

# Peace Studies Newsletter

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The Implications of 'Hiroshima' for the Future

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## Towards a Theory of Hiroshima

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The atomic bomb calamity of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is without doubt one of the most significant occurrences in the history of humankind. This has led numerous survivors (hibakusha) to try to convey the impact of the atomic air raid by recounting their experiences. In spite of the pain in reopening their mental wounds, they speak out. Many such survivors as well as intellectuals have come up with various ideas relating the experiences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Now that half a century has passed since the atomic air raids, it seems necessary to formulate a theory about Hiroshima and Nagasaki that combines these ideas and allows for the analysis of today's problems in this nuclear age from a macro perspective.

'How does Hiroshima answer to the problems of the present day, such as North-South problem and the refugee problem?' Up from the voices of Hiroshima and Nagasaki must arise a theory which allows the profound experiences to be applied in the present world. It is my position that 'Hiroshima' and 'Nagasaki' must be more than a hollow symbol of peace devoid of any lasting impact on the world. Yet there seem to be some conservative groups that wish to make 'Hiroshima' a mere shell of peace and then neutralize it. Thus the need for a theory about "Hiroshima and Nagasaki" is becoming ever more pressing. Otherwise, Hiroshima and Nagasaki will soon be confined to the hidden pages of history. I hope that this paper would become a step towards the creation of such a theory.

### 1. 'Hiroshima' as an epitome of Japanese modern history

The history of 'Hiroshima' symbolically contains the essence of the problems of modern Japanese history. Only when this is made clear, can 'Hiroshima' attain strong appeal and influence upon the world and the future.

'Hiroshima' should not emphasize the side of 'victims' alone. Conversely reflecting upon the conduct of 'Hiroshima' as a means of assault strengthens the appeals of 'Hiroshima'.

### a) Hiroshima as a Military City

Viewing the very peaceful scenery of present day Hiroshima, it is difficult to recognize that it was once a military city. Hiroshima was indeed a representative military city, and the dropping of the atomic bombing on Hiroshima can not be discussed without acknowledging this fact.

The road to Hiroshima's role as military city began in the Japan-China war of 1894, when the Imperial Headquarters were moved to Hiroshima. As headquarters for Japanese power, Hiroshima played a decisive role in this war, and during the Japan-Russia war Hiroshima's role as a military city was further developed.

During the 14 years from the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident to the end of the World War II, Hiroshima played a conspicuous role as a representative military city. A second set of headquarters were placed in Hiroshima and many soldiers were sent out for the Chinese mainland from the Ujina harbor in Hiroshima. Hiroshima was also an outstanding city from the view point of the munitions industry. The Toyokougyou, now known as Mazda, produced a large quantity of firearms and other small weapons in Hiroshima and Mitsubishi heavy industry constructed warships there. In short, Hiroshima was an integral component in the Japanese military strategy for the invasion of Asia.

If we fail to have a clear understanding of Hiroshima's role as a predominant military city, the experience of Hiroshima with the A-bomb loses its historicity, and Hiroshima itself never be able to provide the foundation for a



theory for peace in the future. However, many of the descriptions on Hiroshima start with August 6, 1945 and Hiroshima as 'a victimized city' has been emphasized. It is important to pay attention to the fact that 'Hiroshima' is not only a place of causalities, but also of assault. With these pluralistic view points, in my opinion, the meaning of 'Hiroshima' in the present nuclear age will be made much clearer.

#### b) 'Hiroshima' and "Piroshima"

The atomic bomb changed Hiroshima from a city of assault to a city of victims. By losing its historicity, Hiroshima's appeal has become stylish but superficial. A poet of Hiroshima, Sadako Kurihara, sanitized 'Hiroshima' appealing for a superficial peace, and called it "Piroshima". ("Piroshima" sounds ludicrous in Japanese.)

The superficial approach of peace is not only the problem of Hiroshima. This concerns the general mentality of Japanese. "Piroshima" is a word that symbolizes a Japan that closes its eyes to the past and mutilates "peace" and "democracy". Unless 'Hiroshima' and 'Japan' more accurately reflect the past and realize peace policies in a more dynamic way, they remain a country and a city of only a superficial or feigned pacifism.

Before the International Court of Justice, the Japanese government has attempted to present the view that the use of nuclear weapons does not violate international law. Although the Japanese Constitution expressly states the resolution of renunciation of war, the practice of Japanese Government seems to be far from what the Constitution prescribes. The military budget of Japan is now ranked as number 3 to 5 in the world, and is the largest in Asia. It is my understanding that this feigned pacifism originates in Japan's lack of appreciation for the past.

'Hiroshima' is an epitome of Japanese modern history. The mentality of victim of war and the lack of historicity are the problems of Hiroshima as well as Japan. Hiroshima can appeal for the peace of the future only when it reflects on the war of the past. This will be the crucial point to change Japan's feigned pacifism to the real one.

## 2. Solidarity beyond Boundary

### a) Indiscriminate Murder

It is important to pay attention to the fact that the victims of Hiroshima were not limited to the Japanese. A number of foreign citizens were also indiscriminately killed. During small scale gun fighting, an attack can be selective. Attacks employing nuclear weapons, however, are indiscriminate and kill all kinds of people regardless nationality or race.

There were many foreign nationals living in Hiroshima at the time of the bombing. The largest group of foreigners was the Koreans. It is not clear how many Koreans lived in Hiroshima, since the estimates that do exist range widely, but we can say for certain that over 10,000 Koreans were living in Hiroshima and many of them were victimized. They were brought to Japan by force and compelled to work in heavy industry and mines. We need to grasp the fact that many Koreans were also victimized by both the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and the history of enforced interment and labour.

American Prisoners of war also became victims. According to the list of the prisoners that the troops of Chugoku district under jurisdiction kept, approximately 20 prisoners were killed by the atomic blast in Hiroshima. Besides the American prisoners of war, there were 3200 Japanese Americans living in Hiroshima.

There were also approximately 30 foreign students from Indonesia, Malaysia, Bournei, China and Mongolia. Some of them were killed by the atomic bombing, while the others were injured by it.

Therefore, any declaration that the Japanese are the "only people" who have experienced the horror of an atomic bombing is obviously misleading. Nuclear weapons will fatally burn "any persons" under the center of the bombed area regardless of their nationality and race. The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima did not just kill Japanese, but also peoples of many nationalities. Precisely this fact exclaims the importance of uniting all the

peoples of the world if we seriously wish to oppose nuclear weapons since the issue is not the confined problem of the Japanese.

### c) Global Increase of Sufferers of Radiation

The number of the sufferers from radiation globally has increased since the atomic bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Two categories of the sufferers of radiation (hibakusha) are specifically important here:

The first category is the sufferers of radiation due to nuclear testing. Quite a number of nuclear tests have been made in the world thus far, especially in the United States and the (former) Soviet Union. Far more radioactive substances have been dispersed by nuclear tests than by the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The consequences are the tragedies in many places where nuclear tests were carried out. Many are still suffering in Bikini, Nebada, Semiparachinsuku, etc.

The second category is the sufferers of radiation from the accidents of nuclear power plants. In particular, the accident in the nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island in the United States in 1979 and the 1986 accident at Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the (former) U.S.S.R. are worthy of note. Many, especially those victimized by the radiation from the Chernobyl accident are still suffering from radiation sickness.

As we can see above, the suffering from radiation is not limited to the Japanese, but has become quite international. The problems of nuclear weapons and radiation are today very much international and global problems. With this global perspective, a slogan 'No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis!' can be united with a greater international movements. When the Japanese mention 'No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis!', the retort often is, 'Don't you remember Nanjing Massacre?', 'What about Pearl Harbor?' Yes, we do and should, as this essay repeatedly mentions. It is, at the same time, important to note that a slogan 'No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis!' is more than just a nationalistic sentiment. The perspective of 'Hiroshima' and 'Nagasaki' is, or should be (if not yet), international, interracial and global.

### d) Structural Violence and Hiroshima

From the studies of the survivors of Hiroshima emerged evidence that their wounds stemmed not only from the direct violence of the bombing but also from the indirect violence through the damage to family and society. My study on 'Atomic Orphans', for example, shows that most of them were forced to live miserable lives even when they suffered only minor physical injury. This shows the significance of the social-structural violence that the atomic bombing has caused the survivors, besides the physical or material violence.

This framework of thinking can be extended to the views of the present world. Special attention on indirect violence of nuclear weapons should be paid in any theory of Hiroshima. A huge quantity of material/ intellectual resources and money, which otherwise would have been used to improve the life standard of human beings, has been invested in the nuclear arms race. In other words, nuclear weapons (by wasting material/ intellectual/ financial resources) has killed children/ refugees/ socially handicapped people (who could be saved if the resources would have properly allocated.) Partly due to the development of the nuclear system, a rigid control and secrecy have prevailed in our society, and the road to the open civil society has been closed. Nuclear weapons wreak evil, even when they are not used.

Once we see more deeply and clearly the relations between various kinds of social problems and the problems of nuclear weapons, 'Hiroshima' will get a chance to unite itself with the many suffering peoples in the world.

When the anti-nuclear movements claim 'No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis', the researchers of the developing countries have maintained that the problems of nuclear weapons are those of the "North", and that poverty and starvation are much more urgent and real problems for the "South". In my understanding, however, it is not the question of "either-or", but "both-and". A huge amount of resources that have been wasted in the

nuclear arms race could have been invested to the economic and social development in the developing countries. The link between the problems of nuclear weapons and the problems of poverty must be recognized and 'Hiroshima' should make clear the path toward the solution of both the problems.

Today's poverty is the poverty of the nuclear age. Today's conflicts are the conflicts of the nuclear age. Directly or indirectly the existence of nuclear weapons has significant influence on such problems as poverty and regional conflicts. If we define 'Hibakusha' as the sufferers of nuclear weapons, those suffering from the poverty and regional conflicts can also be categorized as 'Hibakusha', when considered from this broader perspective.

A theory of 'Hiroshima' can not be a narrow-minded theory opposing only nuclear weapons, but must attempt to face the problems of human estrangement. A theory of 'Hiroshima' should grope for new moral ground by struggling for changes in political,

social and cultural structures relating to the existence of nuclear weapons. 'Hiroshima' is no doubt a modern challenge not only to the problems of nuclear weapons but also to the problems of war, poverty, discrimination, environmental destruction etc. It is my hope that 'Hiroshima' will become the center of solidarity for the 'Hibakusha' of the world and will attempt to go beyond the nuclear age.

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## Hiroshima: Symbol of the Past; Hope of the Future

Si vis pacem, para bellum.<sup>1</sup>

平和への道は平和から<sup>2</sup>

**Ralph SUMMY**

*Since wars begin in the minds of men (sic), it is in the minds of men (sic) that the defences of peace must be constructed.<sup>3</sup>*

Hiroshima, like a colossus, stands astride two *weltanschauungs* or world views for resolving conflict and realising social justice. Its past represents the ultimate destructiveness imbedded in the "war system"; its future holds the promise of inspiring the development and implementation of a "peace system".

