Indigenous people, queer people, and women receive the least benefit from the nuclear complex and are the most exposed to its harms...” (2020, 14). The connection between colonial oppression and the damage done by nuclear radiation is summed up in the phrase ‘radioactive colonialism,’ a term “initially coined by Indigenous activist Winona LaDuke and activist Ward Churchill in 1982 to describe the disproportionate fallout on indigenous communities of the nuclear production system” (ICANW, 2021).

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The selective humanism of the white nations that possess nuclear weapons, that is, their perpetual dehumanization of others, is shown at the target stage, the mining stage, and, also, of course, at the testing stage of atomic bombs. As a report states from the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICANW):

Nuclear-armed states consistently tested their weapons in spaces they wrongly deemed ‘distant’ and ‘empty’, that were away from national metropolises where decision-makers lived. This led to many nuclear nations testing their weapons in their dependent territories or colonies, in which indigenous peoples were situated with ancestral connections to their lands and waters, such as New Mexico, Nevada, the Marshall Islands, Montebello Island, Maralingu and Emu Field in Australia, Kiribati ..., Kazakhstan, Xinjiang, Algeria and French Polynesia.

With respect to the mining stage, the case is clear that “Indigenous peoples and their lands have been exploited by Western governments and corporations for nuclear weapons production” as:

70% of the world’s uranium is mined from Indigenous lands in Kazakhstan, Australia, Canada, and 15% is mined in African nations. ... These estimates change from year to year, but the general trends of uranium production and trade have largely remained the same. According to World Nuclear News, Kazakhstan was the top global producer in 2022, accounting for 43% of the world’s supply. Canada ranked second with a 15% share, followed by Namibia with 11%. (Saadia 2022)

To focus specifically on Fat Man, the bomb used to destroy Nagasaki, we know that most of its uranium came from the former Belgian colony, the Congo, and that:

The Congolese miners who worked in the Shinkolobwa mine ... were subjected to forced labour, harsh conditions, and exposure to radiation without proper protection. They were treated as disposable and expendable by the Union Minière du Haut Katanga..., the Belgian mining company that owned the mine and sold the uranium to the US and its allies. The Congolese people were not informed of the link between their uranium and the bombs that killed hundreds of thousands of Japanese citizens, nor were they compensated or acknowledged for their contribution to the Manhattan Project. (Saadia)

What applies to the mining of the resources for making the atomic bomb also applies to dealing (or, rather, not dealing, but passing off and continuing to destroy) with the waste, from nuclear production to nuclear testing and nuclear bombing. H. Saadia and others from the Princeton education project claim that “[n]uclear waste is routinely dumped on Native lands in the US and Canada, violating the 2008 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.” Though many may believe that 3 Mile Island was the worst nuclear accident in the US, in fact the “largest nuclear accident occurred in Church Rock, New Mexico in 1979 just 3 months after the more widely remembered 3 Mile Island

incident, yet it is little discussed outside of New Mexico, highlighting the colonial politics of erasure in what kinds of nuclear waste disasters are remembered” (Saadia).

It should not be surprising then that indigenous populations and people of colour have been central in nuclear disarmament movements:

...Indigenous Peoples and people of colour have ... [been] at the forefront of the nuclear disarmament movement. There is a powerful and underappreciated history of global south resistance to colonialism, militarism, and nuclear weapons. ... [T]he Bandung conference of 1955 with representatives from across Asia and Africa called for disarmament and an end to the nuclear arms race. (ICANW)

The racism operating in the acceptance of the status quo global distribution of nuclear weapons (as stated and accepted at the start of The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons) is unarguable. It is made more and more explicit and unapologetic as the regimes, notably the US and Israel, holding such weapons become more fundamentalist and fanatical. The brute global distribution of power is the only ground for the possession of nuclear weapons; no non-voluntary policies to govern or regulate their possession or use exist. The patterns of nuclear weapons practice indicate and exploit racist worldviews, in line nationalist ideologies:

[N]on-white states are powerfully committed to nuclear abolition with the majority party to established regional nuclear-weapons-free zones such as Latin America in the Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967), the Pacific in the Treaty of Rarotonga (1985), South East Asia in the Treaty of Bangkok (1995), and Africa in the Treaty of Pelindaba (1996). (ICANW)

The recent behaviour of world states regarding The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), 2021, is no different: “The nuclear weapons states’... complete dismissal of the treaty and the nations of the Global South’s choice to join the treaty is indicative of the festering disharmony between the nuclear haves and have nots” and of epistemic racism (Mishra and Amir).

