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Special Issue

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# Not the Preponderance of Power but the Common Definition of Peace

ISHIDA Atsushi

19th President, Peace Studies  
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The end of the Cold War led to an expansion of the definition of peace. The presidential statement issued at the Summit Meeting of the UN Security Council in 1992 was a clear demonstration of this. It simply declared that “[t]he absence of war and military conflicts amongst States does not in itself ensure international peace and security. The non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security” (U.N.Doc., S/23500, 31 January 1992). The above statement was followed by a series of Security Council determinations on the existence of threats to the peace in resolutions in a wide variety of contexts, including the failure of the Libyan Government to demonstrate its renunciation of terrorism, in Resolution 748 (31 March 1992), the magnitude of human tragedy caused by the civil conflict in Somalia, exacerbated by the obstacles to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, in Resolution 794 (3 December 1992), and widespread violations of international humanitarian law within the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in Resolution 808 (22 February 1993).

No doubt the definition of peace expanded. What did this perceived threat to peace bring about? Let us look at the following three cases where the Security Council either affirmed, determined, or recognized the existence of a threat to the peace: the deterioration of the situation in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in Resolution 1199 (23 September 1998); the failure of the Taliban authorities to respond to demands of the Security Council, including its demand to “stop providing sanctuary and training for international terrorists and their organizations,” in Resolution 1267

(15 October 1999); and Iraq’s noncompliance with previous relevant resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles, in Resolution 1441 (8 November 2002). In each of these resolutions, the Security Council made specific demands but in no resolution did it explicitly authorize member states to use *all necessary means* to implement the relevant resolutions and to restore international peace and security.

It was the United States, the United Kingdom, and their “coalition of the willing,” if anyone, that attempted to compel Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, or Iraq to comply with the relevant resolutions through the threat of force (see U.N.Doc. S/1999/107 for NATO’s final warning to Yugoslavia, see “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People,” available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html> for the US ultimatum to Afghanistan, and see “Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation,” available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html> for the US ultimatum to Iraq). And we all know what happened in the end: the US and UK failed to convince their targets to accept the demands and carried out their conditional commitments: because their targets did not give in, they resorted to force.

In a nutshell, this is the paradox of peace. The *expanded* definition of peace has made the world *less* peaceful.

This paradox generates a number of questions: the legal question of what the legal basis of each military action was and the political question of why their coercive diplomacy failed immediately come to mind for any interested reader. But I would like to call your attention elsewhere. In my view, we should be fully aware that this paradox of peace can be interpreted as an outcome of the *privatized* definition of peace by the *privileged* (in other words, great powers). This is why I believe that the foundation for any peace is not the *preponderance of power*, which is an oft-mentioned precondition for the unilateral enforcement of the will of the international community, but the *common definition of peace*.

**PSAJ Spring Conference Theme**

## **A World without Nuclear Weapons: Making the Strangest Dream Come True**

**KURODA Toshiro**

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PSAJ  
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*We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death. (The Russell-Einstein Manifesto)*

Simon & Garfunkel's debut album, *Wednesday Morning, 3 A.M.*, which was released in 1964, included a cover of Ed McCurdy's anti-war classic, "Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream" (1950):

Last night I had the strangest dream  
I ever dreamed before  
I dreamed the world had all agreed  
To put an end to war  
I dreamed I saw a mighty room  
The room was filled with men  
And the paper they were signing said  
They'd never fight again

And when the papers all were signed  
And a million copies made  
They all joined hands and bowed their heads  
And grateful prayers were prayed  
And the people in the streets below  
Were dancing round and round  
And guns and swords and uniforms  
Were scattered on the ground

Last night I had the strangest dream  
I ever dreamed before  
I dreamed the world had all agreed  
To put an end to war

McCurdy's song, widely covered and recorded in seventy-six languages, has inspired and given hope to those in the peace movement. In November 1989, school children on the East German side of the Berlin Wall sang "Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream" *en masse* as the wall was being dismantled.

In 2008, Canadian filmmaker Eric Bednarski titled his documentary on the life of Joseph Rotblat (1908-2005) *The Strangest Dream*. He did this because Rotblat, a Polish-born and British-naturalized physicist, selected "Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream" as one of his favorite peace anthems when he was a guest on a popular radio show in his later years. Rotblat's work on nuclear fallout made a major contribution to the conclusion of the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963). A signatory of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto (1955), he was secretary general of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs from its founding (1957) until 1973. The Pugwash Conferences is an international organization that brings together scholars and public figures to work toward reducing the danger of armed conflict and to seek solutions to global security threats. Rotblat received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995 in conjunction with the Pugwash Conferences for their efforts toward nuclear disarmament. In addition, as *The Strangest Dream* portrayed accurately, Rotblat was the only one scientist among the hundreds chosen for the making of the first atomic bomb (the Manhattan Project) who would turn his back on the terrible madness of nuclear proliferation soon to be unleashed.

Rotblat walked away from the Manhattan Project, but lived in its shadow the rest of the life. With Bertrand Russell, he spoke out on the threat of nuclear weapons, while encouraging hope through the creation of the Pugwash Conferences. His life should be remembered as an example of a morally engaged scientist in the atomic age. This is why *The Strangest Dream* was screened at the 2010 Annual Spring Conference of PSAJ where participants from various academic backgrounds focused on the possibility of eliminating nuclear weapons and making peace

sustainable. We can learn three lessons on global nuclear disarmament from *The Strangest Dream*.

First, moves toward the abolition of nuclear weapons should be anchored to the historical memory of nuclear disasters which started from the world's first nuclear detonation at the isolated and desolate Trinity Test Site in New Mexico early in the morning of 16 July 1945. It is U.S. President Barack Obama who expressed his determination to create "a world without nuclear weapons" in a speech delivered in Prague in April 2009. The momentum toward nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation is growing. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated in a speech in Hiroshima in August 2010: "Together, we are on a journey from ground zero to Global Zero – a world free of weapons of mass destruction. That is the only sane path to a safer world." Here, as Tadatoshi Akiba, the mayor of Hiroshima city, mentioned in *The Strangest Dream*, we should recall the philosophy of the Hibakusha along with the facts of the atomic bombings:

Hibakusha: that is the Japanese word for the survivors of the bombing. What they went through is you know simply beyond words. We just don't have the vocabulary by which we can accurately represent the suffering. The only expression that really expresses the agony of Hibakusha is: "No one else should ever suffer as I did." That is in a sense the most accurate description of what they went through. And when they say that; that "no one" includes everybody, literally everybody, including those whom you would normally call enemies. All these years, the Hibakusha have been advocating that nuclear weapons have no place on this earth.