In this paper I shall be arguing that a certain mode of thinking and its accompanying structures created the tragedy of Hiroshima and threaten to lead to an even greater catastrophe - what Jonathan Schell has called the "second death" or the "death of death itself".<sup>4</sup> Such an ultimate tragedy is not inevitable, but its prevention requires, in my view, a major paradigmatic shift along the continuum of the war/peace axis. No human being (but especially the privileged and powerful) can avoid facing this stark and rather dramatic choice of whether to opt for the war system or the peace system. Hiroshima - and its searing images of devastation and suffering - can help to sharpen people's resolve for the approaching task.

The major contribution of the peace researcher, as I see it, is to delineate sharply and understand fully the two contrasting systems. Such a self-imposed project has many components: for instance, defining the characteristics of the polar extremes and the mixed models that lie between them; disclosing their theoretical underpinnings, modeling the dynamics of how they operate, analysing the socio-economic forces that inhibit or distort change, and devising realistic strategies and tactics for moving in the direction of the peace system. The peace task is, therefore, monumental. It involves gathering knowledge from all the disciplines; it entails full appreciation of the global agenda of the new

international capitalism (insightfully labeled "blitzkrieg capitalism" by Bierling and Murray)<sup>5</sup> as well as canvassing strategies to counter the violent hold the new sites of capitalist accumulation exercise over our lives; and lastly (but by no means least) it requires a global enterprise of its own - the building of an intercultural network for the exchange of ideas and information that will serve as a microcosm of the kind of integrated world which peace researchers want to see develop.

In this presentation I hope to highlight some of the critical points outlined above. Of primary importance is the initiation of a discussion about what constitutes the war system and why it needs to be dismantled, and what comprises the peace system and what steps need to be taken to foster its creation.

### The War System

The conventional approach to peace is embodied in the war system. Since the bulk of the population endorse this position, very few of its adherents can simply be dismissed as war lovers. Instead, the majority would depict themselves as 'realists' whose analysis of how to secure peace proceeds from the assumption that the world is a very brutal and anarchical place and not likely to change from this state in the future. That being the case, the best chance for achieving an absence of violence lies in deterrence and power balancing. 'Power over' is the way to peace, or as the Roman maxim at the head of this paper translates: "If you want peace, prepare for war." In my view, this approach to peace - despite the good intentions of its adherents<sup>6</sup> - is logically flawed and lacking empirical confirmation.

In the first place, while the argument is premised on a natural state of violence - in the manner of the 17th century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes - and since the remedy of invoking offsetting units of power is generally acknowledged to be incapable of sustaining a balance for more than a short period, one or more of the parties is always going to be faced with the prospect of returning to the original state of violent insecurity. Sooner or later it will be your turn to become the victim of the world's natural condition. Second, even without accepting the dubious proposition of innate violence,<sup>7</sup> the fact that the power relations of actors are constantly in a state of flux in a world of grave social injustice ensures that if violence has not openly erupted, it threatens to at any time. Grievances simmer. While they may be temporarily "managed", those that are based on the denial of basic human needs cannot be suppressed forever. They do not go away; the pressure cooker of structural violence builds up, eventually blowing off its lid. Thus the war system possesses a grim inevitability that makes it totally unacceptable in today's high tech world of absolute lethality.

My third point is that the history of balance of power theory has a very checkered record going back several millenia. For instance, it is doubtful if the Peloponnesian War would have been fought if Athens and Sparta had not been so equal in military power as to constitute a threat to one another. The same can be said about the early Punic Wars when Rome and Carthage were close in strength. On the other hand, when no balance existed during Rome's period of dominance (*Pax Romana*), a comparative peace prevailed. Similarly, the old Soviet Union never fought a war against its unequal neighbour Mongolia, nor against defenceless Bulgaria; and the United States has lived at peace in recent years with the much weaker Canada and Mexico. Wars - history shows - tend to break out when rival states disagree as to their relative strengths and conclude when they agree. Unfortunately when striving for balance or mutual deterrence, the point is inevitably reached where perceptions of the balance do differ, or the balance is clearly becoming unequal so that the weaker power feels inclined to strike before its position becomes totally

untenable. The solution is not to enter into an alliance for protection, because empirically the record shows that states taking that route are more apt to find themselves at war than those states that go it alone like Sweden and Switzerland. Despite this evidence, it should also be recognised that history abounds with cases of weak states falling prey to more powerful neighbours - for example, Ethiopia to Italy in 1934, Finland to the Soviet Union in 1939, Tibet to China in 1959, and East Timor to Indonesia in 1975. The remedy for their security, however, would not seem to lie in alliance formation but in the pursuit of a strategy that combines non-offensive weaponry with making themselves useful to the international community and adopting a co-operative approach as set out below in the peace system.

The war system's balance of power precept has many complex ramifications, and the topic cannot be adequately examined in a short treatise like this.<sup>8</sup> But its basic weaknesses need to be emphasised. None is more apparent than my fourth point that seeking to maintain a balance or superiority of force can fuel an arms race whose spiraling fears, anxieties and misperceptions precipitate the war that everyone was trying to avoid in the first place. The argument is telling put by Edward Grey, Britain's foreign secretary during the decade preceding World War I:

Great armaments lead inevitably to war. The increase of armaments. . . . produces a consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear. Fear begets suspicion and distrust and evil imaginings of all sorts till each Government feels it would be criminal and a betrayal of its country not to take every precaution, while every Government regards the precautions of every other Government as evidence of hostile intent.<sup>9</sup>

While the argument can be advanced that a failure to confront militaristic behaviour with counter force has in some instances probably precipitated a war, the historical record indicates that wars are much more likely to follow arms races than are peaceful outcomes. The political scientist Michael Wallace investigated 96 serious international disputes between 1815 and 1985, and discovered that in



those disputes accompanied by an arms race (28), as many as 23 ended up in war. On the other hand, of the remaining 71 disputes not connected to an arms race, only three resulted in war.<sup>10</sup> Despite such thought-provoking findings, the faith of statesmen and the public remains unshaken in the war system. Why? The answer is not simple. Similarly, why do some societies persist with capital punishment when the evidence is overwhelming that this is not the way to reduce the murder rate? A starting point is to examine the society's *weltanschauung*.

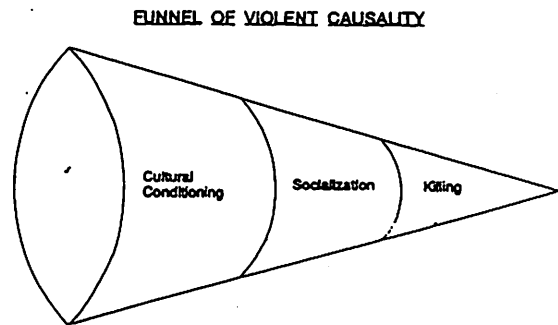
The dropping of an A-bomb on Hiroshima can be seen as the logical end-product of the war system. The city's fate, in effect, was sealed by a mind-set that dates back at least as far as antiquity. For in the 5th century B.C., when the Athenians were about to subjugate the Melians, they justified their violent action', to their victims with the following observation: By a necessary law of their nature (human beings) rule wherever they can. . . . The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."<sup>11</sup> This notion of an inherent drive to dominate, resorting to violence if need be, unless the weak can muster a counterforce of violence, is implicitly captured in the Latin antidote already referred to. Its modern equivalent finds expression in the motto "peace through strength"<sup>12</sup>, the fundamental doctrine that drives the war system.

The war system takes on degrees. Hiroshima represents its most destructive manifestation. The atrocities committed by the Japanese military against the people of Shanghai, the "comfort women" of Korea, the victims of the Manchurian medical experiments, and the prisoners on the Burma railway exemplify other depths to which the war system can plunge humankind. The response of the enemy tends to reciprocate or escalate the degradation. Thus Australian soldiers are known to have executed some Japanese soldiers rather than take them prisoner; the Australian Government crammed 1185 Japanese internees for their voyage home on the little ship the *Yoisuki*; and the Australian public cheered wildly on first hearing the news that Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been wiped out with A-bombs. The dehumanization process of the war system makes anything possible.

Thus, during the closing years of World War II, when hatreds were most inflamed and people most distracted, it even became possible for the Nazis to implement a policy exterminating entire ethnic groups.

However, the actual killing that goes on in the war system (and its linkage to an entrenched belief in "peace through strength") results from a process that has been germinating for a very long time. Glenn Paige graphically depicts this process in the form of a "Funnel of Violent Causality", which he divides into three zones. (See Diagram No. 1).<sup>13</sup>

Diagram No. 1



The first zone he calls is the "cultural conditioning zone".<sup>14</sup> It is where the cognitions, emotions, expectations, and evaluations are created and transmitted. The culture nurtured in this zone legitimises violence in either its direct or structural form. An awareness and knowledge are combined with an emotional disposition and interpretation about people's behaviour that produce a sense of exclusivity and superiority. A conditioning occurs that divides the world into 'the chosen' and 'the unchosen'. As the below, slightly revised, schema of Johan Galtung illustrates, each of the categories engenders violent consequences of exploitative domination. (See Table I)<sup>15</sup>

Although the terminology has been set in the religious framework of the sacred, the notion of God or perfection can take many forms: the anthropomorphic, a pervasive spirit or force, a quality of primal energy, a first cause, an abstraction equated with "truth" or a

wide range of secular agencies. The latter can include the state, the law, the "invisible hand" of capitalism, political ideology, science, history, personal memory, tradition, norms, symbols and rituals. The God and Satan can exist either 'outside' us - i.e., be transcendent - or they can reside 'inside' us, perhaps in varying degrees - i.e., be immanent. Finally, there are many instruments by which the cultural conditioning of the chosen is conducted. When the major institutions of family, church, school, state and media unite to legitimate and justify the deflation debasement and dehumanization of our fellows - objectifying them as subhumans, untermenschen, vermin, "intractable class enemies" and the like, or demonising them as ogres of the "evil empire" and monsters from another world - the war system is truly launched on a course whose outcome is as predictable as it is tragic.

While culture serves as a mediating causal

link rather than a direct deterministic influence on the way people think and behave, Paige's second zone of violent causality is located in the socialization process. It is here that the protagonists are prepared for lethal behaviour. The impetus toward lethal behaviour may derive from the structural violence its victims have suffered at the hands of a ruler or system - for instance, when they have been denied basic human needs such as survival, well being, identity, and freedom. On the other hand, the socialization process can occur from practices such as the military training of young men the building up of military industrial complexes, the sale and transfer of arms, or the propagandising of fatalistic hate and fear messages through the education system and popular media - e.g., "Communism will spread like the fall of dominoes", "the rise of Japanese militarism is only a matter of time", "the Australians and New Zealanders are isolated in a sea of hostile Asian nations", and "Saddam Hussein is another Hitler".