Nuclear warfare and domestic acts of racist torture and terrorism are identical in the way they configure violence in its relation to its de-subjectified—dehumanized—object (certainly not ‘dignified opponent’). Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the assault on George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police Department share three key features, according to Elaine Scarry: state violence, a defenceless opponent, and naked racism. However unjust (simply preferential of the status quo and *de facto* recognition), the distinction between state and non-state actors, in terms of legitimate versus terrorist use of violence, only state actors possess or have used nuclear weapons. There is only state nuclear terror. Most state-actor nuclear weapons possessors are white; the targets are predominantly populations of people of colour, previously discriminated against, racialized, and dehumanized.

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The key feature in the nature of the violence involved, for Scarry, a long-standing critic of the US as torturer, is not any technical feature of the weaponry, that is, its nuclear character. Rather, it is that, really or symbolically, a nuclear bomb attack means annihilation and lack of defense and resistance. This is how Scarry also begins her argument for the strong analogy between nuclear bombing in wars between nations and domestic racist terrorism by state officials, police, that is: “The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki initiated an era in which—for the first time on earth and now continuing for 7 and a 1/2 decades—humankind collectively and summarily lost the right of self-defence” (2020). Here Scarry connects her recent work on nuclear weaponry with her earlier analysis of bodies in torture:

Nuclear weapons don't ... conform to the model of war, they conform to the model of torture. ... They do not permit any right of self-defence between the two parties. They are a structure of eliminating the right of self-defence, both from foreign populations and from the home population. They are a literalization of world-destroying power. (Scarry in Gerard)

The racism of atomic-bomb targeting. We know now, Scarry goes on to state, that the US Presidents considered using nuclear weapons on the Taiwan Islands in 1954, in the Berlin crisis of 1959, thrice under Kennedy, once by Johnson against China, and by Nixon three to four times; as Scarry notes:

[a]nd it is there that the record stops, because 3 to 4 decades went by before we learned about the instances I've just named; 3 to 4 decades will again have to go by before we learn about contemplated uses by presidents after Nixon. It puts the population in the position of just having to guess what's going on, whether our executive is contemplating using nuclear weapons. (Gerard 2015)

George Bush, after 9/11, stopped at Offutt Air Force Base in Nevada, a center for land and airbased nuclear weapons. We don't know much, in short, and that's that for democratic control and oversight. Given the targeted (Japan, Taiwan, North Korea, North Vietnam, China, Iraq), the areas of testing (primarily indigenous lands), the condemned (Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea), and those permitted in silence (Israel, India, Pakistan),

[t]he obligation to 'call out racism and share the burden of dismantling white supremacy' should carry with it the obligation to recognize the racist tradition of the nuclear architecture itself (a northern hemisphere blanketed by nuclear states, a southern hemisphere blanketed by nuclear-weapons-free zone treaties) and to dismantle it begin with the 2 states that hold 93% of all the weapons. (Scarry)

Trump ordered nuclear weapons testing to resume on 30 October, 2025, “after a halt of 33 years;” he made “the surprise announcement [really?] on Truth Social while aboard his Marine One helicopter flying to meet Chinese President Xi Jinping for a trade-negotiation session in Busan, South Korea. ...

No nuclear power—other than North Korea, most recently in 2017—has carried out explosive nuclear testing in over 25 years” (Reuters 2025).