Second, as the Russell-Einstein Manifesto declared solemnly, the abolition of nuclear weapons has to be linked with the renouncement of war itself. Needless to say, "a world without nuclear weapons" does not necessarily mean a farewell to arms. Since the end of Cold War, we have witnessed a world torn by ethnic conflicts and frequent violence by governments and insurgencies organized against their own citizens. When societies collapse, the result is familiar: the destruction of life and infrastructure, massive abuse of human rights, and floods of refugees. In addition, the events of 11 September 2001, probably more than any other single event, brought home just how

globalized and polarized is the contemporary world. The reactions to the events throughout the world were instantaneous and very mixed: in some Arab and Muslim countries there was jubilation that the United States had been hit; in many other countries there was immediate empathy with Americans. Wherever one sees "us and them" and looks at the world in these terms, conflict comes about. That kind of hatred which is then put into children, results in people being at war against each other. That's what we have to avoid. We must, therefore, work hard to improve the chances for global nuclear disarmament and solidify the foundations of peace so that guns, swords, and uniforms can be scattered on the ground.

Finally, our efforts toward nuclear disarmament have to be based on respect for human dignity. Keeping in mind the motto of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto (Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.), Rotblat said in the last scene of *The Strangest Dream*: "My nature is not to distrust, just the opposite. My nature is to believe fundamentally in the goodness of man. I would like everybody to be conscious that they are members of a species which has a marvellous history but whose continuous existence can no longer be guaranteed. The joy of life, the beauty, continuation of life, beauty in the world, to retain it, preserve it, not to let it disappear."

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PSAJ Spring Conference/Session I

## Toward a World without Nuclear Weapons: Possibility of Nuclear Disarmament

**KUROSAWA Mitsuru**

PSAJ Member

Osaka Jogakuin College

The purpose of this session was to examine the possibility of global nuclear disarmament from the viewpoints of both inter-governmental negotiations and the works of non-governmental organizations based on the outcomes of the 2010 NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) Review Conference. In particular it focused on charting a path towards the denuclearization of Northeast Asia focusing on the Korean Peninsula. The NPT Conference successfully adopted a final document due to the positive international atmosphere built upon President Barack Obama's address in Prague on nuclear disarmament.

Nobumasa Akiyama (Hitotsubashi University), under the title of "Nuclear disarmament: Limits of multilateral negotiation and future possibility," explained the conditions for nuclear disarmament as follows: (1) a reduced need for nuclear weapons from security and military strategic points of view, and (2) the moral and normative justifications for nuclear disarmament. The importance of the NPT, he stated, does not rest on its concrete disarmament and non-proliferation measures, but on its provision of a foundation for international order through the institutionalization of international norms.

Multilateral negotiations through the Ottawa and Oslo processes were successful, but in the case of nuclear weapons, he stated that there is a need for all nuclear-weapon states without exception to join negotiations. The challenge is to begin multilateral negotiations among the nuclear-weapon states and

to achieve a common understanding on the role of nuclear weapons, their implication in international politics, and concrete ways to proceed toward nuclear disarmament. In addition, regional security will become more salient in this area, he said.

Akira Kawasaki (Peace Boat), under the title of "Challenges after the NPT Review Conference: A viewpoint from the civil movement," stated that the recent NPT Conference painted a picture characterized by both hope and difficulties. On the side of hope, he pointed to the nuclear weapons convention included in the final document and to which some states newly referred. As a difficult aspect, he mentioned that almost all of the proposals such as the time-framework for nuclear abolition, the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of the development of new types of nuclear weapons had been rejected due to strong resistance from the nuclear-weapon states.

The first challenge, he stated, is to minimize the dependence on nuclear weapons by changing nuclear doctrines through the adoption of a no-first use policy or "sole purpose" policy. In this context, Japan should examine the issue of reducing dependence on nuclear weapons through discussions on strengthening the US-Japan alliance and on Japan's outline of its defense program.

The second challenge, he emphasized, is to start preparing for the nuclear weapons convention, which was included in the five-point proposals of the UN Secretary-General and supported by not only NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) states but also by middle-powers such as Switzerland, Austria, Mexico, and Chile. Although he said he expected the early negotiation of the convention to be difficult, he stated that the demand to discuss, not negotiate the convention



Panelists at session I

is expected to increase soon. Japan needs to work hard for this convention.

Tadashi Kimiya (The University of Tokyo), under the title of “The mechanism of the nuclear crisis in the Korean Peninsula: The legacies of the Cold War and the development of the Post Cold War,” focused on the issues of alliances and nuclear weapons, asking the following two questions. In spite of the fact that the global Cold War came to an end, why does the cold war on the Korean Peninsula continue? Why has the cold war on the Korean Peninsula developed into a nuclear crisis?

He examined political developments after the 1990s in comparison with the 1970s, as there are many similarities. In the latter half of the 1970s, North Korea’s emphasis shifted from a North-South peace agreement to a North Korea-US peace treaty, and South Korea attempted nuclear weapon development as American military engagement in South Korea decreased. South Korea’s nuclear appetite emerged from the idea to use it as a negotiating card rather than from security concerns. It was abandoned following a change of the prime ministership in South Korea and the strengthening of US engagement.

The nuclear development by North Korea in the 1990s was based upon the fact that the economic gap between the North and South had widened, and the North wanted to break the status quo while also being eager to protect its regime. These two cases of nuclear development are similar in that the motivation for nuclear development was to gain a negotiating card against the United States. It seems that North Korea took the conduct of South Korea in the 1970s as a model.

Accordingly, giving security assurances to North Korea will be an indispensable part of resolving the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. The solution is to proceed according to the joint declaration agreed at the Six-Party Talks in 2005 as a final goal.

The discussant, Takao Takahara (Meiji Gakuin University), asked Akiyama: “Is a third approach to nuclear disarmament based on ‘common security’ possible in between the security and moral and normative justifications;” and “In the nuclear disarmament process, shouldn’t many other states, international organizations, and NGOs, in addition to the nuclear-weapon states and allied countries, play an important role?”

To Kimiya, he stated that he found the comparison between the 1970s and the 1990s interesting, noting that the basic issue of alliances could be applied even to Japan and that the discussion should also be taken up in Japan. He asked why the peace process between Japan and North Korea had failed to make progress despite the joint declaration between the two.

He asked the following question to Kawasaki. “What is Norway’s attitude towards the nuclear weapons convention, as Norway, despite being a member of NATO, made comments emphasizing the inhuman aspect of nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament?”

After the panelists responded to Takahara’s questions, other questions from the floor to Akiyama included: “What is the attitude of the NPT Conference toward Israel;” “How will Japan change its policy toward a world free of nuclear weapons;” “How different is the concept of deterrence between the US, China and North Korea;” and “As long as the technology to make nuclear weapons remains, is nuclear abolition possible?”