Table 1: The Chosen And The Unchosen

God Choses	Leaves to Satan	With Consequences
Human Species	Nature: oceans, land, forests, & air	Speciesism, Ecocide, & Ego-centricism
Men	Women	Sexism, Misogyny, Witch-burning, Sutee
Heterosexuals	Gays, Lesbians	No sex preference, Gay bashing
HIS People	The Others	Ethno-centricism, Nationalism, Imperialism, Genocide
Whites	Coloureds	Racism, Colonialism
Upper Class	Working Class	Class exploitation, Social injustice
Healthy & Beautiful	Weak & Ugly	Eugenics, Euthanasia
Vital Youth (Future)	Dour Middle-Aged & Feeble Elderly	Ageism
True Believers	Heretics, Pagans	Inquisition, Persecution, Atrocities

The final zone is where slaughter of all kinds is ongoing or imminent. The killing and maiming can take the form of direct or structural violence. Although most of the killing - such as the 14 million children of the world under the age of five who die annually from causes primarily linked to malnutrition<sup>16</sup> - does not impinge sharply on our consciousness, it is this third, most visible, zone about which

greatest concern is usually expressed. However, not only is it essential to treat the symptoms of the violence manifested in the third zone, but the entire war system needs to be extirpated simultaneously. And in this endeavour peace researchers and educators are uniquely placed to contribute to the requisite modes of reversal, restoration and "provention"<sup>17</sup>.

Since the zones have been operationally defined in terms of their temporal proximity and the number of direct participants they affect (the largest number being involved in the cultural conditioning zone, followed by the socialization zone, etc.), my personal preference would be to concentrate on challenging the war system at its well-spring, the first zone. Any sustained success will impact throughout the funnel and therefore be more apt to generate a reciprocating and lasting effect. The task begins by targeting the war system's key precept - namely, that the controlled use of violence or its threat is the best guarantee of peace. At the same time, when focusing on an analysis of this underlying axiom, it should become apparent of the need to posit and promote an alternative positive axiom, one which will form the basis of the peace system.

### The Peace System

From my academic studies - confirmed by intuitive feelings - that positive axiom is inscribed in the ideogram in Japanese appearing at the beginning of this paper. It reads: "The way to peace is peace." If we want peace, as pioneer peace researcher Arne Naess noted, we must be prepared to "act in group struggle in a way conducive to long-term universal reduction of violence."<sup>18</sup> The Naess dictum entails recognition of the convertibility of means and ends - the need to avoid making any distinction between the long term objective of peace and the short term method. The latter most assuredly affects the nature of the former. If one resorts to confrontational and annihilative methods, the outcome can be expected to produce or reinforce similar values and types of structures. The means are ends in the making; they converge. They only become distinguishable momentarily, as they both partake of a continuous process.

In Gandhi's words: "The end we do not know. For me it is enough to know the means. Means and ends are convertible terms in my philosophy of life."<sup>19</sup> To explicate the relationship he called on a favourite metaphor: "The means may be likened to a seed the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end

as there is between the seed and the tree."<sup>20</sup> A relationship inheres between the potential and actual, the latent and manifest, the ideal and realised, and the discrete and continuous.

Louis Fischer, one of Gandhi's best-known biographers in the West, stressed the importance of means to the Mahatma. "Means", he observed "were all to him. Ends never arrive, for all ends are means to further ends which are, again means."<sup>21</sup> Jawarharlal Nehru commented approvingly about the same critical factor in Gandhi's thought and actions<sup>22</sup>, but as India's first Prime Minister he ignored his mentor's advice, introducing a development program and aspects of a foreign policy that emulated Western short term expediency at the expense of long term considerations.

Despite Nehru's failures, it is possible in the everyday practical world of politics to utilise peaceful means in the pursuit of peace. One can introduce policies directed toward the realisation of basic human needs. One can approach conflict in terms of meeting the parties' interests rather than resorting to the methods of power machinations or the imposition of legal rights which tend to focus on positions and have higher costs and less satisfying outcomes.<sup>23</sup> In conflict situations, one can aim for collaboration rather than coercion<sup>24</sup> - an approach often termed "win-win" or "integrative negotiation". When the other party is more powerful and proving extremely uncooperative, instead of reverting to the old method of pursuing threatening, hurtful, or either/or outcomes, one can operate from the basis of what one thinks would be the Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement" (BATNA), which is the outcome one would get if negotiations failed.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, one can protect oneself by basing cooperation on the "tit-for-tat" scheme wherein one responds in kind to the other party after having first opened the interaction with a positive move.<sup>26</sup> Not until the party comes back with a positive move does one show cooperation. Meanwhile one has been acting cooperatively toward all people that respond in like manner. Since cooperation - and not competition - has been shown in the systematic tests of Axelrod and others to be the better strategy for winning, the uncoop-

erative party then either becomes a loser or switches over to a cooperative strategy.<sup>27</sup> While the strategy of following suit ultimately produces win-win outcomes for most situations, it can create problems in relationship building - whether the relationship be at the personal or interstate level. It is usually better to try to understand the other person and pursue a better relationship rather than embark on a process that might lead to "malignant spiralling".<sup>28</sup>

Beyond the realm of resolving conflict through various forms of negotiation, there is the rich, but relatively untapped, field of nonviolent political action. When negotiations break down the choices are not confined to submission, retreat, acceptance of stalemate, or violent attack. Another option for persuading or coercing the other party is available. Nonviolent action can be mobilised with effective results in all kinds of conflicts, but it is essential to ensure that the targeted party is dependent on the nonviolent actionists for their power position, either directly or through third parties.<sup>29</sup> Though the presence or creation of a dependency relationship does not guarantee success, it is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition. What also helps are the usual qualities that make for military success: e.g., sound strategy and tactics, organisation, training, solidarity, communication, persistence, discipline, morale, etc. If these factors exist to a significant degree, together with the dependency factor, then the conflict can be forced back to the negotiating table and the process of peaceful conflict resolution recommenced. The limiting factor in successful nonviolence is not the degree of an opponent's ruthlessness, as realists would maintain. Despite the difficulties (not to be minimised), a nonviolent strategy can be devised and succeed against the cruelest of oppressors. It is doomed to failure, however, if a dependency interest or 'co-human' relationship cannot be established, either directly or indirectly through what Galtung has called "The Great Chain of Nonviolence".<sup>30</sup>

One can put the principles and processes thus far discussed into practice at all levels of social behaviour - from the intra personal to the interstate. Indeed, I would argue that the peace process should not be segmented but

applied universally and concurrently across the board. This means we implement the peace system in our personal lives (the area, incidentally, over which we have the greatest control). In our lives there can be no "chosen and unchosen" categories, but a concerted attempt to treat everyone as the "self in the other". The aim is not to exercise "power over" but to strive for "power with". Our world exists in a network of interlocking individuals and groups, so that by assisting each other and strengthening the grand synergy, we ultimately strengthen ourselves.<sup>31</sup> Joanna Macy regards this sort of "systems view" as the cognitive revolution of our time.<sup>32</sup> In the last analysis it comes down to serving others. As Gandhi most tellingly made the point, when he proposed a litmus test for the individual who comes to a crossroad of choices:

Whenever you are in doubt of when the self becomes too much with you, try the following expedient. Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he be able to gain any thing by it? Will it restore him to control over his own life and destiny?<sup>33</sup>

Such a course of action represents the polar end of the peace system - a vision to keep before us. For those of us of mere mortal disposition, there are many intermediary actions to be taken along the continuum leading up to the peace ideal.

This applies equally as well to the area of nation-state relations where many realisable actions can be implemented within the framework of peace being the way to peace. For instance, although collective security is usually predicated on the negative peace of member states promising to refrain from using force against each other and collectively coming to the rescue of a member attacked by any other group member, the objectives can be extended beyond peace restoration and peacekeeping to the more positively oriented missions of peacemaking and peacebuilding. As the chief instrument of global security, the United Nations<sup>34</sup> is currently afflicted with problems due, in no small measure, to over-

expectations and under-resourcing. But it is instructive to note that its difficulties are mainly related to the negative task of effecting and maintaining ceasefires. It continues to remain in the best position - once it has identified the high-risk countries (those subject to civil war, racial or ethnic conflicts, or political terrorism) - to take collective action to ward off catastrophes before they happen. Indeed, this describes much of the work actually done by the agencies.

It behooves peace researchers and others dedicated to the peace vision to investigate in depth and debate extensively feasible ways in which the UN can be changed (assuming they are first convinced that it is worth saving). Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1992 *An Agenda for Peace* was the first major attempt of a leading UN figure to stimulate discussion about new conceptions of security. How could the UN play a more effective role in maintaining and creating peace under its existing Articles? What can be done to convince the international community that most of the issues confronting the world cannot be solved at the unilateral or even the bilateral level, but require multilateral cooperation channeled through regional and global bodies? And how can multilateralism be extended beyond a device of the great powers cooperating to advance their interests? These and many other questions were posed to challenge the best minds in the nation-states and the non-governmental organisations.

The response of the Australian Government to Boutros-Ghali's invitation has taken a number of forms. First, the Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, presented a major study, "Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond,"<sup>35</sup> which was directed toward moving Australian foreign policy and defence thinking beyond the concept of power balancing to a more promising prospect of security through global - and especially regional - cooperation. Greater focus, he argued, should be placed on UN interventions in problems that are at their early, more tractable phase of development than on reacting to problems that have advanced to a stage where involvement may even prove counter-productive. Security should be given

a comprehensive definition, not limited to military and state concerns but also encompass the economic, cultural and human dimensions. By incorporating into security the human dimension, he hoped to provide an intellectual wedge for UN involvement in intra-state conflicts as well as international conflicts. In the process, as Kevin Clements has pointed out, "Evans undermines some of the more absolutist ideas of power and sovereignty, and establishes action spaces for individuals and social movements to start putting other human rights and development items on to the UN agenda."<sup>36</sup>

Second, since publishing "Cooperating for Peace" Evans has delivered two major speeches to the UN calling for the institutional mechanisms that will move the international community in the direction of the peace system.<sup>37</sup> Third, in the role of Foreign Minister he has played down, without discarding, the US alliance and, instead, has sought to build up greater cooperation with Asian countries through regional organisations such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation grouping (APEC), founded in 1989, and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which formally convened in Bangkok five years later. The APEC summit scheduled for Osaka during November 1995 will most assuredly highlight the growing importance of economic matters in security considerations. In that context Australia will be in a unique position to push for multilateral solutions to the US-Japan trade dispute. The ARF will be meeting next month in Brunei to consider, among other things, specific steps for implementing strategic reassurance and confidence-building measures. Since these terms and others like "preventive diplomacy", "transparency", "arms transfer registers", "constructive engagement", "multilateralism", "human security", and "common security" loom large in the lexicon of the Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade (DEFAT). Australia will want to see real progress made. The Government is also to be commended for the initiative and interest it has shown in concluding treaties on chemical and biological weapons and working toward the comprehensive banning of nuclear tests.



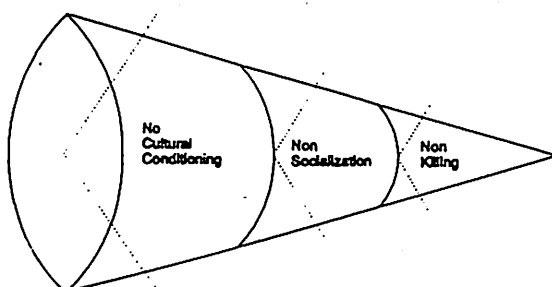
These are all positive indicators for the peace system. But there is also a "Jekyll and Hyde" personality emanating from Canberra. The Department of Defence projects a more conventional approach to security, emphasising power balancing and the image of wanting to nestle comfortably in the strategic bosom of the "great and powerful (American) friend". While this "realist" approach is far removed from the sycophancy of the Cold War years under Liberal Party governments, it conforms to similar notions of Asian power balancing popular in Washington circles. Moreover, DEFAT, itself, discloses in some areas a gap between proclamation and practice. It has responded pusillanimously to massive human rights violations in its immediate neighbourhood - particularly in East Timor and in Bougainville - and it has not wanted to offend some of the ASEAN countries in pursuing tough sanctions against the brutal SLORC regime of Burma. In negotiating the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone it resisted attempts by Pacific Island nations to include a clause prohibiting the transit of nuclear weapons by sea or air. Finally, within Australia, it has shown a reluctance to allocate resources for peace promotion within the cultural conditioning zone.