The threat or annihilation need not be nuclear. Gaza takes the situation from the intensity of a singular bomb to carpet-bombing-total-network-drone extensification: control of the sky, together with indiscriminate, annihilating destruction. As Tahrir Hamdi writes, in this issue, such a scale of destruction requires an absolute, racist imaginary: “In the Western (colonial) consciousness, it was necessary that Hiroshima and Nagasaki be atomically bombed, thus instantly killing hundreds of thousands of Japanese people (246, 000, according to Adam Miyashiro (2024))” (82). Necessary, that is, if one wanted to demonstrate the predominance of airpower in modern warfare and link it to the unprecedented destructive power of nuclear weaponry. The scale of the weaponry matches the scale of the existential threat, in this case, absolute, unlimited, with no end except erasure of the other. Hamdi puts the point brutally, that is, honestly: “we are immediately confronted by the question of who exactly is worthy of saving. According to this racialized thinking, nuclear power ... should ... be concentrated in the hands of those who must always be saved (Western European countries and Israel,” while, on the other hand, these self-proclaimed civilized, non-barbaric nuclear weapons hoarding nations, consider themselves “the more than human,” and, hence, as such, as those:

who are always morally justified in exterminating/annihilating hundreds of thousands of useless brown, black or yellow people—those who are not worth being saved, the obviously less than human, or, to use the phrase of the Israeli Defence Minister, Yoav Gallant, the “human animals,” referring to the Palestinian population of Gaza and elsewhere inside and outside occupied Palestine. (82)

As Ilan Pappé makes clear in his contribution to the “Nuclear Futures” roundtable (see this issue), the comparative scales of destruction in the atomic bombings in Japan and the total coverage bombing of Gaza have immediate and long-term disastrous consequences for the human populations but also the material environment in which any future populations may live and from which they may or must build their habitats. Further, the mindset, the racist imaginary which allows such acts, is familiar and traditional: colonial-settler. Pappé states:

The dehumanization that enables such a magnitude of destruction that we have seen in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, but not only there, with different forms of the genocide, of the Jews in Europe, the bombing in Germany during the second world war, goes back to the colonialist era when modern weaponry was first used in order to eliminate a people in order to inflict the genocide, on the people of Africa by shipping them as slaves to North America and the Caribbean. The late Patrick Wolfe kept reminding us of the logic of the elimination of the native. The means of the elimination change over time, according to the development of world war weaponry, but the intention and the justification, the internal justification, and then the international immunity for that kind of

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project, are ... what we see today in Gaza and ... part of the racist dehumanization that enabled the act of bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (Aoe *et al* 26)

The colonial, racist, entitled, sadistic imperial attitude, but, also, now, a fanatical and politically-theological limit-kind. Pappé continues:

[W]ho possesses these weapons[?] ... [T]otally absent from ... mainstream media, and mainstream academia, and ... mainstream politics in the world, is the connection between the ideology of the current Israeli political elite, a messianic ideology, a fanatic racist ideology, and the nuclear power that Israel possesses. ... For the present and ... near future, Israel is going to be ruled by a political elite that has ambitions, not only to expunge Palestine and its people, but to go beyond and create a greater Israel that extends into Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and the weaponry it will use will be used without any inhibitions. (Aoe *et al* 26-7)

The current US-Israel war on Iran and the open threats of nuclear attack only strengthen such probabilities.

The nature of the damage caused by such a scale of bombing is well-described in a report Fazil Moradi quotes, in his article in this issue, “The Earth is Closing on Us’: Predatory Empires through Japan, Palestine, and Iran,” (73) a report titled “Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki” (published in Japanese in 1979, English translation 1981):

Records on the time of the explosion vary from 8:15 to 8:18 A.M. but the official time according to Hiroshima City is 8:15 A.M. With the explosion of the atomic bomb, the epicenter [hypocentre] instantaneously reached a maximum temperature of several million degrees centigrade and an atmospheric pressure of several 100,000 bars; with the formation of a fireball, powerful heat rays and radiation were emitted in all directions within a short interval. Radiation extended not only directly from the burst point but also from the surface of the ground—from fission fragments and the residue of neutron-induced radioactive materials. The shock waves propagated by the explosion and the tremendous blast that followed almost instantaneously demolished buildings and killed many people. The survivors suffered the agonies of thermal burns and radiation exposure, whose effects were in many cases delayed.