Questions to Kawasaki included: “How will the nuclear umbrella change as nuclear disarmament proceeds;” “What will a World Center proposed by the ICNND do;” and “What are possible responses to violations of the nuclear weapons convention?”

Questions to Kimiya were: “What are the differences between the first and second nuclear crisis in the Korean Peninsula” and “What was the outcome of former President Bill Clinton’s visit to North Korea?” All these questions were answered.

This session with three panelists and a discussant made it clear that on the one hand there are many positive signs towards a world without nuclear weapons. On the other, many challenges remain to accomplish its program. In this session with its discussion and questions from the floor, the current movement on nuclear disarmament was thoroughly discussed and grasped by all participants, as was consideration of future actions for nuclear disarmament.

PSAJ Spring Conference/Session II

## Language after/in the Scars of Colonial Violence: For the Revitalization of Extinguished Memories

ABE Kosuzu

PSAJ Member

University of the Ryukyus

By drawing upon some expressive texts written in the face of the death under colonialism, the presenters in Session II traversed the fields of literary studies and area studies and posed several key questions surrounding the issues of colonialism, subjectification, and historical memories: “how does the nation-state’s enactment of subjectification manifest itself as violence;” “how do such events gain historical significance thereafter and resurface in today’s context;” and “what kind of praxis would it constitute when one chooses to reclaim that name in the midst of ongoing colonial violence?”

Shinjo Ikuo (University of the Ryukyus) examined Nakaya Koukichi’s *Namae yo Tatte Aruke* [My name, stand and walk! (San-ichi Publishing Co.; Tokyo, 1972)], a posthumous work by an Okinawan writer. Focusing on the author’s phrase “suicide as murder,” Shinjo examined the internally fractured consciousness of the colonial self. While Althusser theorized that the “ideological state apparatuses” (ISA or AIE) carry out a process of “hailing” (*interpellation*) and subjectification toward people, Shinjo argued that, in the case of colonialism, this hailing prohibits colonized people from responding as subjects (because they are treated as second-class citizens). Instead, it tears them apart and deprives them of their sense of political subjectivity.

The impossibility of responding to the hailing, or, in other words, the failure of subjectification provoked a feeling of despair in Nakaya, who stated,

“Politics as such do not yet exist.” Nakaya equated his own unsuccessful suicide attempt to an experience of murder by the internalized other who had been “missubjected” by the state.

“Should I not be a universal citizen? Why can’t I think of myself as Okinawan? If Okinawa is located in the universe, am I not allowed to view the world from Okinawa? . . .” Shinjo found in Nakaya’s words a clue for overturning this colonial discourse as they allowed Nakaya and us to postulate Okinawa as a space in which a departure from state sovereignty and the new generation of the political self are possible.

Choi Jin-seok (Hiroshima University) began by recounting his personal experience in the months following the high-level talks between Japan and North Korea in September 2002 when he had a terrible premonition that he would be “stabbed in the back.” As a response to the rising racist sentiment in Japan at the time, he boldly chose to label himself “Chosenjin,” a derogatory term for “Korean” in Japanese that retains the deep scars of colonial history. It was an attempt to “implicate” himself with the people who had been massacred while in exile for being named “Chosenjin.” Choi also rephrased this attempt to implicate himself as his way of “impregnating himself with the dead.”\*

However, how could he also embrace other Koreans who could not call themselves “Chosenjin” and hence remained invisible? By shedding new light on *Inochi Moe Tsukiru Tomo* (Daiwa Shobo, 1971) [Though my life burned down (Daiwa Publishing Co.; Tokyo, 1971)] by Yamamura Masa’aki, or Yang Zheng-ming, a posthumous work by a writer who committed suicide, Choi discovered the words



Panelists at session II

“Chosun Saram” (“Choson People” in Korean pronunciation) and desired to utter them as if they constituted a secret name that would be necessary for his re-encounter with these other dead.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki (The Australian National University) proposed a reconsideration of the modern history of North East Asia by imaginatively introducing three major turning points. She suggested that we could refer to the events normally known as the “Sino-Japanese War” and “Russo-Japanese War” era as the First Korean War, which was followed by the period of the “Second” Korean War of 1950-1953 and by the third moment of transition that constituted our present. This historical imagination illuminates how current discourses in Japan give undue primacy to the bilateral problems between Japan and South Korea. Critiquing the selective commemoration and willful oblivion that have accompanied the centenary of the Japanese annexation of Korea so far, Morris-Suzuki argued that various commemorative events held today have left the people of North Korea in obscurity. To illustrate this point, she showed photographs depicting the everyday lives of ordinary people in North Korea. She then requested that those of us who live in the third period of transition exercise the kind of historical imagination which would rescue memories in crisis and help bring about a different future.

As a way of commenting on the three papers, Lee Jeong-Hwa (Seikei University) pointed out how the most important things often remain unsaid and how it is, therefore, equally important to salvage and carry the names uttered in places such as Okinawa and Korea where colonial violence has already been folded into the body’s interior and become part of everyday life. Arguing that death as such has already come to constitute the living body in many places in Asia and, therefore, we are living “extended deaths,” she introduced the documentary film *Mok Myeon Cheon Hal Meo Ni* (Grandma with a Cotton Towel) which featured an old woman who, living as a survivor of the state-sponsored massacre in Cheju Island, hid her scarred, crushed jaw with a cotton towel. What kind of language is necessary if we desire to come into contact with the scars held by these people? As Lee suggests, the task is not one of actively constructing one’s own subjectivity from within but of inventing the words that could allow us to live

the extended lives of others that are enfolded into our selves.

At the end of her commentary, Lee pointed out the strong, underground solidarity developing within North Korea today and claimed that we would be able to see the Peninsula as not having gone through any division once we refrain from viewing its social reality in terms of the state, nation, or sovereignty.

\*Translated as *renrui* in Japanese, “implication” was the term Tessa Morris-Suzuki used in her work that redefined and specified the notion of war responsibility in the present context of Japanese society.

PSAJ Spring Conference/Session III

## **Fifty Years After the Revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty: “A Nuclear-Free World” and the US-Japan Alliance**

**YUI Daizaburo**

PSAJ Member

Tokyo Woman’s Christian University

The US ushered in the year 2010, fifty years following the revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1960, under the US Obama administration, which has called for a “Nuclear-Free World,” and Japan under the Hatoyama administration, which sought a “more equal US-Japan relationship.” Under these governments, there was great anticipation for the reduction of US bases in Okinawa and the revision of US-Japan security arrangements. However, as demonstrated by Prime Minister Hatoyama’s resignation over his failure to relocate Futenma Base outside of Okinawa prefecture, overseas or otherwise, it is still difficult to challenge US-Japan security arrangements despite the passage of 50 years.