### Transition to Peace

Any grand strategy for peace must be designed to work simultaneously in all the zones of violent causality, creating a fan of expanding nonviolent alternatives (See Diagram No. 2).

Diagram No. 2

FAN OF EXPANDING NONVIOLENT ALTERNATIVES



Everyone contributes where they feel most comfortable and competent. A few statesmen of the calibre of Mikhail Gorbachev, Anwar Sadat, Olof Palme and Johan Joergen Holst

have put into practice familiar peace researchers' concepts like GRIT (Graduated and Reciprocated Initiatives in Tension reduction), nonprovocative defence, common security, and the conciliator's role, and consequently achieved major breakthroughs for peace. In the role of peace researcher my preference is to concentrate in the zone of cultural conditioning, helping especially to effect that all important paradigmatic shift away from the assumptions validating the war system. Until this is done, the situation is analogous to the Dutch boy plugging the dyke hole with his finger to hold back the waters. While displaying great courage, his action at best represented a temporary holding operation in the manner of the war system, as it merely forestalled the eventual calamity. Peace researchers can do better than the Dutch boy.

Our brief is to take from the lesson of Hiroshima in order to build the peace system. If, as the preamble to the UNESCO Constitution avers, "wars begin in the minds of men" (sic), it is also true that that is where peace will break out. An American sociologist of the last century laid out the choice quite succinctly. Instead of accepting the Roman maxim of the war system, he proposed that "(a) wiser rule would be to make up your mind soberly what you want peace or war, and then to get ready for what you want; for what we prepare for is what we shall get."<sup>38</sup> The preparations for peace involve what another American sociologist, a contemporary peace scholar, has called progressive politics. Its agenda includes - besides a substantial reduction in defence spending - "a foreign policy predicated on the pursuit of democracy and human rights, global development, and environmental enhancement; full employment and greater equality at home; and the development of democratic mechanisms that would improve economic coordination while readjusting the balance between public good and private interests."<sup>39</sup> While his program was designed specifically for the role of the United States in a new world order (or peace system), and therefore may lack some relevance in the cultural setting of other nations, his proposal for a dual strategy that combines "a 'bottom-up' approach resting upon the activities of

local social movements and other political organisations, (with) a 'top-down' process revolving around a national leader who catalyses local activism"<sup>40</sup>, does have sound universal application.

Among the main features of his 'bottom-up' strategy is the role prescribed for peace researchers and academics generally. He recommends that "(p)rogressive think tanks become important arenas for the development of specific policies associated with the new world order and domestic renewal. Academic work in the universities", he notes, "becomes more relevant for the development of progressive politics."<sup>41</sup> Without contesting that proposition, I would take it one step further, and position peace researchers on the 'cutting edge', charged with probing the very essence, or *weltanschauung*, of the war system and proposing and developing in its place the *weltanschauung* of the peace system. That, for me, is Hiroshima's meaning - one locked into the future of humankind.<sup>42</sup>

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Footnote:

1 Roman maxim: 'If you want peace, prepare for war.'

2 Quaker saying: 'The way to peace is peace.'

3 UNESCO Constitution.

4 Jonathan Schell, "The Fate of the Earth" (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 119.

5 Jacques Bierling and Ceorgina Murray, 'Take the Money and Give It Back to Us When You Feel Like It: Australian Finance from the Late 1980s', Paper TASA Conference, Adelaide, December 8, 1993. Murray has also described the features of "blitzkrieg capitalism" in 'The Intellectual Dynamics of the New Capitalism', Social Alternatives, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1995.

6 There are also many people who have vested interests in promoting the war system for reasons of economic gain, career advancement, distracting the populace, or gratifying a psychological need to

feel powerful and be able to target an enemy, etc.

7 For a refutation of the argument that violence is etched in our genes, see the "Seville Statement" propounded by a prominent group of medical and behavioural scientists meeting in 1986 at Seville, Spain.

8 Some helpful sources include: Inis L. Claude, "Power and International Relations" (New York: Random House, 1962); Ludwig Debio, "The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle" (New York: Knopf, 1962); Thomas Schelling, "Arms and Influence" (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966); Robert C. Johansen. "Toward a Dependable Peace. A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System" (New York: Institute for World Order, 1978); Alan Ned Sabrosky (ed.), "Polarity and War" (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985); Seyom Brown, "The Causes and Prevention of War" (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Melvin Small and J. David Singer (eds.), "International War: An Anthology" 2nd edition (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989); and Dietrich Fischer, "Nonmilitary Aspects of Security: A System Approach" (Geneva: UNIDIR. 1993).

9 Edward Grey, "Twenty-Five Years" (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1925), p. 10.

10 Michael D. Wallace, 'Arms Race and Escalation' in Small & Singer (eds.), op. cit, pp. 238-248.

11 Thucydides, "History of the Peloponnesian War" (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954), pp. 404-5, 402.

12 Since "strength" means military power, acceptance of this approach logically leads to the slogan proclaimed by the US Strategic Air Command with its missiles and bombers on nuclear alert that "Peace Is Our Profession".

13 Glenn D. Paige, 'Presentation to his students', University of Hawaii, September 1980.

14 The concept of cultural violence generated in this zone is examined fully by Johan Galtung, 'Culture Violence,' Journal of Peace Research. vol. 27, no. 3, 1990, pp. 291-305.

15 Ibid, p. 297.

16 George Kent, 'War and Children's Survival', Occasional Paper No. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Institute for Peace, 1990), Abstract & p. 1. These "silent deaths" are not caused by a scarcity of food in the world. "More than enough food is

produced in our world to feed everyone." The problem is allocation of the food, and the unequal distribution of wealth which prevents people from buying it. See Dinyar Codrej, 'Hunger In a World of Plenty', *New Internationalist*, No. 267, May 1995, pp. 7-10.

17 A concept developed by John Burton. The "provention" of conflict means considering not only "the conditions that create an environment of conflict, and the structural changes required to remove it, but more importantly, the promotion of conditions that create cooperative relationships." The challenge is centred on satisfying basic human needs. "The term 'provention' is invented because 'prevention' has a negative connotation." John Purton, "Conflict: Resolution and Provention" (London: Macmillan, 1990), p.3 *et passim*.

18 The remark was made in condoning the resolution approach of Gandhi to conflict. See Arne Naess, 'A Systematization of Gandhian Ethics of Conflict Resolution', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol 2. no.2, June 1958, pp. 140-55.

19 M. K. Gandhi, "The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi", vol 25, August 1924-January 1925 (New Delhi Publications Division: Government of India, 1958-1984), p. 480.

20 Gandhi, "CWMG", vol 10, November 1909-March 1911, p. 43.

21 Louis Fischer, 'Where Is Gandhiji?' in S. Radhakrishnan (ed.), *Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1969)

22 See Joan Bondurant, "Conquest of Violence" (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), p. xviii., p. 95.

23 Roger Fisher and William Ury, "Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981); Eleanor Wertheim, Anthony Lovc, Lyn Littlefield & Connie Peck. "I Win: You Win", (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1992). pp 16-27.

24 Roger Fisher and Scott Brown, "Getting Together" (London: Business Books. 1989). pp. 132-48.

25 Fisher & Ury, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-11.

26 Robert Axelrod, "The Evolution of Cooperation", (New York: Basic Books. 1984).

27 *Ibid.*

28 Fisher & Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-202.

29 Ralph Summy, 'Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent', *Pacifica Review*, vol 6, no. 1, May/June 1994, pp. 1-29.

30 *Ibid.* Johan Galtung, "Nonviolence and Israel/Palestine" (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Institute for Peace, 1989), pp. 13-33.

31 Joanna Macy, "Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age" (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1983).

32 Joanna Macy, "Foreword" in George Lakay. *Powerful Peace Making: A Strategy for a Living Revolution* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1987), ppvii-ix.

33 Quoted in Mulk Raj Anand, "The Humanism of M. K. Gandhi" (Chandigarh: University of Punjab Press, 1967), p. 30

34 NATO, the Warsaw Pact and ANZUS would not be considered as collective security pacts because they are directed at outside aggressors rather than not strictly collective security systems, have helped to maintain and promote peace - e.g., the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Arab League, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

35 (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993).

36 Kevin Clements, 'Reforming the United Nations and Promoting International Peace: An Elaboration of Gareth Evans' Proposals', *International Conflict Resolution Centre Newsletter*, University of Melbourne, No. 4, February 1995 and No. 5, May 1995, p 6.

37 Gareth Evans. 'Reintegrating the United Nations', Address to the 49th General Assembly of the United Nations, 3 October. 1994; and Gareth Evan, 'Evans' Contribution to Reform Debate', *Insight*, 11 October 1993.

38 William G. Sumner, "Essays of William Graham Sumner" (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 187-88.

39 Paul Joseph, "Peace Politics: The United States 14

41 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

42 An excellent film of a few decades ago, "Hiroshima Mon Amour", posed this very question of Hiroshima's meaning.

## Learning From Hiroshima, Onward

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August, 1995

This article is an abridgment of a larger paper. I would welcome comments and criticism, in English or Japanese. I will respond to all. The contact address is; Physics Dept., Illinois Wesleyan Univ., Bloomington, IL 61702 USA

How did it happen to you? Why are you a "peace researcher?" Do you feel that some of your colleagues, perhaps your Department Head, wish that you would stick to more conventional subjects, like the ones you were taught, your specialized training?

Why should Wilson, me, the optical physicist, stick his nose into the affairs of peace for the world? What qualifies him to teach in "peace studies?" . . . "He should be doing physics!"

During the 1950's fairy tale "duck and cover" period in the U.S., I was learning to be a physics teacher. My first school had been the recipient of official U.S. Civil Defense radiation detection equipment; teach the kids about protecting themselves in the event of a nuclear "exchange." . . . Well, O.K., but what was it like for people? All that had been "officially" revealed was what had happened to the *cities* of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, . . . and incidentally (it seemed) a lot of people died. But really, what had happened to the people?

Phase one of Wilson's enlightenment: Somehow buried in the stacks of the University of Illinois Library there was a copy, in Japanese, of Dr. Nobuo KUSANO's book, "Atomic Bomb Injuries," but the picture captions were in both Japanese and English. It is easy to recall most of it, like: the burned boy who had been out in the open "watching the B-29's fly over," or the corpse of the soldier who was not there when the bomb went off but helped dig for people afterward - the leukemic nodes plainly apparent on toes, fin-

gers, eyes . . . From this point on, as student and teacher, I was more cautious in my nuclear physics laboratory work. My instructor, a seemingly fearless but cautious soul, died of cancer some years later, a bit too early I thought.