Trump orders the war on Iran in March 2026 by executive order. The humiliation of Arabs continues with the gross manners attending the US and Israeli assassinations of their political opponents. The beyond—is it a continuation or a break? Roy argues for a contemporary break in her recent: “Iran is Not Gaza: Arundhati Roy’s Scathing Speech on the US-Israeli War on Iran. Exclusive: The award-winning Indian novelist warns that the world is on the brink of nuclear calamity and economic collapse, and laments her own government’s gutlessness” (Roy 2026):

[T]he unprovoked and illegal attack by the United States and Israel on Iran. It is, of course, a continuation of the US-Israeli genocide in Gaza. It’s the same

old genocidaires using the same old playbook. Murdering women and children. Bombing hospitals. Carpet bombing cities. And then playing victim.

But Iran is not Gaza. The theater of this new war could expand to consume the whole world. We are on the brink of nuclear calamity and economic collapse. The same country that bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be readying itself to bomb one of the most ancient civilizations in the world.

Continuation, or repetition, of the nuclear series, but with a difference, still yet to be decided.

The old playbook of settler-colonialism and imperialism. Moradi argues that for Empire today, the nuclear bomb threat, while not unique, has a paramount or paradigmatic power and status: “*within the global colonial theatre (knowing-how-to-see), nuclear capability functions as the spectral centre of imperial power*” (68). The victims of imperial slaying are sometimes themselves not clean, but this does nothing to excuse genocide, annihilation, and unprovoked attack. For Moradi, however dirty Israel and Iran are, each, today, the problem is larger and longer: “From the plantations of the Caribbean to the trenches of the imperial war now remembered as ‘World War I,’ the state has been a laboratory for perfecting techniques of organized destruction” (70). The explicit, unashamed, might-is-right attitude to the possession of nuclear weapons by the same states that adopt humilatingly arrogant and demeaning moralizing attitudes to their bullied opponents shows the mass hypnosis and delusion at work:

In the 21st century, the most advanced nuclear states, including the US, Russia, China, France, the UK, Pakistan, India, and Israel, stand as heirs to that imperial calculation. Each claims the mantle of legitimate sovereignty or democracy, yet all possess the most refined instruments of annihilation: the capacity to sacrifice the planet, suspending law, critical thinking, protest, and ethical or ecological responsibility. (Moradi 75)

As Hamdi shows:

We have established a direct link between the people of Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Palestine—these are the less than human, or if they can be described as ‘human,’ the descriptor ‘animals’ must be added—these are those who can be disposed of, in order to enable the continuation of the more than human race/civilization, who populate the deservedly, and morally, nuclear armed-to-the-teeth Western, hegemonic, neo-colonial world, otherwise known as, the ‘free world.’ (83)

III. True Representations of Hell

Moradi asked me to recount what I found most memorable in the atom bomb museum in Hiroshima. He told me to go early, as the busloads of schoolchildren on educational trips would be less massive early on. The crush of museum goers, even somewhat early, layers the experience with form-matter eeriness: ‘we’—more accurately, streams of panicked individuals and groupuscules—navigate the harrowing skull-corpse-remains-destruction strewn pathways as if we

are canoeing down one of Hiroshima's rivers, turned into a river of rapids filled with bomb dead. I do not read much—I've read a fair bit in preparation for this 'trip'—though the museum is filled with script. I rush, pausing at a certain photograph, a particular shroud, and stopping at the art, the art of the *hibakusha*. I stop also at one of the video installations, *hibakusha* testimonials, before leaving the exhibit space. The one book I purchase in the museum: *A-bomb Drawings by Survivors* (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum [HPMM], 2007). Bilingual, Japanese and English, the book presents many of the 3,600 drawings and paintings in the HPMM collection. It is a unique read. I learned a new discipline in reading and seeing the works in the book, one of short, patient, attentive doses, in close sequence. As I said to Moradi a few weeks later, remembering his question, the *hibakusha* art stood out for me more than anything else: each work compresses scene and history, objective information and subjective experience and values, in a richer, more complex, and truer way than any mediated representation or relic.