The following reports were delivered at this conference in an effort to seek out ways to overcome



the current state of affairs. First, Masaaki Gabe (University of the Ryukyus) presented a report titled “Re-examining the US-Japan alliance: Security, the secret nuclear pact and Okinawa.” Gabe pointed out how strange it is for Japanese public opinion and the mass media to disapprove of the Prime Minister for his inability to meet the demands of the US, and their treatment of Japan’s dependence on the US for security as a given. The US military is unusual in that it is tasked with global security rather than just self-defense, but there is a strong tendency in Japan to perceive US-Japan security as a purely bilateral relationship. The exposure of a secret nuclear pact has revealed the danger of revisions being made to transform the “three non-nuclear principles” into “2.5 non-nuclear principles,” in order to officially allow ships carrying nuclear arms to enter Japanese ports in the future, and Gabe stressed the importance today of promoting the “three non-nuclear principles” throughout East Asia, as part of efforts to promote a “Nuclear-free World.”

Next, Jun Shimabukuro (University of the Ryukyus) presented the report “Changes in the US-Japan alliance and the autonomy of Okinawa: Moving from security arrangement to alliance and upholding the post-war state.” Shimabukuro sharply noted that one feature of post-war Japan was the concentration of bases in Okinawa and the creation of an artificial sovereign nation where US military rule had priority over the Constitution, and that despite calls by the Okinawan people for Okinawa’s return to the mainland so to allow their participation in the constitutional system, Okinawa continues to be subordinate to the US military today. Further, after the return of Okinawa, it was subject to Kakuei Tanaka-style pork-barrel politics, with discrimination toward local governments opposing the bases, and disregard for the locals in order to destroy their self-government. Shimabukuro stressed that to realize human rights and peace for the Okinawan people, it is not just the unconditional application of the Constitution that is needed, but also the decentralization of power.

Finally, Seiji Endo (Seikei University) presented the report “A ‘nuclear-free world’ and a world free of war: Prospects for alternative security in East Asia,” asserting that in order to resolve the issue of US-Japan security, the Japanese people must recover

their power of independent thinking to rebuild an East Asian regional order that does not need US bases. Endo also emphasized that to avoid a “security dilemma,” it is important for East Asia to learn from Europe’s confidence-building process, place priority in a “security of the system” that protects the status quo rather than “human security” (human rights, democratization, etc.), and realize nuclear disarmament.

Responding to the three speakers, Chieko Kitagawa Otsuru (Kansai University) made several comments, including the following: 1) it is important to criticize the US for stressing nuclear abolition and yet standing by US-Japan security arrangements, and it is necessary to involve the US in discussions, 2) security should be considered not just between the US and Japan but in terms of East Asia, and more concretely, the question of what this would entail must be asked, 3) there is a need to question the Okinawan response to the pork-barrel politics that were used to maintain bases in Okinawa, and 4) it is necessary to question whether it might not be necessary to debate the way Japanese society (including the media) should be structured in order to engage in confidence-building between East Asian states.

In addition, the audience posed many questions and offered comments, such as how to correlate an East Asian “security of the system” and “human security,” and how to position anti-base activism on post-war mainland Japan in terms of post-war state theory, with the suggestion that rather than leaving the definition of the term “security” to the state and military, citizens and NGOs should also make counterproposals. Finally, before ending the successful session, workshop chairperson Yui laid out a future



Panelists at session III

agenda, such as the importance in East Asian confidence building of transborder dialogue between NGOs. He also noted the importance of the existence of divided states, as in the cases of Korea and Taiwan, as peculiar to East Asia, and asked how such divisions could be overcome in prioritizing a “security of the system” based on the status quo.

**PSAJ Spring Conference/Session IV**  
**Poverty and Peace:  
Those Left Out of the  
Process of Realization  
of a “Nuclear-Free  
World”**

**KURIHARA Akira**  
PSAJ Member  
Ritsumeikan University

A “Nuclear-Free World” does not immediately mean a peaceful world. Session IV of the PSAJ Spring Research Conference for 2010 focused attention on the issue of poverty as a form of structural violence, and inquired about the problem of poverty in Japan.

Today, poverty has become a global issue. The Japanese government revealed in 2009 that the relative poverty rate in the country stood at 15.7%, the fourth highest figure among the 30 OECD member countries. Japan’s poverty rates among children (14%), elderly people (21%), and single-parent households (59%), were all far in excess of the OECD averages.

One factor underlying the expansion of poverty, in addition to the increase of non-regular employment and the destabilization of employment, is the ascendancy of neo-liberalist politics, characterized by an emphasis on free-market fundamentalism built on the principle of the survival of the fittest, and by the placement of responsibility on individuals. This poverty and the social exclusion attendant upon it

have taken place within civil society, and thus have the potential to befall any member of the society.

This Session addressed the questions of how we should interpret the present situation of poverty and social exclusion, and how citizens should tackle this problem. It was structured as follows:

Presentation 1: YUASA Makoto (MOYAI Independent Life Support Center), “Poverty and peace: The present situation in Japan”

Presentation 2: HASHIMOTO Kenji (Musashi University), “Overlooked inequalities and poverty: An analysis from the standpoint of class theory”

Presentation 3: IWAKAWA Naoki (Saitama University), “Children’s poverty and peace”

Discussant: Ronni Alexander (Kobe University)

Facilitator: KURIHARA Akira (Ritsumeikan University)

Makoto Yuasa compared Japanese society to a playground slide, since the collapse of one social safety net after the other has rendered people’s livelihoods so precarious that they can easily slide down into poverty. This process begins with poverty among children. When non-regular workers or dispatched workers are dismissed, they suddenly lose their meals and accommodations. In addition, only 23% of the unemployed in Japan are covered by employment insurance. Still, only 20% of those in need actually receive livelihood protection benefits, the safety net of last resort. Thus, employment insurance and livelihood protection are evidently failing to function properly.

Not only is poverty characterized by low income, but it also means isolation by social exclusion. The dysfunctional safety nets trigger a poverty spiral, whereby an increasing number of workers find themselves incapable of saying “No” to abysmal working conditions, the labor market deteriorates with the dismissal of non-regular workers, and poverty grows even deeper.

A pivotal countermeasure to poverty is to build a series of safety nets in the form of a staircase, to guarantee accommodations and education, increase the employment of regular-workers and prevent the dismissal of dispatched workers, and strengthen employment insurance and livelihood protection. There is an urgent need to restructure the slide-like

society into a sustainable one.