Since I had to teach about nuclear energy, I decided to show my students the results of the largest singular releases of energy man has ever produced on Earth. Dig for the resources, show the areas destroyed, but also include what happened to real people, the biophysics. I don't think Dr. Kusano and his publisher Tsukiji Shokan mind one bit that I made 35 nun slides from his pictures and showed them to my students for the next 36 years. In a physics course, link this all to blast overpressure, thermal and nuclear radiation doses, the fission and fusion processes. The Hiroshima Uranium-235 bomb was the only one of its type ever detonated. The 1986 estimate of its yield is 15 kilotons of TNT. There is a lot of good undergraduate physics here.

In the late 1960's the pictures and films from Hiroshima and Nagasaki were becoming available. But I recall times, back then, when I really wanted to leave the room as a film was running. This is rough stuff, when you really understand. And now the bombs are bigger and more accurate, more deadly.

In 1980, a former movie actor and super patriot was elected to lead the U.S. in its showdown confrontation with the enemies of the Christian Western World and Japan. The military budget in total was increased to more than 300 billion US\$ per year. The thought was that the U.S. will win this confrontation even if the world detonates all 18,000 million tons of nuclear TNT, in a WWII thermal and radioactive holocaust. But no nation's leader has ever personally witnessed an above

ground nuclear explosion. Yet, like Truman, they are the top military commander. And in Cambodia one million civilians are tortured and killed.

More than 17 million innocents killed by non-nuclear wars since 1945; the United Nations incapable of ending wars. The *world average production rate* of nuclear weapons over 50 years is the equivalent of 70 Hiroshima bombs per day every day of every year since 1945; 95% of the Earth's people completely unaware. Something was terribly wrong with the world! It became clear to me that nuclear weapons were only a symptom of an all pervasive cancer of the spirit of the world. By 1985, after forty years of diplomatically sponsored increases in world nuclear arsenals to 18,000 million TONS of TNT (publicized as steps toward peace) and always with doubtful wisdom in charge of the fifty thousand nuclear warheads, there were just too many uncertainties about the future. Don't expect bureaucrats to solve this problem. And people in the Third World are starving and killing one another.

Why have no nations ever seriously asked for a solution to the war and peace problem? I mean, publicly gathering a group of the sharpest minds in the world to provide some direction for the world? Shall we continue this mess for the next 200 years?

Physicists are supposed to be problem solvers. For me this meant that I *must* come to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I have. This is my fifth summer in Hiroshima trying to put the right ideas together. I think I have, but please let me know where I have fallen short. It's important.

Oppenheimer was of the opinion that *wars might be avoided* by: universal disarmament; limited national sovereignties; and provision for all people of the world of: a rising standard of living, better education, more contact with and better understanding of others; and equal access to the technical and raw materials which are needed for improving life. Notice what concepts he has linked. Can you agree with him? In this essay I will propose a method to achieve peace, justice, prosperity, and fairness *for all nations*.

Here's how it could be done: At the height of the Cold War America was militarily preparing for WWII with annual budgets in excess of \$300 billion. As I recall the World was spending US\$1000 billion. It was inconceivable to me, that with the end of the Cold War, the end of the Soviet Union, that such budgets could not be cut in half; with suitable caution, but promptly.

In the early 1980's the U.S. expenditures for ALL PHASES of creating useable new facilities, new weapons, and new weapons systems was \$165 billion annually, creating more efficient and effective methods of death and destruction, using about half the U. S. military budget. So when I propose cutting military budgets in half, I'm really only saying, stop making more nuclear weapons, stop making killing machines, stop making the tools of war. Start making peace. Everyone.

It is my firm belief that *the most effective use of any nation's military budget, is, without resort to murderous war, the conversion of existent or potential enemies into friends, all working for a peaceful world with justice and fairness for all.*

Thus I have estimated that the World, if peaceful, could make available annually some 300-500 billion US\$. *If administered properly*, for some 20-25 years, it could be used to bring about the following *for all nations which abide by the UN Charter and all Covenants*:

1. The virtual elimination of the possibility of nuclear war.
2. In the developed world: control of illicit drugs, immensely improved international trade in peacetime goods, the elimination of unemployment, budget deficits, and national debts.
3. In the less-developed world: the elimination of malnutrition, disease, poverty, slavery, illiteracy, rights deprivation, neo-colonialism, and indebtedness.
4. Establish stringent procedures for the elimination of modern conventional warfare between nations.
5. End the refugee problem.

That amount of money represents some 7 to



14 times what the less developed world receives now. This proposal might be considered the honest and objective peace dividend for all nations. It does not require "world government" and you can see that great benefits accrue to all nations able to participate.

Greater security for all nations can be obtained by worldwide reduction of the "enemies'" weapons. Nations which truly abide with the intentions of the UN Charter pose no malicious economic or military threats to their neighbors. This proposal will make it seem like US\$300-500 billion each year is eliminating military threats, as peace and justice advance throughout the world.

#### Steps Which Would Be Required:

1. Direct-aid from Developed-World-Nations to the less developed world should end. We all know examples of this kind of money tied to long-term neo-economic/political/military obligations, and in the receiving nation, environmental and social abuse, political and outright financial corruption. This money stays where it was, in the taxpayer's nation. Can we use it? You bet!

2. US\$300-500 billion will be distributed by the UN using new procedures. The UN aims at obtaining in the less developed world, self-sufficiency in five areas: 1. food production, 2. housing, 3. health care, 4. economic means, and 5. education.

Each Developed Nation annually deposits with the UN, "credit chits" in amount equal to half their true military budget; the money actually remains in the Developed Nation's treasury, until payout is due. There are great advantages to all nations who make the payments into this program, and considerable disadvantages to those who can, but do not. *The more chits deposited, the greater value accrues to the depositor.*

During the 1992 IPRA-Kyoto meeting, in a PEC session, it was claimed that *there has not been a war between democratic nations for 200 years*. Thus, for nations of the developing world, which are verifiably evolving toward democratic rule by consensus, the UN makes these funds available *on the basis of*

*solicited application, verifiable need, and guarantees against misuse or corruption.* These funds may only be spent for social and economic development, the five UN goals, above.

The development proposals submitted by developing nations to the UN are carefully evaluated, in terms of the proposed societal, cultural, economic, and environmental impact, and protection against abuse and corruption. Is the nation verifiably moving toward true but self-defined democracy? Does the proposal truly represent the desires of the people? The UN may wish to reject certain proposals or return the proposals for improvement.

When a proposal is accepted and funded, the UN awards the amount in an appropriate number of "Developed World credit chits," for peacetime goods and services. The chits must make it back to their origin nation within two years of issue, and may pass through several nations, all on the approved list of nations which abide by the UN Charter and all Covenants.

Developing nations which abide by the UN Charter and all Covenants, and which are funded, can expect *constant on-site verification and audit by UN inspectors and visitors* who will have the responsibility to see that the credit chits are used as originally proposed.

The UN will not make such grants if war or rights violations are likely. Repressive and military governments and martial law governments will not qualify for funding in this program, nor will any nation which is not fully participating and cooperating in the worldwide elimination of armaments, nuclear weapons, and illicit drugs.

Preference in the allocation of development funds will be given to those nations 1) which are able to demonstrate a reduction or lack of war armament, and 2) which are part of a multination cooperative regional development.

Each nation will keep a trained national mili-

tia suitably equipped for disasters and maintaining civil order in times of need. The UN General Assembly must play a major role in controlling all transfers of war weapons between nations, with the aim of reducing them to zero, never sponsoring an increase.

3. In 1995 not all nations wish to live in peace with their neighbors. There must be assembled, trained and integrated, a UN multinational armed force, the principle function of which shall be to immediately aid any nation which abides by the UN Charter and all Covenants when it is physically abused or attacked by another. UN Charter Articles 41 and 42 speak to this. The aggressor will be penalized, shall pay, the Multinational Force costs, and reparations; and possibly experience an enforced governance change toward democracy. The weapons they lose in warfare will not be allowed to be replaced.

With the military burden gone in the less developed world, great changes could be obtainable in twenty years rather than 200. How soon can it be that a tribal child of Mozambique can plan to become a computer technician? A successful farmer? A teacher? Or can simply be able to wear a pretty dress?

4. Each developing nation should insist on themselves creating "added value" to their natural resources, rather than shipping only raw and crude materials abroad for processing: phosphates, copper, chromium, aluminum, diamonds, etc. *By this means considerably greater "wealth" is created in each developing nation, and it will allow them much greater buying power for importation of necessary goods from abroad.* But each developing nation shall decide for itself, and have the power to decide for itself, what ultimate relationship with outside agents best fits its needs. They will ask, "Truly, who have been our friends?"

By this new policy the destiny of the Developing World shall be molded by their own hands. They will find it difficult, but finally, rewarding, to individuals and the nation. It is their responsibility. Can they work together to make the 21st century *their century*? They should consider the example of Japan especially in the period 1945-1970.

5. To further assure and advance self-determination and development for the people of all nations it is necessary to establish *government and private international exchange programs* involving 10,000 - 50,000 people per year: students, teachers, workers, farmers, artists, government officials, scientists, athletes and upper-bracket bureaucrats; for the purpose of finding creative new approaches to cooperation for mutual and world benefit.

The "Sister Cities Program" should be greatly expanded to include the poorer nations of the world. Does Tombouctou (in Mali) have a sister city in the Developed World? Does your town have a sister city in the Third World? Why not?

6. The UN needs to decide when and how it can interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. The UN's inability to act has sanctioned the deaths of millions. What shall be done about civil wars? How many need to be killed, imprisoned, or tortured, before the UN shall act? 10,000? 100,000? 1,000,000? What shall be the limit before the nation is dismissed from the UN until its leadership is replaced and the people govern? . . . Such repression is unlikely in a modern-day democratic nation.

7. My proposition is sometimes criticized as being too futuristic and difficult to implement. But I see no technical implementation difficulties, only those difficulties in men's minds. If the Baruch proposal had been accepted, how would it have been implemented? *I propose the same implementation procedure here.* How was the Marshall Plan carried out?

8. Each year this program will see returned to the non-military economies of the developed nations, including Japan, in total, US\$ 300-500 billion, money most of which ordinarily would have been spent for non-wealth-creating new military weapons and systems. Since non-military production is more labor intensive, this program should greatly reduce unemployment *wherever it exists.*

Through this proposed solution to the war problem an exchange shall be made:

*with self-sufficiency and self-defined but true democracy in the developing world and the elimination there of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, neo-colonialism, rights deprivation, indebtedness, and slavery;*

*the world gets full economic recovery, elimination of the possibility for international nuclear catastrophe, and the practical elimination of war. The refugee problem is solved, in a world at peace. The killing stops. The basic tool is incentives, not sanctions; rewards, not penalties. Everyone benefits, as you knew they could.*

*Consider again, compare again, what the developing world does not have, and who is capable of supplying it! Abundant markets for all!*

*Justification: Does the Developed World have any responsibility for the conditions of poverty, starvation, slavery, disease, refugium, rights deprivation, and illiteracy, as they now exist in the former colonial and less developed world, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America? Hence, does the developed world have any unfulfilled obligations to the former colonial world?*

*I believe it does, and I believe that the past 50 years of developed world taxation for military purposes, in preparation for a Nuclear WWII holocaust, clearly shows that, IF THE DEVELOPED WORLD IS NOT MILITARILY OR ECONOMICALLY THREATENED, then it can afford to meet its obligations to the rest of the world. I propose US\$300-500 billion per year for 20-25 years to meet this obligation, while simultaneously ending wars.*

*The proposal is to end wars and enemies. Without external enemies could Japan move to perhaps a less than 0.4% self defense budget? With the strong yen, some claim that Japan is the Number 3 military spender. I believe Japan would support the abolishment of nuclear weapons and all wars. Japan has already shown it is a willing and able contributor to world peace.*

There need be no problem with verification nor with guarded conversion of fissionable material and tools of war; these are easily solved human-problems, and definitely not problems of technology. All nuclear weapons could be made unusable easily within one year.

