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Special Issue

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Fukushima and Beyond

ABE Kohki

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In its Advisory Opinion issued in 1996 on the legality of the use of nuclear weapons, the International Court of Justice eloquently stressed the potentially catastrophic nature of atomic explosions. Thus, the Court held: “The radiation released by a nuclear explosion would affect health, agriculture, natural resources and demography over a very wide area. Further, the use of nuclear weapons would be a serious danger to future generations. Ionizing radiation has the potential to damage the future environment, food and marine ecosystem, and to cause genetic defects and illness in future generations.”

The above scenario is exactly what is inflicted upon a wide area of Japan now. To our chagrin, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki came another disaster, Fukushima; The nations’ pledge of “never again” is now devastatingly replaced by “and again.” True, the magnitude of the nuclear disaster that occurred at the Fukushima No.1 power plant is unprecedented. The ensuing grave situation has forced more than 100,000 residents to be evacuated and high levels of radiation are constantly detected in a great number of spots far beyond the proximity of the Fukushima compound. Yet, contrary to comments made by a group of pro-nuclear scientists, the disaster was not unpredictable. Concerns and warnings about possible nuclear accidents had been repeatedly expressed.

It is recalled that the monitoring body of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights stated after examination of Japan’s second periodic report in 2001 that it “is concerned about reported incidents in nuclear power stations and the lack of

transparency and disclosure of necessary information regarding the safety of such installations, and also the lack of advance nationwide and community preparation for the prevention and handling of nuclear accidents.” The body recommended that Japan increase transparency and disclosure to the population concerned of all necessary information on issues relating to the safety of nuclear power installations, and urged Japan to step up its preparation of plans for the prevention of, and early reaction to, nuclear accidents. The government and corporate elite bluntly ignored the recommendation, and the whole nation has been forced into a nuclear nightmare.

Recent media reports have revealed that it was a U.S. move that eventually led Japan, a country which suffered atomic bombing, to embrace nuclear power. In the middle of the 1950’s, the US government effectively pursued a policy of supplying nuclear power to Japan to contain opposition to nuclear weapons and anti-US sentiments, then heightened by the *Fukuryu Maru* incident whereby a Japanese fishing boat was exposed to nuclear fallout from a US hydrogen bomb test explosion in the Pacific Ocean.

Unlike its pacifist image, Japan has not been a nuclear-free country. Wherever you go, you encounter nuclear power sites. A recently declassified document shows that the US State Department stated as early as in 1954 that: “It is important to our relations with Japan that we seek to remove the strong Japanese notion that atomic and nuclear energy is primarily destructive.” Fukushima, in fact, is a chilling and telling testimony that nuclear energy is no less destructive than nuclear weapons.

Demonstrating the immeasurable danger of radioactive substances, Fukushima pushes us to review critically the ethics and efficacy of nuclear power. This is no easy task in a conservative society like ours, but it is encouraging to see citizens and academics stand up and passionately voice their call to ensure that 3/11, the day the accident occurred, will be remembered as a watershed in altering the very foundation of Japan’s deficient decision-making processes. After all, whether it is against enemies or for “peaceful” use, catastrophic nuclear events may in no way be compatible with our Constitutional commitment

to constructing a world where people live in peace, free from fear and want. The time for a thorough overhaul of our deplorable nuclear policies has come.

PSAJ Spring Conference Theme

Crossing Borders: Making the World More Just and Peaceful

TOSA Hiroyuki

Chair, Planning Committee of PSAJ
Kobe University

The action of crossing borders does not always result in a move toward the cosmopolitan or post-Westphalian order. Despite continual border crossings by people, the international order of migration continues to swing irregularly between exclusion and inclusion, not moving straightforwardly in a more inclusionary direction. Through the re-activation of old identities and the reinforcement of border controls by reacting to aliens crossing borders, the Westphalian territorial order tends to be strengthened toward the ubiquity of walls rather than their breakdown. As the population of migrants accounts for only two or three percent of the total world population (Faist 2000: 3-6), it is natural that the majority tends to protect its own political community based upon a fixed territoriality against aliens crossing the borders. Firstly, this kind of reaction might be triggered by underclass resentment based upon the belief that cheaper migrant workers would cause unemployment among the nation's workers. Secondly, this kind of reaction also derives from moral panic or nostalgia of conservative intellectuals for the lost racial order, which is clearly represented by the late Samuel Huntington's "Who are we?" (Huntington 2004). In his book, Huntington sounded the alarm that "we" should protect "our" Anglo-American identity against threats such as Hispanics crossing our borders.