Kenji Hashimoto asked why it took so long to discover the widening inequalities, which began to emerge as early as 1980 or thereabout. He attributes this oversight primarily to the erroneous perception that virtually all Japanese are middle-class. He also pointed out that underlying this perception was a methodological error in the theory of social stratification that grasped inequalities as quantitative differences among people who did not qualitatively differ from one another. Looking from the perspective of social class analysis, poverty affects people of different classes differently. Even in 1975, when the poverty rate hit a low of 9.0%, there were significant variations among social classes: it was 1.0% among the new middle class, 8.6% among the working class, 11.2% among the self-employed, and 19.6% among farmers. Within the working class, moreover, it differed significantly depending on the size of workplace: from 3.8% among those employed by large corporations or the government and other public offices, to 15.2% among those employed by small businesses. Disparities in working conditions were even more serious. The expansion of inequalities began to affect women first, with the background of the expanding trend toward non-regular employment.

Naoki Iwakawa grasped the problem of children's poverty as a challenge of rearranging, through practical efforts, the existing "poverty-creating culture" into a "culture that eliminates poverty." More specifically, he asserted that we should approach the situation of children with a caring gaze, looking at the "wounds" that they experience from being seen as lacking in ability and discipline. These "wounds" are not only taking place within the children, but also affect their bodies, places, and the web of social relationships.

Children's poverty does not simply mean economic deprivation. In addition to experiencing complex deprivation of social relationships, children are "wounded" in a multi-layered way as they proceed along their life cycles. The "poverty-creating culture" is made up of an individual-reductionistic gaze, a yardstick-conforming gaze, and a skill-prioritizing gaze, all of which have the effect of obscuring the reality that children are "being wounded" in a multi-layered way. Thus, efforts to rebuild this culture into a "poverty-eliminating" one must be pursued as a combination of face-to-face practice, verbal practice,

and institutional practice in a way meant to invert these institutionalized gazes into a caring one.

Ronni Alexander, the discussant, said she was pleased to see the problems of poverty being treated as an important theme of peace studies. Themes with a close bearing on national and international governance, such as the nuclear framework, financial crises, and the prevention and control of infectious diseases are important, for sure. But the overriding need for citizen-centered peace studies, she suggested, is to concentrate our efforts, by mustering our imaginative and conceptual power, into addressing the question of how to deal with people who have been deprived of basic opportunities for life, such as housing, employment, healthcare, and education. Furthermore, while it is important to think about the issue of poverty as one of security for human beings, it also needs to be put into the much broader perspective of security for bio-systems.

As facilitator for the Session, I gathered various questions posed by the participants and summarized them into three, and asked for responses and supplementary comments from the presenters. The following three points of contention were messages to peace studies that were woven up by the questioners and presenters in collaboration with each other.

First, if citizens long for peace, they should deal actively with the issue of poverty through civil activities. It is imperative for them to call upon people to join the efforts, increase spaces for activities, build relationships among people, restore the social sense of solidarity, and change politics through public opinion.

Second, it is imperative that the problem areas of poverty that have been made invisible, such as problems faced by single-mothers, poverty faced by women, including those working part-time, and the related problems of poverty among children and youths, be made visible along with the factors and ideology that are obscuring them.

And third, citizens as well as local governments can do many things in their respective communities to fight poverty, including projects meant to help homeless people become independent and to provide them with housing. At the same time, they should extend support to impoverished people around. Indeed, local possibilities have much in common with global ones.

PSAJ Spring Conference/  
Host University Symposium

## Thinking from the Periphery of the World: Distant Horizons, the Edges of Knowledge

**KOBAYASHI Makoto**  
PSAJ Member  
Ochanomizu University

A symposium on the theme of “Thinking from the Periphery of the World: Distant Horizons, the Edges of Knowledge” was held by the Global Studies for Inter-Cultural Cooperation program of the Faculty of Letters and Education of Ochanomizu University, the hosting institution for the 2010 Spring Conference of the Peace Studies Association of Japan.

Globalization links various regions of the world together through a variety of channels, but there is a set pattern to the way they are linked. Stated conversely, those portions that do not fit into that pattern are excluded from the process of globalization. As a result, this has given birth to a new “world periphery” that is excluded from the benefits and opportunities offered by globalization. The remarkable expansion of economic gaps between the North and South is an extreme example of that exclusion. However, the creation of the periphery is not in any way limited to developing areas. Within the advanced countries as well, there has been an unprecedented rise in exclusion and poverty. However, it must be stated that given the existing state of knowledge, it has proven very difficult to understand the new periphery. Given this, the goal of this symposium was to discover alternative patterns of globalization by gaining fresh insight into the emergence of a periphery within the process of globalization. The Spring Conference itself was held on the theme of “a world without nuclear weapons,” and needless to say, the path to a world without nuclear weapons must be conceived in a way that restores dignity to

the people at the periphery.

The symposium began with three presentations, which were followed by responses by two commentators. Makoto Kobayashi (Ochanomizu University), a PSAJ member, served as chair. The first presentation, on “The position of modern education in traditional society: Maasai children,” was given by Seiji Utsumi (Ochanomizu University), who is not a PSAJ member. Based on the slogan of Education for All (EFA), modern education has been introduced into Maasai villages that still preserve their traditional lifestyle. However, looking at flow diagrams (charts based on follow-up surveys) for individual students, it is common for children to drop out, be held back, or fail out of school, so it cannot be said that modern education has been successful. Modern Kenyan education is lacking in flexibility, and it is easy to understand that it has created friction with Maasai society. In spite of that, small schools do provide a portion of social security.

The second presentation, titled “Between exclusion and dependency: Questioning current globalization in the sphere of reproduction,” was given by Mariko Adachi (Ochanomizu University), who is also not a PSAJ member. At present, globalization has penetrated into the sphere of reproduction. As a result, care, which has always taken place within a situation of mutual dependence between people, has been commoditized and socialized. In Japan, beginning in 1990, this has been seen with the acceptance of nurses and care workers from Indonesia and the Philippines. Because of this, Filipina maids working for the families of foreign business executives have been given the choice to remain in Japan by changing their status to legal work as nurses or care workers. In this way, delays in the establishment of systems



Panelists at the Host University Symposium

led to the formation of a survival strategy covering three generations of migrant workers.

The third presentation, by Reiko Inoue (PARCIC), who is a PSAJ member, addressed the issue of “Conflict and the Role of International Society: The Case of Sri Lanka.” In May 2009, the government of Sri Lanka decimated the entire leadership of the Tamil resistance group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and declared victory in the civil war there. With this, the internal conflict that had lasted 26 years came to an end. However, the termination of the conflict was preceded by intense battles, and many civilians were caught up in the fighting. After the end of the conflict, 300,000 people found themselves forced to live in refugee camps. As a result of social exclusion toward Tamil people, a reconciliation or solution to the conflict is still a distant prospect.