The war solution described here represents one certain way for the elimination of international war for all people of the Earth. It is also probably the only method, for decades or centuries to come, by which people of the developing world in peace, can become their own masters, can create the path to their own destinies. Nowhere in this essay have I proposed World Government.

After many years of searching, this plan is the only solution I can find which is fair and just to all, and implementable. It does not incorporate revenge, penalties, or punishments. But then aren't we all guilty somewhere in the past? Instead, we start from now and move forward. For the past 70 years some might refer to this kind of proposal as futuristic. It does direct the World's fate toward peace. *The future is now.* This I have learned in Hiroshima.

*The most effective use of a military budget is, without resort to war, the conversion of existent or potential enemies in to friends, all working for a peaceful world with justice and fairness for all. I believe I have shown how this can be done.*

Really, how altruistic and honest about peace are nations willing to be? *For 200 years there has not been a war between democratic nations.*

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## The Atomic Victims as Human Guinea Pigs\*

- Toward Legislation of the "Hibakusha Aid Law" Providing State Compensation -

**SHIBATA Shingo**, Emeritus Professor, Hiroshima University

What aim did the U.S. government have in carrying out the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? First, by demonstrating the enormous destructive power of the atomic bomb, it wanted to establish U.S. hegemony over the world after World War II.<sup>1</sup> Second, it aimed to make mass experiments of the uranium bomb on Hiroshima and the plutonium one on Nagasaki to test numberless humans as guinea pigs and thereby to obtain data on its effects, scheming to make use of them for development of nuclear weaponry.

What did U.S. Military Forces do after the Atomic Bombing?

Therefore, the first order of the U.S. Forces immediately after the occupation was to ban all publication of reports concerning the genocidal destruction caused by the A-bombs. Thus they wanted to monopolize all information on the experiments. Until the end of the occupation on April 28, 1952, journalists, authors, writers, cameramen and scientists were prohibited from reporting on the real situations of the atomic destruction. If they dared to do so, they were threatened with trial before military tribunals of the Occupation Forces. Many books including novels, poems and accounts of the events were censored and often confiscated by American authorities. As a result, the urgent necessity to give medical and other social aid to the atomic victims (the Hibakusha in Japanese) was not reported even among Japanese.

Their second step was to prohibit all doctors in both cities from communicating and exchanging, even among themselves, the records of clinical experience and research on the Hibakusha. At that time they had been doing their best to find ways to cure the unheard-of terrible burns and internal disorders caused by atomic heat and radiation. The U.S. Forces further confiscated the burnt or keloid

skins, internal organs, blood samples and clinical records of the dead and living Hibakusha.

Their third step was to force the Japanese government to refuse any medical aid offered by the International Red Cross.

If a laboratory animal were cured, it would be utterly useless from the standpoint of medical scientific observers. By the same reasoning the U.S. authorities did their best to prevent any medical treatment given to the Hibakusha. As far as medical aid is concerned, the less the better. This was their policy.

Their fourth step was to establish the Atomic Bomb Causality Commission (ABCC as two institutions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki for the purpose of observing, not curing of the Hibakusha. Thus, almost all Hibakusha have been treated as if they were only human guinea pigs. Suppose that an assailant continues only to observe a wounded victim for many years after an assault. There is no doubt that such observance itself is nothing but an infringement on human rights.

What did the Japanese Government do to aid the Hibakusha?

I am ashamed to say that the Japanese government did nothing to help the Hibakusha either. Firstly, its bureaucrats did their best to cooperate with the above policy of the U.S. Army toward the Hibakusha. Only two months after the atomic bombing they dissolved the governmental hospitals in charge of medical treatment of the Hibakusha in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result, many Hibakusha were left on the streets of the devastated cities without any medical treatment, in addition to many difficult post-war conditions they had to contend with.

Secondly, by orders of the General Head

Quarters (GHQ) of the U.S. Armed Forces, on May 21, 1947, the National Institute of Health (NIH, YOKEN in Japanese abbreviation) was founded with half of the staff of the Institute of Infectious Diseases (IID) attached to the University of Tokyo.

During the period of the Japanese invasion of China, IID had fully cooperated with the notorious Unit 731, that is, the unit for bacteriological warfare<sup>2</sup>. Most of the staff of the NIH transferred from the University of Tokyo to the Health and Welfare Ministry were medical scientists who had intimately cooperated with Unit 731 in China and the Infectious Disease Laboratory (IDL) attached to the Imperial Army's Medical College<sup>3</sup>. The IDL in Toyama, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, was the headquarters for the network of the bacteriological warfare program and its institutions including most of the Medical Schools of many universities.

The official declared aims of the NIH were to make research on pathogens and vaccines and also to screen the safety of biological products (vaccines, blood products and antibiotics), and thereby to contribute toward preventive medicine and public hygiene under the control of the GHQ. However, there were two hidden objectives of the NIH. The first was to cooperate with the ABCC. The second was to continue under the guidance and control of the U.S. Army 406th Medical Laboratory some uncompleted studies of biological warfare program schemed up by Unit 731.<sup>4</sup>

As for the first hidden objective, only 13 days after the establishment of the NIH the GHQ asked the NIH to help the ABCC. Dr. Saburo Kojima, then the first Vice-Director and later the 2nd Director of the NIH, in his commemorative essay, "Memories on the Past Ten Years of the NIH," looking back on its initial stage of connection with the ABCC, wrote, "we, the intelligent scholars had equally thought that we must not miss this golden opportunity" to record the medical effects of the A-bomb on humans.<sup>5</sup> He was reportedly one of the leading medical scientists who committed vivisections on Chinese prisoners as human guinea pigs in the network of Unit

731 in China<sup>6</sup>. As a scientist, very positively appreciating the proposal of the GHQ, he never showed humanistic sentiments to the Hibakusha, still less a counter-proposal for medical treatment of them. He only betrayed such cold blooded and calculating words as cited above.

It is clearly reported in the 1948 Annual Report of the NIH how eagerly and positively the staff of the NIH, following the directive of the ABCC, drafted and submitted "Atomic Bomb Casualty Research Program" to the GHQ.<sup>7</sup> At that time the NIH branches were set up in the same rooms of the ABCC buildings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The NIH staff intimately helped and cooperated with the staff of the ABCC as a kind of branch of U.S. Military Forces to check up on conditions of the hibakusha, doing follow-up research. The staff of the ABCC-NIH went around threatening the Hibakusha that they would be on trial before the military tribunal of the U.S. Forces, if they would not cooperate. With such threat they took the Hibakusha to the ABCC buildings and took off their clothes to photograph them in the nude, took x-rays, collected blood samples, so they could record the relationship between the quantity of radiation and the after-effects of the atomic bomb.

They did not respect the human dignity of the Hibakusha. They treated them as human guinea pigs and recorded them samples. When the Hibakusha died, the ABCC-NIH staff put pressure on the bereaved to consent to autopsies, and their inner organs, burnt skins and other parts were dissected and taken away.

In such cold and inhumane sentiments, Dr. Keizo Nakamura, the 3rd Director of the NIH, proudly wrote that the ABCC could not have attained their objective without the cooperation of the NIH.<sup>8</sup>

The information thus collected about the atomic mass experiment on humans was never made public in Japan. It was secretly reported to the U.S. Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission (later the Department of Energy) to be utilized for the



improvement of nuclear weapons and reactors.

### The Post-war Responsibilities of the Japanese Government and the NIH in Violation of Human Rights of the Hibakusha

Some may excuse the Japanese government and the NIH under the pretext that they were only forced by the authoritarian power of the GHQ. But this was not the case, because the positive cooperation of the NIH with the ABCC continued for 28 years from 1947 through 1975. In 1975 the ABCC had to reorganize itself, and the NIH was also forced to divorce itself from the former in the face of increasing denunciation on the part of the and are the follow-up research on the Hibakusha and the renewed cooperation with U.S. military institutions and nuclear industry.

The physical sufferings and mental agony of the Hibakusha are not only the result of the Japanese and U.S. governments. First of all, the Japanese government is to blame for its aggressive wars against Asian countries and then the first-strike on Pearl Harbor. The U.S. atomic bombing, the two nuclear, genocidal first-strikes on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, should be denounced as an inhumane mass experiment on humans as well as the most serious violation of international law. In addition, the further misery of the Hibakusha has also been aggravated by the nature of the atomic bombing as a massive test on innocent men and women, young and old.

Someone may still dare to justify the atomic bombing on the pretext that it saved a number of lives. Even if true, such a pretext could never justify the fact that the U.S. government, supported by the Japanese government, has done so much to leave the Hibakusha abandoned and uncared for even after the end of the war.

For the past almost fifty years, since the atomic bombing, both governments have arrogantly continued to treat and alienate the Hibakusha as human guinea pigs. It is evident that such a political attitude itself deprived them of the feeling of human dignity.

If the Japanese government had resisted the

U.S. government policy of neglecting the Hibakusha and had done their best to provide them with medical and other social aid immediately after the bombing, the life span of the dead Hibakusha would have been much longer. Their will to live would not have diminished.

The Japanese government and the NIH should feel deeply responsible in this respect. Why don't the prime minister and the director of the NIH apologize for their negligence toward the Hibakusha? Why don't they try, in this way, to restore the feeling of human dignity which for almost a half century they have denied these people?

### Towards Legislation of the "Hibakusha Aid Law"

For many years the legislation of the "Hibakusha aid law" providing state compensation has been one of the most important tasks of Japanese who want to live in the world without a nuclear threat. The legislation has been and is sought by most Japanese not only as a state compensation for the Hibakusha, but also as an outspoken governmental pledge to abandon all forms of warfare forever. Recently controversy over the pros and cons of the law has been repeated over and over.

As a professor of Hiroshima University, I have for many years been involved in the sociological and philosophical study of the agony of the Hibakusha. In this short essay, as a result of my research, I tried to shed new light on one of the most important, but hitherto overlooked, aspects of the atomic bombing and the sufferings of the Hibakusha.

As explained, there is no doubt that the Japanese government is responsible for its post-war policy of negligence toward the Hibakusha as well as its violation of their human rights. If the government feels responsible for them, there must be no objection to legislation providing state compensation for the Hibakusha.

I hope the above arguments would help make some political leaders give positive reconsideration toward the legislation.