Acts of defending territorial integrity against alien border violations by using preventive methods, including racial profiling, imply challenges to a re-definition of "who are the demos of the political community" along an exclusionary line and against the globalization of human mobility. However, that kind of backlash by the "dispositif of security" may lead to highly insecure situations for marginalized people and may make the distribution of risks and insecurities more unjust. Some of the marginalized people, such as deported refugees or refugees in detention camps, seem to be "a *homo sacer* at a zone of in-distinction between human and animal" (Agamben 1998). If worse comes to worst, they must endure absurd conditions, such as social death, or accept biological death in vain. These painful conditions resulting from the securitization of migration indicate the hollowing of democracy to protect the status quo and the exclusionary characteristics of the political communities that eject them.

To prevent the hollowing of democracy, it is necessary to make the political community more open. However, as far as it is state sovereignty that ultimately protects human rights in the present Westphalian system, it is contradictory to break down the borders upon which that sovereignty is based in order to protect human rights. As Behabib suggests, the logic of democratic representation requires closure for the sake of maintaining democratic legitimacy, and thus we can only advocate more porous borders and not completely open ones (Benhabib 2004). In other words, although democracy is restricted by its territoriality, it can be transformed into a more open system by responding to migrants' claims to political membership. This kind of change also brings about transformations in the triadic relationships among borders, orders, and identities, leading toward a moral universalism with more peaceful and cosmopolitan federalism.

Related to this transformation, our education may work to play a role in promoting change in "the distribution of the sensible" (Rancière 2004) from a Westphalian worldview based upon closed territoriality to the post-Westphalian view based upon more porous borders. To paraphrase it in Esposito's locution (Esposito 2010: 1-19), it is a move toward an open community

[communitas], the opening of being that is exposed to what interrupts the closing and turns it inside while making a gesture of avoiding hyper-immunization. In short, it is a test to save a living being from security *dispositif* in which living beings are continually captured.

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PSAJ Spring Conference / Session I

Toward Economics for Peace: Beyond Neoliberal Economics

HARADA Tatsuo

PSAJ Member

Chubu University

As Ha-Joon Chang pointed out in the book published under his editorship, *Rethinking Development Economics* (2003), neoliberalism has been the dominant economic doctrine of the last three decades and sees itself as the heir to liberalism. Neoliberals see the early twentieth century as the “golden age” of

capitalism, when the world prospered owing to the absence of state ownership and regulation of industry and finance, flexible labor markets free international flows of trade and capital, and so forth.

Indeed neoliberals have assumed that seeking economic efficiency through competition among all economic participants and units in the market will lead to a stable social order because political opposition is translated into economic opposition in the market arena, or economic competition substitutes for political hostility, following A.O. Hirschman's classical formulation in the famous book, *The Passions and the Interests* (1977).

But the reality is that the widening economic inequality is widespread globally across nations, classes, races, genders and ages; introducing economic liberalization is on the contrary accompanied by political instability.

This session was based upon the basic question of why classical (or liberal) economics could not propose an alternative way to create a peaceful social order through solidarity rather than competition among peoples, or through ecology rather than the exploitation of natural resources, or where it went wrong.

The summary of each presentation is as follows:

Yongkok Koh (Chubu University), under the title of “Classical Economics and War Finance – Tax, Government Loans, and Colonies,” paid much attention to the wars that built and maintained Great Britain, and classical economics, especially its origin in Adam Smith. In contrast to modern economics, which does not explicitly refer to war, it was very important for classical economics to deal with the relationship between the colonial powers and colonies in building the Empire. Smith regarded the primacy of the civilized nations as the ability to finance war, while criticizing the raising of government funds for this purpose. This kind of finance, however, was already very common in the international financial market in the eighteenth century, when the Netherlands underwrote British government bonds. Most of the economists after Smith, however, have maintained silence on this financial mechanism's connection

with war and colonial dominance. It is therefore important that we should return to the history of economics to find the missing link between war and economics.