The first response to the three presentations was given by Keichi Kumagai (Ochanomizu University, not a PSAJ member). Touching anew upon the concept of structural violence, he posed specific questions on each presentation. The second commentator was Noriko Hataya (Sophia University, also not a member). She presented a framework of conflict and harmony in phases between the global and local, and asked questions to each of the presenters.

It was a long symposium, lasting two hours and fifty minutes with a break, but it addressed wide-ranging themes, with substantial presentations and debates, and perhaps the only unfortunate point is that there was too little time for the presenters to answer the questions asked by the commentators. Going further, the classroom, designed to hold 200 people, was nearly full, but there was no time for any opinions from the floor. Still, I believe the symposium was quite fruitful, as it provided precious hints for more fully understanding today’s globalization and thinking about the path toward a world without nuclear weapons.

### PSAJ Members’ Activities

## **2010 Symposium on the 30th Anniversary of the May 18 Uprising at Chonnam National University, Gwangju, Republic of Korea**

**ENDO Seiji**

PSAJ Member

Seikei University

The year 2010 is an important one for a number of historical reasons. It marks the centennial anniversary of Japan’s annexation of Korea, the sixtieth anniversary of the Korean War, and the thirtieth anniversary of the Gwanju people’s uprisings. For Japan, it is also the fiftieth anniversary of the revision of the U.S.-Japan security pact.

In this historically significant year, Chonnam National University organized a major international symposium, on April 30 and May 1, 2010, to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the May 18 people’s uprising for the democratization of South Korea. On this important occasion, the Peace Studies Association of Japan joined the symposium as virtual co-convenor. Financially and logistically, the symposium was fully organized by Chonnam National University, but PSAJ established a special committee chaired by Aiko Utsumi (Waseda University) to organize the panels and program of the symposium and coordinate with Chonnam National University. PSAJ and the special committee benefitted greatly from the strong dedication of Suh Sung (Ritsumeikan University), and the logistical support of the Ritsumeikan Center for Korean Studies.

The international symposium as a whole was extremely successful and fruitful, although we can only briefly describe the presentations and discussions here. The two-day symposium started with two keynote speeches, by Father Hang Soeung and Suh Sung, who tried to situate the May 18 Uprising within the broader historical context of the democratization

of South Korea and the changing international context in East Asia. Then we had two important panel discussions on the first day. The first concerned how to commemorate and remember the victims of violence by the state. This panel chose the important issue of historical memory and commemoration by the state. There was overall consensus about the prohibition and/or reservations concerning the state activity of glorifying the dead during war, but difficulties arose when discussing attempts by the state to commemorate and glorify those who had died for the sake of democratization of the state and society. Some argued that any kind of glorification of people could lead to the state's monopoly of values and to a distortion of public memories, but others thought that those who had died for the sake of democracy should be remembered and commemorated officially. It was a very difficult question given that many people in the democratization movement of South Korea really dedicated their lives to their cause. The second concerned the representation of people's resistance and cultural expression during, after, in and about the uprising. Art played an important cultural and political role in the May 18 uprising by empowering the people in the uprising, letting the people of the world know about it, and creating memories of what had happened in and after it. Again, the way people remember the democratization movement became an issue here, but artistic expressions of a political event can open up the space for a variety of interpretations and reinterpretations, and that is how art can enable people to think and feel the messages, contradictions, and intricacies of the past.

On the second day of the symposium, there were again two panels. One examined the role of Japan in the May 18 uprising. The government of Japan officially supported the Chun Doo-hwan military government of South Korea even when its violence and brutality became well known. But on a societal level, the uprising led to the creation of a variety of social and political bonds and solidarities between the two peoples. The panel decided to deal with this issue, which had not been properly raised and discussed so far.

The second panel discussed the international context of the May 18 uprising. The uprising took place at an important historical crossroads when the global Cold War was once again intensifying

but when resistance against that current was quite visible in many parts of the world. The interpretation could be made that peace, democracy and international cooperation among the nations in Northeast Asia are tightly linked and that democracy in each country and international peace cannot be treated separately. The panel tried to look back and forward at the international context of Northeast Asia and consider the possibilities and limits of the Northeast Asian community.

On both days, there were many small group discussions among the Japanese participants and Korean activists, youth, and academics over lunch. This enabled the participants to exchange ideas and share memories and information about past and current activities for peace, freedom and democracy. Although we tend to think that the Korean and Japanese peace movements have already shared a lot, the differences in the historical and international context between the two countries are still large and we were able to reap many fruits out of this exchange.

The Japanese participants thoroughly enjoyed the entire program of the international symposium not only academically but also touristically. Chonnam National University generously invited all the participants to an official dinner on the first night of the symposium; the food, drink, and atmosphere were just fantastic.

In addition to the official symposium program, there were many cultural events and academic exchanges. Upon their arrival in the evening of April 29, the Japanese participants first attended a theater performance depicting the mental and physical hardships of a freedom fighter and his family before, during, and after the uprising. On the first night, before the dinner, students of Chonnam National University performed traditional music and dance. Immediately after the end of the official program of the symposium on the second day, the Japanese participants were invited to join the opening ceremony of the exhibition of artist Hong Sung-Dam, who himself fought for democracy in South Korea, and who was arrested and subjected to violence and torture in jail. He showed an extraordinary generosity inviting us to the opening party of the exhibit even though the official opening for the general public was still some weeks away. The Japanese participants

enjoyed the artist's colorful but deeply engaged expressions.

On the third day, most of the Japanese participants went on an excursion to see historical sites from the period of Japanese colonial rule, the May 18 uprising, and the democratization movement as a whole. This excursion included a visit to the national cemetery for people who had lost their lives for the democratization of South Korea and a visit to an independent cemetery for the same cause. Most of the participants recalled the first panel discussion of the international symposium and found themselves forced to think deeply.

In these cultural events and logistical arrangements, Lee Young-chaе (Keisen Women's College) played an indispensable role. I would like to express my deep gratitude to him together with the other participants from Japan.

I think that the international symposium and the trip to Gwanju had an important academic and cultural impact on most of the participants from Japan. This impact could become a source of more fruitful academic activities of the people in PSAJ and deeper cultural and academic exchanges between South Korean and Japanese people.

#### PSAJ Members' Activities

### **The International Peace Research Association (IPRA) Conference 2010: Communicating Peace, July 6-10, 2010**

**MATSUNO Akihisa**

PSAJ Member

Osaka School of International Public Policy (OSIPP), Osaka University

With chilly winter rain falling relentlessly outside, the IPRA conference in Sydney began with tributes to two respected co-founders of the organization, John W. Burton and Elise Boulding, who both passed away shortly before the conference. The research association they founded 46 years ago in the midst of Cold War has grown to an extent that it was able



Johan Galtung speaks on Positive Peace.

to organize a five-day conference attended by more than 300 participants from all over the world.