Notes:

1) It is often contended that President Truman was right when he ordered the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki because thereby numberless lives of not only American soldiers but also Japanese were saved. But such an argument has been proved groundless by many knowledgeable experts. See, Gar Alperovitz, "Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam," N.Y., 1965; ditto, 'Enola Gay still a flashpoint.' The Japan Times, Oct. 23, 1994, originally published in The Washington Post.

2) About the documentary studies and reportages on the cruel war crimes committed by Unit 731, see. Seichi Morimura, "Akuma-no-Houshoku" (Feast of the Devil), 3 vols. new edition, Tokyo, 1983-85, in Japanese; Peter Williams and David Wallace, "Unit 731: Japan's Secret Biological Warfare in World War II," New York, 1989.

3) See, Shingo Shibata, 'War Crimes Haunt Japan's Genetic Engineers' "International Perspectives in Public Health," 1990, Volume 6, pp. 2-3.,

4) The U.S. Army 406th Medical Laboratory was to be a research unit for preparation of biological warfare in Asia. It was set up in Tokyo immediately after the beginning of the

occupation. Later it moved to Sagami-hara City near Tokyo and existed there until around 1965. I have no space here to deal with the second hidden aim.

5) "The 1956 Annual Report of the NIH," Tokyo, 1957. p. 30, emphasis added, in Japanese.

6) See, Documentary report 'The Unit for Bacteriological Warfare still Exists,' "Monthly Shinso" (Truth), No. 40, April 1950, in Japanese; P. Williams and D. Wallace, op.cit.,, P. 238.

7) "The 1948 Annual Report of the NIH," Tokyo, 1949, pp.58-61, in Japanese.

8) NIH and ABCC, "20 Years of the ABCC," Tokyo, 1966, p.i, in Japanese.

\* This is an enlarged English version of the essay, originally published in Japanese in the Evening edition of The Mainichi Shimbun, September 6, 1994. As one of the Big Three newspapers in Japan, Mainichi has a circulation of about 5 million. The author is grateful for Prof. Ellie Bruestein and Ms. Toyoko Hiraoaka for their kind help in making this text. Communication to the author should be addressed: 1-18-6 Toyama, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162; Fax: 81-3-3232-1356.

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## Origins of the Global Peace Appeal and Reaction to it

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(Translated by Donald Smith)

There is no denying that this January's cancellation of the atom-bomb exhibition at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum provided the initial impetus for the issuance of the peace appeal by the Japanese committee. Moreover, in the process leading to that decision, World War II veterans, politicians and others in the United States openly maintained that the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been justified, demonstrating just how greatly perceptions differed from Japan, which for the 50 years since the war has sought to convey the misery caused by the bombings.

At the same time, a trend gained ground in Japan that may widen the gap with neighboring countries, with opposition being voiced to a Diet resolution expressing remorse for the war, and moves toward the exclusion of exhibits depicting the war damage suffered by Asians and other foreigners from a peace memorial hall planned by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in connection with the 50th anniversary of Japan's defeat.

Despite the passage of a half-century, memories of the war remain antagonistic, and it was the concern that this might be an impediment to future world peace that made the proposal for a global peace appeal into a reality. As people engaged in scholarship and cultural activities in Japan, we hope to make a contribution, no matter how small, to narrowing the gap in perceptions regarding World War II among the countries involved by proposing this appeal and winning support from foreign countries. In agreement on this goal, 35 people met for the first time on Feb. 21 and, in addition to founding the Japan Committee to Appeal for World Peace '95, began to discuss the text of the appeal.

At this meeting, the opinion was strongly put forward that, without a frank expression of

self-reflection over Japan's war responsibility, it would be impossible to win wide support from overseas for a Japanese appeal for global peace. Accordingly, as a precondition to issuing the appeal, it was decided to express four points of self-reflection regarding Japan's responsibility for the war and, based upon these points, to demand that the Japanese government and Diet take five specific steps. We translated the appeal into English, Chinese and Korean and in late March sent it to several hundred scholars and people of culture around the world. However, we were unsure how much support we would receive.

At the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians in late March in Washington D.C., a session was held on the Smithsonian controversy. Members of this committee took part in the session, and were able to discuss the peace appeal, winning a favorable response. Many American scholars who saw the cancellation of the Smithsonian exhibition as regrettable even expressed gratitude that the peace appeal had been presented, and we felt that our efforts had been rewarded.

As a result of such activities, by early July we had received over 200 messages of support, almost half of them from the United States. Those giving their support included the chairperson of the Intentional Pen Club, well-known American historians of Japan and atomic-bomb researchers, and leading peace researchers. Moreover, the global appeal was printed in *Sekai*, published by Iwanami Shoten, and other journals in Japan. Overseas, it was carried in historical journals in Vietnam, the United States and Germany.

Among the messages of support we received, over 30 came with comments attached. Some of these comments, in particular those from China and from former prisoners of war, were

quite severe. However, believing that Japanese should give a fair hearing to these comments, we have printed them elsewhere in this pamphlet in Japanese translation.

At the same time, this committee, on this important milestone of the 50th anniversary of Japan's defeat, called on the Japanese government and Diet to make a clear official expression of self-reflection over the war. First, when the possibility arose in early May of the Diet passing a resolution marking the passage of 50 years since the war, we called a news conference on May 8, timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary (Japanese time) of the end of the war in Europe, to announce our plans for the global peace appeal. We also released an interim report on the support we had received from overseas. (See the *Asahi Shimbun* and *The Japan Times*, both May 9, 1995.)

However, the "50-year postwar resolution" that the House of Representatives actually passed June 9 with the support of only the three ruling parties was extremely vague. In reaction, this committee, in the hope of improving the prime minister's statement scheduled for Aug. 15, began in July to gather domestic signatories for the global peace appeal. At the same time, to make it clear that the resolution of Japan's war responsibility should be pursued even after the 50th anniversary of the country's defeat, we purposely scheduled a symposium for Aug. 19.

In our efforts to gather domestic signatories, we concentrated on members of academic associations involved in research on World War II, and despite the short period involved, we received signatures and contributions from over 250 people. With this kind of backing both at home and abroad, we called on Aug. 11 for Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi to improve his statement planned for Aug. 15 and to continue resolving Japan's war responsibility even after the 50th anniversary of the country's defeat.

On this occasion, we focused our call on the five specific steps we urged the Japanese government and Diet to take in the peace

appeal proposal and were able to negotiate for around an hour and a half with a government official directly involved in drafting the prime minister's statement. We came away with the impression that the prime minister's statement would be better than the House of Representatives resolution. Regarding a state apology and compensation toward foreign victims of the war, however, there was no change in the previous negative stance. As for the Asian historical record center proposed in the prime minister's statement last year, moreover, while there were elements we could support there was no sign of a positive attitude toward the release of public documents related to the war. Accordingly, this committee, believing that Japan cannot win trust at home or abroad with a mere statement of reflection over the war unaccompanied by deeds, called for further improvements in the prime minister's statement. (See *The Japan Times*, Aug. 12, 1995.)

In fact, the statement Prime Minister Murayama released Aug. 15 did show progress compared to the House of Representatives resolution in that it labeled Japan's "colonial rule and aggression" as "mistakes in national policy" and "unquestionable historical facts" and expressed renewed reflection and apologies. However, as we had expected, there was no indication of state compensation for foreign victims of the war; in fact, Aug. 15 newspaper editions all carried advertisements, including an appeal from the prime minister, calling for private donations for the former "military comfort women." Moreover, there was no indication of a positive attitude toward the release of war-related documents. As the committee had expected, Japan's war responsibility was thus unfortunately left to be resolved after the 50th anniversary of the country's defeat.

Accordingly, this committee and the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility co-sponsored a symposium on "Japan's War Responsibility After the 50th Anniversary" on the afternoon of Aug. 19 at the Komaba campus of the General Education Faculty of the University of Tokyo in an effort to make clear the tasks

facing us in the period after the 50th anniversary of the country's defeat.

The symposium began with a session titled "Japan in the Eyes of International Society 50 Years After Defeat." Douglas Lummis of Tsudajuku College discussed "Differences in Japanese and American Views of the War," while Wu Jinan of the Shanghai Institute for International Studies discussed "Overcoming the Crisis in Confidence: a Chinese View of the State of Sino-Japanese Relations," and Yoon Keun-cha of Kanagawa University discussed "Japanese Perceptions of History." All three severely pointed out that, even 50 years later, Japan has not reflected sufficiently on its war responsibility and has not regained the trust of neighboring countries.

In the second session, titled "What Should Japan Do By the 21st Century," a valuable exchange of proposals and ideas occurred on how Japan can quickly resolve its war responsibility and promote world peace. Yamada Eiji, an emeritus professor at Kanazawa University, spoke on "Pugwash: Toward a Society Without Nuclear Weapons," Hosaka Hiroshi of the University of the Ryukyu discussed "Okinawa: Overcoming Structural Violence and Sending a Message of Peace," and Arai Shin'ichi, representative of the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility, dis-

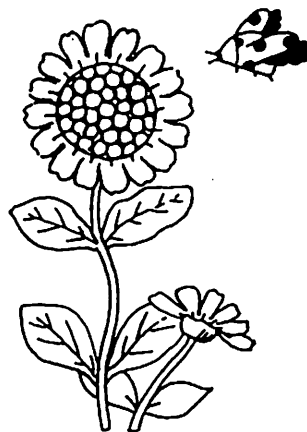
cussed "Memories of the War and Japan's Dilemma." Despite the sweltering heat that day, over 100 people from diverse backgrounds participated enthusiastically in the entire symposium, encouraging the organizers.

Looking back over the events summarized above, we are now confident that if Japan after frankly reflecting on its war responsibility, conveys to the world the tragedy of war as symbolized by Hiroshima and Nagasaki there will be an international response without fail. We have been confirmed in our belief in the importance of taking independent action on the private level, no matter how minor, because of the continued extreme vagueness of reflection on the war, even 50 years after the fact, on the Japanese governmental and Diet level. With the questions of postwar compensation and the release of documents having been left, unfortunately, for resolution after the 50th anniversary of Japan's defeat, we hope that the lessons of this global appeal will be of some use.

(Pamphlet to report the signatories is available from Japan Committee to Appeal for World Peace '95, c/o KIBATA Yoichi, Tokyo University, Komaba, Meguro-ku, Tokyo 153, Japan.

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## Proposal for an International Appeal for Global Peace on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the End of World War II

Fifty years are about to pass since the conclusion of World War II, which brought unimaginable suffering to peoples throughout the world. The passage of months and years that now amount to half a century compels us to mourn all of the war's victims, irrespective of which side they were on during the war, and to renew our resolution never to repeat the tragedy of war.

It is regrettable, however, that among the various events being planned throughout the world in commemoration of the fiftieth-year anniversary, there are some that threaten to exacerbate mutual mistrust by emphasizing the differing positions at the time of the war. Forty years ago, in 1955, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein warned that the elimination of war will remain difficult so long as our sense of common humanity remains ambiguous and abstract.

As individuals engaged in scholarly and cultural activities in Japan, we believe it necessary to first clearly promote self-reflection on Japan's war responsibility in the Asia-Pacific War. Based on this, we then wish to present an international appeal that clarifies common ground for working toward global peace. By obtaining the support of many people throughout the world, it is our desire to turn this fiftieth-year anniversary into an opportunity to strengthen international public opinion in support of world peace.