Kazuya Ishii (Kagawa University), under the title of “Gandhi’s Thought and Economics,” aimed to find a way to overcome the limits of neoclassical or modern economics, which has ignored resource restrictions, by comparing Gandhi’s economic thought with A.K. Sen’s. Gandhi abominated the spiritlessness of the modern age, machinery as a tool of minority control over majority, and the exploitation of nature and people through industrialization. He thus proposed *charkha* and trusteeship, both of which had originated from the traditional Indian mutual cooperation to rebuild simple and small rural economies. In clear contrast to Gandhi, Sen agreed with Tagore, who criticized the *charkha* movement, and supported global theory and practice to solve worldwide poverty. Ishii insisted that Sen underestimated the low-entropy nature of *charkha*, and also that we should attach a higher value to relative deprivation. According to Ishii, Gandhi’s economic thought is antithetical to the resource-wasting economic growth model.

Yoichi Mine (Doshisha University) gave a presentation on “How to Measure Peace, Care, and the Power of ‘the South’ beyond GDP and HDI,” in which he criticized traditional economics in terms of the way it measures and justifies economic values. Economic development as the national enhancement of power derives from methods of dealing with national wealth, such as GDP and HDI. GDP still assumes the national and money bias, and also HDI, which was supposed to overcome the economicism of GDP but included GDI as a part of the index, maintained the national bias and tended to ignore the environmental burden of economic activities in exchange for human centrality. Instead of this, we need to introduce into development discourse a new index to measure the power of “the South.”

Mine showed a new direction toward overcoming the bias from the Temperate Zone location of Northern economics and realizing the potentialities of “the South” for a peaceful and sustainable life.

Following these presentations, in terms of peace studies to overcome market, political and spiritual violence, Makoto Katsumata (Meiji Gakuin University) as discussant, firstly insisted that Koh should have more concern for another side of Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*, the *intercivic* horizontal communication, which rejected vertical violence between the nation-state and citizens. Katsumata appeared to follow the traditional interpretation of Adam Smith, such as that of Hirschman. Secondly, Katsumata commented with respect to Ishii’s presentation that the significance of Gandhi’s socio-economic thought is a kind of wisdom for “making things smaller and easier for human beings to manage.” Lastly, Katsumata pointed out that his conception of “Southness” is very close to Mine’s conception of the power of “the South.”

A great number of participants took part in the morning session and there were many questions and comments for each presenter. One participant asked Koh how Adam Smith related to imperialism, and another how Koh estimated the discussion of Susan George’s critique of the political economy of international finance. Another participant asked Ishii how he thought the “rural people first” development policy should be evaluated. A comment regarding Mine’s presentation was that more gender aspects, including unpaid work, should be considered in the new index.

Each presentation highlighted the new directions of alternative economics from various perspectives. It was generally felt that more opportunities to deepen and enrich our visions of alternative political economy are needed in PSAJ.



A panel

PSAJ Spring Conference / Session II

The Realities and Transformations of Borders

UTSUMI Aiko

PSAJ Member

Centre for Asia Pacific Partnership, Osaka
University of Economics and Law

The theme of the 2011 Spring Conference is “Crossing Borders: Making the World More Just and Peaceful.” Hiroyuki Tosa, Planning Committee Chair, has stated in the conference purport that, “While attempting to rethink the politics of inclusion and exclusion that beleaguer people when crossing borders from the viewpoint of social justice and so on, I would like to seek out possibilities for the restructuring and deconstruction of borders in a form that will move toward a more peaceful society.” In Session II, “The Realities and Transformations of Borders,” enthusiastic reports and discussions took place in line with the purport of the conference.