The final written piece in *A-bomb Drawings by Survivors* is 'History, Memory & the Legacy of *Hibakusha* Artists,' by John Dower, who was involved in the 1977 publication by "Pantheon Books of an American edition of NHK's [NHK Hiroshima Broadcasting Station] early collection of atomic-bomb drawings and paintings by *hibakusha*. The title of the Japanese version was *Gōka o Mita*. In English, this was rendered as *Unforgettable Fire*' (HPMM 167). Dower explains the force of the *hibakusha* images clearly:

[I]ndividual symbolic moments can be shared with others. This is what the *hibakusha* drawings and paintings do—more memorably, in my view, than any other way we have of trying to comprehend the true horror of war in general, and nuclear war in particular. Why are these images more powerful in their way than photographs or film footage? Because **they depict war as intimately as can be imagined.** (HPMM 168, my emphasis)

Each of the images is a world of suffering, no matter its sometimes obvious repetition of other worlds (corpses floating down the rivers, corpses in cisterns, mothers carrying dead infants, mushroom clouds, and so on). The imagined war is the true war, the war as it is expressed in its suffering expression.

IV. Producing Light/Image, Destroying Earth/Sky

Paul Virilio, analyzing the conquest of reality by the control and command of real time and force from the sky, claims Enola Gay fuses with Apollo 11, the explosion of the very small and the explosive exit into the very large: "As though the two most famous crews in contemporary history—that of the Enola Gay, which dropped the atomic bomb, and that of the Apollo 11 space capsule—had been the prophets of doom of humanity's unhappy future" (Virilio 139).

Disjunctive precarity of world time is the new series of the set exploding skies (Hiroshima-Nagasaki-Chernobyl-Gaza-Iran-Globe):

The *conjunctive proximity* of continental territorial development is today superseded. By the *disjunctive precariousness* of worldwide time-management practices that provoke a sort of disintegration in the socio-political organization we have inherited from past centuries. The metaphor of nuclear catastrophe and fallout is no longer a stylistic trope, but in the end an accurate enough image of the damage to human *activity* caused by this sudden implosion-explosion of computerized *interactivity* which Albert Einstein predicted in the 1950s would probably constitute a second bomb, after the purpose-built atomic one. (86)

Real subsumption of reality by the manufactured image has led to a refusal to see what is presented by media:

‘Not being able to believe your eyes’ is no longer, in fact, a sign of amazement or surprise, but rather a mark of a ‘conscientious objection’ that now objects to the hold of the objective image, of the image mediatized not only by the live or recently pre-recorded TV broadcast, but also by an excessive *mobilization of public space*. ... (Virilio 90)

Virilio’s picture of the resulting techno-cyber-virtual-bioengineered dystopia is dark and unforgiving, unrelenting and, apparently to him, unavoidable. The contemporary world is characterized by a general accident that dislocates all presence of being-here-and-now (131).

What of the formation of resistance through globalized networks, the communication of realtime events of horror and protest?

More importantly, there will always be local movement, local resistance, local knowledge, within and for the struggle for international workers’ unity and control, where ‘worker’ means living human being (living is contributing to the species being).

The work of all the people involved in thinking and writing this piece of writing and this issue of this journal indicates some of the potentials and actuals of local diffused and global resistance. We look forward to connecting in intensifying and extensifying resistance and critique, and discovering and creating new territories and modes. *From the river to the sea. From our thousands to our millions, we are all Palestinians.*

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Biography

Peter Trnka, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Memorial University, and editor-in-chief of *Janus Unbound*, has published on figures such as Canguilhem, Deleuze, Derrida, Foucault, Gramsci, and Marx, and on topics such as rights, communism, criticism, revolution, justice, and time. A recent publication: "Dis-

joint and Multiply: Deleuze and Negri on time" (in *Deleuze and Time*, ed. D. Smith & R. Luzecky, 2023). He also has creative works, poetry, and a cook-book. Employment as a teaching assistant at a National Institutes of Mental Health institute for youth in Virginia, as well as his work as a grievance officer, financial officer, president, and chief negotiator (twice during two strikes) at the Canadian Union for Educational Workers, Local 2 in Toronto were formative of his intellectual habits. He has three children, Alexandra, Nicolas, and Lily; lives in Holyrood, Newfoundland; and manages a bar in St. John's called Spirit.

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