As prelude to our proposal for an international appeal, we offer the following self-reflections concerning Japan's war responsibility:

First, it is obvious that the Asia-Pacific War began with the invasion of China, starting with the "Manchurian Incident" of September 1931 and subsequent military invasion of Southeast Asian countries that were Euro-

pean and U.S. colonies. We recognize that apology and compensation for damages to the Asian peoples whom we victimized are necessary.

Second, at that time in Japan there was a tendency to regard the European and American colonial powers as "have" (as opposed to "have-not") countries, and to demand a redistribution of colonial possessions. Such an attitude neglected the demand for national self-determination that had been on the rise since World War I, however, and is anachronistic in the post World War II world. Keeping in mind the fact that 1995 is also the one-hundredth year since the conclusion of the first Sino-Japanese War, we believe self-reflection is necessary concerning Japan's own colonial rule, which started in Formosa (Taiwan) in 1895 and was extended to Korea in 1910.

Third, against a background of confrontation concerning Japan's aggression against China and Indochina, Japan commenced war against the Allied Powers in December 1941 with a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor (while a notice to terminate Japan-U.S. negotiations was delayed in the Japanese embassy), coupled with a military assault on the Malay Peninsular. We give serious consideration to the fact that these actions have caused prolonged U.S. distrust of Japan. If Japan is to take a position of seeking peaceful solutions to disputes in today's world, we believe that it is more than ever necessary to clearly self-reflect upon our responsibility for starting the war in the past.

Forth, heart-felt apology and self-reflection are necessary concerning the mass slaughter of civilians symbolized by the "Nanjing Massacre," as well as the atrocious treatment of Allied prisoners of war and civilian captives such as took place in the "Bataan Death March."

The Asia-Pacific War, which caused enormous suffering in neighboring countries, also was accompanied by indescribable sacrifices on the part of Japanese people, a symbolized by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result, a common consciousness of "no more war" became widespread in post-defeat Japan, and the country chose the path of concentrating on economic recovery while avoiding foreign disputes as much as possible.

As a result, until quite recently Japanese have tended to emphasize their own victimization while neglecting their role as victimizers who brought enormous suffering to foreigners and foreign countries. That is, it can not be denied that peace consciousness in postwar Japan has had the limitation of being self-centered. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that postwar government compensation policies for individual war victims applied only, to Japanese.

In the 1990s, however, problems such as the "military comfort women" became widely known and Japanese public opinion in support of apologizing to foreign war victims and providing compensation to them has risen conspicuously. Also, in recent years local public peace-memorial centers such as those in Hiroshima and Okinawa have begun to address not only Japanese suffering but also the suffering of non-Japanese. In this fiftieth year since Japan's defeat, we recognize that it is necessary to strengthen this trend whereby peace consciousness transcends the boundaries of "one-country" preoccupation.

Thus, on this historically important juncture of the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's defeat, we urge the Japanese government and Diet to carry out the following five-part agenda.

1. By August 15, 1995, officially do the following: clearly articulate the government's self-reflection on Japan's responsibility for past colonial rule as well as the Asia-Pacific War, which caused enormous suffering both outside and within the country; express renewed resolution to uphold Article Nine of the Constitution and never invade the territory of other countries; resolve to act as a thoroughly peaceful nation by taking the

initiative to work for peaceful dispute resolution and armaments reduction in the future.

2. Make efforts to make the miserable realities of the war known to the world by, first, releasing to the public all official documents and pertinent materials possessed by the Japanese side, and second, assisting in the identification and maintenance of materials pertaining to war damages in other countries, especially in Asia.

3. Set up appropriate mechanisms within the government and Diet to quickly investigate war damages to foreigners; apologize to such confirmed victims, and provide early compensation to them; quickly take measures to also establish national compensation to Japanese civilian war victims who have been neglected up to now, such as victims of conventional air raids as well as the atomic bombs.

4. To ensure that younger generations without war experience will possess accurate historical consciousness, make efforts to provide historical education concerning the Asia-Pacific War based on sound scholarship; also, in constructing memorial facilities such as the presently contemplated "Peace Prayer Hall," always include exhibits dealing with the causes and realities of suffering in foreign countries.

5. Make widely known to the world the terrible human experience of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic-bomb victims, and also the realities of survivors of postwar nuclear experiments such as in the Bikini Incident of 1954. At the same time, with the ultimate end in view of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons by international law and attaining the early abolishment of nuclear arsenals, take the lead by passing legislation affirming Japan's "three non-nuclear principles" (prohibiting the production or possession of nuclear weapons, or their being brought into Japan by another country). With the understanding that we ourselves will engage in self-reflection on Japan's war responsibility, and will present the above concrete proposals to the Japanese government and Diet, we offer the International Appeal for Peace that is presented separately here.

International Appeal for Global Peace on

**the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the End of World War II**

It soon will be fifty years since the end of World War II, which caused enormous suffering to peoples throughout the world. We believe that this fiftieth anniversary should not be observed in ways that reinforce the enmity and mistrust associated with different positions during the war. Rather, it should be commemorated in a manner that turns the tragic war experience in the direction of building future peace for humanity. With this in mind, we propose the following eight principles:

1. Upon the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war, we pledge that, once having clearly established the responsibility of the Axis countries that started the war, we will mourn all war victims irrespective of nationality or race and make efforts to ensure that such enormous sacrifices never will be repeated.
2. We take seriously the fact that even today, after fifty years, many questions remain concerning accurate numbers of war victims and the actual extent of war damages. Thus, we urge the countries involved to continue to investigate these matters and release pertinent information both domestically and internationally.
3. We also take note of the fact that there still remain war victims who even to the present day have not received appropriate apologies and just compensation. We thus request that the countries involved investigate these matters and hasten to extend apologies and compensation for individual damages that are confirmed.
4. Recalling that one of the causes of the war was mutual mistrust among the various countries, we consider it important to promote international exchanges concerning historical education, and the like, with the ultimate objective of promoting mutual trust as well as education for peace and human rights in all countries.
5. In making available materials that show the realities of war suffering and damages, we believe that such presentations should reflect

sound scholarship. At the same time, efforts should be made to enlarge the common ground of historical perception by mutually exchanging materials and information even when positions during the war may have been antagonistic. In particular, in the case of the Asia-Pacific theater, more exhibitions should be held in Japan to publicize atrocities against foreigners symbolized by such incidents as the "Nanjing Massacre" and "Bataan Death March." In the United States, exhibitions depicting such matters as the atomic-bomb damage in Hiroshima and Nagasaki should be promoted.

6. Keeping in mind that the war marked the final defeat of fascism, we think it important to reaffirm the value of freedom, human rights, and democracy for all people, and to commit ourselves to eliminate discrimination based on race, nationality, religion, or gender.

7. We give serious consideration to the fact that in the final stage of the war atomic bombs were used for the first time in history, victimizing many non-combatants and symbolically inaugurating a nuclear era in which the very existence of humanity is imperiled. We deem it necessary to increase recognition of the inhumanity of the nuclear weapons and work for their early abolishment.

8. To turn the lessons of the tragic war in the direction of future world peace, it is our hope that each nation, taking advantage of organizations such as the United Nations, energetically pursues ways to peacefully resolve disputes while, at the same time, making efforts to overcome the poverty and environmental destruction that tend to give rise to conflict.

It is our hope that many people, irrespective of nationality or race, will support these eight principles and make efforts to realize them in their own country. In working for a lasting peace for all humanity, we believe it is important to mutually understand the different meanings of peace consciousness that may exist among different peoples. Thus, in addition to soliciting your support of this appeal, we also welcome your comments.

*March 28, 1995*

## *Peace Studies Association of Japan* (PSAJ)

PSAJ had only 72 members when it was founded in 1973. Now with 750 registered individual members and 12 corporate members, it is one of the largest national peace research organizations in the world. PSAJ tries to maintain good relations with all variants of peace researchers around the world, both individual and organizational. We wish to extend our warm greetings to all peace researchers in the world and invite you to participate in our endeavours and stand with us. If you happen to come to Japan, it may be possible to arrange a meeting with Japanese peace researchers during your visit. Please advise the Overseas Liaison Committee or PSAJ secretariat as far in advance as possible.

### **Purpose:**

The purpose of PSAJ is to focus on conflicts between nations, to carry out scientific research on the causes of any resultant strifes and conditions for peace, and to contribute to academic progress in related fields of study.

**Activities:** The Association is engaged in the following activities;

- 1) the holding of study meetings & lectures
  - a) two major conferences every year
  - b) smaller ad hoc meetings
- 2) the publishing of research conducted by members
  - a) annals of PSAJ, Peace Studies (in Japanese)
  - b) Peace Studies Newsletter (in English)
  - c) PSAJ Newsletter (in Japanese)
  - d) books and other publications
- 3) the coordination of national and foreign academic societies and other related institutions, as well as the promotion of exchange among researchers
- 4) the sponsoring of various activities which are considered to be necessary and appropriate in achieving the purposes of this Association
- 5) the research activities based on Study Commissions of PSAJ

### **Newsletter Networking:**

The annual PSAJ Newsletter is available free of charge to all those interested in the activities of the Association. In order to promote global networking of similar newsletters, it would be appreciated if information on the availability and contents of the PSAJ Newsletter could be included in any newsletter you know.

### **Membership:**

Any nationals can apply for the PSAJ membership. If you are interested in becoming a member or wish to know more about PSAJ activities, please contact the secretariat.

**Secretariat: (till October, 1997)**

c/o Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University 1-1-89, Higashiend-machi, Nakaku,  
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## Main Activities of the PSAJ in 1995

The 1995 Spring Session was held on June 17 and 18 at Hiroshima Municipal University, Hiroshima city, under the main theme of "50 Years Since the End of World War II and Peace Research towards 21st Century." The Session was held as an anniversary conference marking 50th year since the end of World War II.

The 1995 Fall Session was held on November 18 and 19 at Sophia University, Tokyo, under the main theme of "Sustainable Development and Equality."

Local Study Meetings were organized in several regions throughout the nation under a variety of topics.

## **Present Structure: (November 95 - October 97)** Peace Studies Association of Japan (Nihon Heiwa Gakkai)

**President:** HATSUSE Ryuhei  
**Vice-Presidents:** ALEXANDER Ronni, ISHII Mayako  
**Secretary General:** MATSUO Masatsugu

**Council Members:**

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SHINDO Eiichi	SUGIE Eiichi	SUZUKI Yuji
TAKAHASHI Susumu	TAKAYANAGI Sakio	TODA Misato
USUI Hisakazu	WADA Shun	YABUNO Yuzo
YAMAWAKI Keizo	YOKOYAMA Masaki	YUI Daizaburo

**Chairpersons of Committees:**  
**Programme Committee:** USUI, Hisakazu  
**Editorial Committee:** ITOH, Takayuki  
**Overseas Liaison Committee:** YAMAWAKI, Keizo  
**Newsletter Committee:** KIKKAWA, Gen

PSAJ is a member of IPRA (International Peace Research Association). (\*PSAJ is a host organization of 1992 IPRA Conference in Kyoto)

### **PSAJ secretariat:(till October, 1997)**

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