Another co-founder and seventy-nine-year-old pioneer of peace research, Johan Galtung, was the keynote speaker of the conference. Outgoing Amnesty International Secretary General Irene Khan, spirited peacebuilding critic Oliver Richmond and well-known political economist George Kent, whose work focuses on nutrition, were also among the principal plenary speakers. Activists, high school students, campaigners, and artists and performers working on multi-culturalism and peace were invited onto the stage at times during the program, and advocates from Guam, West Papua, and Palestine spoke in the plenary sessions. There were exhibits of Gaza children's paintings and "fringe" programs on Afghanistan, West Papua, self-determination, and human and environmental security.

Indeed, social movements were important components of the conference this time. As written in the program by Jake Lynch, Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS), the University of Sydney, and the chair of the organizing committee, today's institutional frameworks are unresponsive, and social movements must take up the slack in communicating peace.

Of the many fascinating plenary sessions, I was particularly impressed by Plenary 6, which concerned global environmental change and human security. The speakers were Hans Günter Brauch, security expert and editor of the Hexagon Series on Human, Environmental Security and Peace, Úrsula Oswald Spring (National University of Mexico), and Navnita Chadha Behara (Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution). Their talks dealt with the

growing sense of scientists and experts that technological innovations will not come in time to deal with climate change, about the new paradigm that sees us, human beings, and not others, as a threat, and about the failure of the world to resolve the problems and possibilities of new conflicts. The picture of our future is grim, and the vulnerable will be the first to be affected. The session presented huge challenges for peace research, and I'm sure the participants shared the sense of urgency.

Another interesting plenary was Plenary 8, dealing with creative agency and peace. It was for the first time in the history of IPRA, according to the panel chair, that the Arts and Peace Commission organized a plenary session. The speakers were Cynthia Cohen, who facilitates a conflict transformation project through theatre, Mary Ann Hunter, who coordinates an arts mentoring program for Aboriginal young people in the juvenile system, and Nosindiso Winnifred Mtimkulu, who leads the Memory, Arts and Culture project at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town.

Finally, IPRA chose Jake Lynch (CPACS) and Katsuya Kodama (Mie University) to act as co-Secretaries General for the 2010-2012 period, and decided that the next IPRA conference will be held in Japan.

### PSAJ Members' Activities

## 2010 Peace Research Seminar of PSAJ

**KODAMA Katsuya**

PSAJ Member  
Mie University

The 2010 Peace Research Seminar of the Peace Studies Association of Japan was held at WILL Aichi in Nagoya on March 18 and 19, 2010. This seminar was intended to give young researchers the opportunity to make presentations and to improve the quality of their research. It also became an excellent meeting place for young peace researchers.

With the participation of the President of PSAJ, Atsushi Ishida, the seminar attracted 25 participants

and 10 well-prepared paper presentations. About 50 minutes were allocated to each presentation, including discussions on it. Each presentation was followed by a very lively discussion.

The following is the list of papers presented at the seminar.

Seiichiro Takemine (Mie University) "Environmental justice for global Hibakusha (victims of radiation): Seeking a perspective for studies on victims of radiation from the American nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands."

YANG, Xiao-Ping (Hiroshima University) "Display of atomic bomb experiences: Public memories at Hiroshima Peace Museum"

Yuko Shimasaki (Waseda University) "Trafficking of human beings in the Mekong basin"

Yusuke Bessho (Hiroshima University) "On the Peace Proposal of the 14th Dalai Lama and issues relating to the 'cultural possession' of the Tibetan Plateau"

Taro Abe (Nagoya Gakuin University) "The simultaneous global economic depression and foreign workers of Japanese descent in the Tokai area"

Hirotsugu Oba (Kyushu University) "Duality of global responsibility: The contrary vectors of responsibilities possessed by 'demand' and 'practice'"

Kazumi Kawamoto (University of Tokyo) "The logic of collective action and war: Lessons from Sierra Leone"

LEE, Ryong Kyong (Rikkyo University) "The challenge of clarifying the truth of the past incidents and memories of past incidents in South Korea: Focusing on massacres of civilians immediately before and after the Korean War"

Hiromoto Kaji (Aichi University) "Political dynamics of participation and secession to the UN system: Regarding the 'Sino World' as an actor"

Masatsugu Chijiwa (Kitakyushu City University) "Authority and legitimacy of the UN Security Council in the global order"



## Reports from NGOs Working for Peace

# What Is the Iraq War!? The Japan Network for the Establishment of an Inquiry into the Iraq War

**SHIVA Rei**

Founder, "What Is the Iraq War!? The Japan Network for the Establishment of an Inquiry into the Iraq War"

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What Is the Iraq War!? The Japan Network for the Establishment of an Inquiry into the Iraq War was founded in November 2009, by aid workers, peace activists, and journalists. We adopted the following demands to the Japanese government:

1. Set up an Independent Commission of Inquiry to carry out a thorough review of three subjects: the decision of the Japanese administration at the time to support the U.S.-led Iraq War; the decision to dispatch the SDF to Iraq; and the involvement of the Japanese government in the reconstruction mission to Iraq. The Commission should make careful investigations, disclose its findings concerning the abovementioned subjects, and make a decision on who, including individuals, should take both moral and legal responsibilities.
2. Disclose, to the maximum extent possible, the procedures and final report of the inquiry, and make it publicly available.
3. Upon receiving the final report submitted by the Independent Commission of Inquiry, issue an official statement on the findings, both locally and globally, and provide necessary humanitarian assistance and support for the victims of the war.

Why did we adopt the phrase, "Establishment of an Inquiry into the Iraq War"? In March 2003, then Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, ignoring the fact that public opinion polls showed that 80% of people opposed the war, made a commitment to support the United States-led military campaign against Iraq which had not been authorized by the United Nations Security Council. Further, the justification for the attack—that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction—also proved to be wrong, and then U.S. President George Bush admitted that fact.



The founding meeting

In spite of this, the warfare continued to intensify, with increasing numbers of deaths among both Iraqi citizens and multi-national troops. The Iraq War has brought about a terrible humanitarian crisis. The WHO estimates that 150 thousand civilians have been killed, and another estimate by Johns Hopkins University is that several hundred thousand have been killed. Even today, depleted uranium shells and cluster bombs continue to damage communities. Public order is not maintained, and in fact the situation only continues to deteriorate. One out of six Iraqis live in shelters in and out of Iraq still today. Most are forced to live in overwhelming poverty.

During the Iraq War, the Japanese government dispatched its SDF to Iraq under the pretext of providing "humanitarian support," but according to reports disclosed to the public by the Defense Ministry in October 2009, the main mission of Japan's Air SDF was revealed to have been the transportation of military personnel and goods of the multi-national forces, including U.S. military forces.

Today, we have around 2,000 citizens as supporters, and one hundred Diet members submitted a petition calling for the establishment of a commission of inquiry to Prime Minister Naoto Kan. Kan and Katsuya Okada, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Japan, have stated, "Conducting an inquiry into the Iraq War is an important issue." However, they have not clarified when they intend to set up an inquiry. We hope to see the Japanese government do so as soon as possible. Consequently, we are trying to gain the cooperation of more people and more Diet members, and are actively lobbying the government to establish a Japanese inquiry into the Iraq War immediately.

Our website: <http://iraqwar-inquiry.net>  
e-mail: [iraqwarinquiry@gmail.com](mailto:iraqwarinquiry@gmail.com)

## What's Going on in Miyashita Park: Movements Against Nike Park

SUNOSE Jun

Member of the Coalition to Protect Miyashita Park from Becoming Nike Park

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We are the Coalition to Protect Miyashita Park from Becoming Nike Park. Miyashita Park is located in Shibuya, Tokyo, a popular shopping area for young people. Nike, the sportswear giant, signed a contract with the Shibuya Ward government to pay approximately ¥17 million a year for naming rights to the park from 2010 to 2020 and to cooperate in renovating the park. It plans to rename the park “Nike Miyashita Park” and to build a skateboarding area and climbing walls. The plan initially surfaced in May 2008. About a month later, support groups for the homeless, artists, and citizens who had doubts about the plan started to protest.

The construction of “Nike Miyashita Park” was expected to start in September 2009, but it has not yet been begun. We believe the delay is due to our protests against the plan. Since March 2010, we have been camping in the park to prevent the beginning of construction. While carrying out our anti-Nike movement, we are also trying to form a park-building movement. For examples, we have installed many benches and chairs in the park to allow people to rest. We have also co-organized workshops, movie showings and music events with people who sympathize with our ideas.

In doing so, we are thinking about whom parks or “public spaces” should be open to in the city. In Shibuya, Miyashita Park has functioned as a shelter for homeless people, and the homeless are destined to eviction from the park if the construction starts. Of course, whether living in a park is justified or not is a difficult question. What we are insisting is that we need deeper discussions on the question before evictions are carried out. In fact, we have a different view of “public space” than Nike and the Shibuya Ward government. We believe public spaces



*Doite logo\**

should be for everyone, not only those who like to skateboard or climb walls wearing Nike sportswear. Shibuya is covered in advertisements by companies telling people to consume money and things all the time, everywhere. Miyashita Park is just a tiny oasis in such a city. It is a space for economic refugees, artists, as well as anybody who simply needs a place to rest. The decision on how to use the public space should not be given to a single company.

Today in Japan, and especially in Tokyo, evictions of socio-economically disadvantaged people and the reduction of spaces for citizens to express themselves are going on hand in hand. Miyashita Park has become a symbolic space in the struggle against global capitalism and social exclusion. Our action is situated in local conditions, but we are addressing more general questions: For whom do “public spaces” exist? What does the “public” mean today?

Our struggle is now going on. We are ready to have discussions with anyone who is interested in our actions, so please come to Miyashita Park.

*\*Doite, which is created by adding an “e” to “do it,” means “get out” in Japanese. In other words, it is an eviction order for homeless people. The swoosh has been changed into a Japanese eel with an eye and fins. It is said to have been living in the Shibuya River which runs under Miyashita Park.*

## Announcement

# Third PSAJ Peace Prize

## OGASHIWA Yoko

Chair, Selection Committee of PSAJ  
Hiroshima University

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Recipient: Nagasaki no Shogen no Kai (The Nagasaki Testimonial Society), for editing and publishing testimony over the years, including the annual *Testimony of Nagasaki*, quarterly *Testimony of Nagasaki*, quarterly *Testimony of Hiroshima-Nagasaki*, and annual *Testimony: Voice of Hiroshima-Nagasaki*, which have contributed to clarifying the real aspects of radiation exposure from the standpoint of the Hibakusha and citizens.

The Japanese government has staked a claim as the sole state to have experienced attacks using nuclear weapons, and has taken the position that it would try to influence international society toward the abolition of such weapons. Has it really faced the Hibakusha with a sincere attitude? To what extent has it clarified the real aspects of radiation exposure? Has it been successful in creating a tide of international public opinion toward the abolition of nuclear weapons?

In 1967, the Japanese Ministry of Health stated in its *White Paper on Atomic Bombs* that citizens in general and the Hibakusha were similar in terms of the aspects of both health and daily life. This perception was not accepted by the Hibakusha. It was the reaction to this perception that became the driving force for the testimony movement.

Nagasaki no Shogen no Kai was founded in 1968 thanks to the great efforts of its first chair, the late Tatsuichiro Akizuki, and its second chair, the late Sadao Kamata (it started as Nagasaki no Shogen Kanko linkai, Publishing Committee of Testimony of Nagasaki, with the name being changed to the present one in 1971). The group has aimed to restore solidarity between different ideologies and factions in the anti-nuclear movement by presenting testimony from people who were compelled to face the atomic bombs to their fellow human beings living in the nuclear age. Since its establishment, it has issued numerous publications as well as books, conducted



2003 New Year Party, Nagasaki no Shogen no Kai

field surveys on radiation exposure, and collected testimony on the experiences of radiation exposure.

Clarifying the real aspects of radiation exposure from the standpoint of the Hibakusha and citizens means not allowing the government to monopolize the presentation of perceptions. This argues for a basic transformation of perceptions on radiation exposure away from the stance which supports the argument of the government that the nation should endure sacrifice during wartime.

In April 2009, about a year before the scheduled NPT Review Conference, US president Barack Obama stated in a speech in Prague, Czech Republic, that the US had a moral responsibility to act toward "a world without nuclear weapons." However, at the same time, he emphasized the effectiveness of nuclear deterrence (the so-called "nuclear umbrella") in restraining armed attacks by adversaries against the US and its allies. This revealed that the logic that led to the formation of "a world full of nuclear weapons" is still deeply engrained.

In such circumstances, we must recall that it is the perception of radiation exposure, formed through the testimony movement, that has led to the construction of a solid foundation for the anti-nuclear movement in Japan. The origin of peace studies is in continuously exploring the meaning of violence for human beings. For this reason, we have decided to present the third PSAJ Peace Prize to Nagasaki no Shogen no Kai and express our deep respect for its resolve.

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(January 2010 - December 2011)

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