Session II: The Realities and Transformations of Borders
Facilitator: UTSUMI Aiko (Centre for Asia Pacific Partnership, Osaka University of Economics and Law)
Presentation 1: IWASHITA Akihiro (The Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University) “The Challenge of Border Studies—Why are Japan’s border issues not being resolved?”
Presentation 2: USUKI Akira (Japan Women’s University) “Islamophobia and New Borders”
Presentation 3: ABE Koki (Kanagawa University) “The Genealogy of Immigration Control—The reality of international law discourse”
Discussants: GONOI Ikuo (Rikkyo University), NAMIOKA Shintaro (Meiji Gakuin University)

Akihiro Iwashita of the Slavic Research Center,

Hokkaido University, reported on border studies by screening three short films during his 50 minute presentation. Thus far, border studies have been overlooked in Japan, but are now drawing attention in northeast Asia. This presentation raised the issue from a more practical standpoint using Japan’s border issues as the basic subject matter. Showing a film that began with a picture of the globe, Iwashita stated that border issues should not be discussed through introverted nationalism, and explained the process through which the eyes and experiences of the world had resulted in the present accumulation of the content of border studies.

While screening the second film, which took up the issue of Japan’s Northern Territories, Iwashita informed the audience of how in 2005 he had proposed a “fifty-fifty” Northern Territory issue resolution and had been branded as a “Heisei traitor” in one part of the media. The ongoing “border” issue of the Northern Territories was reenacted in the film as contemporary history while referring to North-South border regions as a comparison. The third film was “Tsushima: The unknown border island” (produced by HBC Flex). Iwashita emphasized the “actual locality” here. The film vividly portrayed, from the viewpoint of the local residents, the rebuttal to the manufactured tension and the hostility over the border brought in from the outside.

In this sense, border studies is said to be a challenging academic field which attempts to examine issues from the viewpoint of the actual locality and gather them all into one field using the compass of “border studies.” The films screened were the outcomes of a new approach (*Live! at the Border* studies, including museums, mobile exhibitions, DVDs, and so on) for having people gain a palpable sense of what borders are really like. Iwashita’s presentation emphasized the feel of borders from the perspective of the people who live there, and from this the importance of “border studies.”

Koki Abe gave a report entitled “The Genealogy of Immigration Control—The reality of international law discourse.” During this powerful 40-minute presentation, based on the eight-page draft report

published in the conference program, a large number of participants were seen diligently making notes. The presentation reported on the meaning of the “No One Is Illegal” movement, spreading in the advanced countries. This movement is structured by the current lack of rights–liberalist borders, the residence status of foreigners–, their normative origins, the future of boundaries–the contemporary development of international human rights law, and the phase of international constitutionalism. As with the “Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan,” the No One Is Illegal Movement, which demands the realization of social justice regarding the treatment and integration of non-nationals, is spreading in the advanced countries.

The report presented a large number of arguments, such as a redefinition of the existing concept of the border, in which the state reigns supreme from the viewpoint of residence status and nationality; the issue of “fake *jus sanguinis*,” the reality in which the burden of the role played by the immigration law is increasing above the nationality law; the notion that the basic human rights granted by the Japanese Constitution are in the end nothing more than constitutional principles which apply only to Japanese citizens; and the reality in which the issue of the existence of a group of people whom we may term essentially stateless persons who cannot receive effective protection from any country is coming to light. It was also pointed out that the absolute nature of the power to control borders regarding the entrance and residence of non-nationals was not recognized by the scholars known as “the founders of international



A view of the floor

law” to be a life-or-death power of sovereign states.

It is said that the legal process is constantly reweoven by accidental interpretations. Abe concluded that in the era of globalization, the law should not be used only to achieve the purposes of the state, but we could also recognize the strategic value of relaxing, even to some small extent, the injustice faced by “precarious residents” through the active employment of legal “interpretation.”

Since the reporter, Akira Usuki, was absent at the time of the presentation, the participation took the form of a written paper. Shintaro Namioka gave a report on the outline of Usuki’s paper and then participated in the discussion. According to the outline of the report, “Islamophobia” (the dislike of Muslims, fear of Islam) is a new contemporary phenomenon distinguished from the hitherto xenophobia (dislike of foreigners, fear of foreigners) and is a transformation of “others,” as “the enemy,” from “the communist threat” to “the Islamic threat,” a situation that denotes an epochal divide marking the end of the US-USSR Cold War. It also takes as its point of departure the change apparent as the external nation-state “enemy,” the communist bloc with the USSR at its head, was substituted by defining “the enemy” to be Muslims, who, as immigrants, have penetrated deeply inside the nation-state to become what might be termed a “fifth column” at the cultural level. On this basis, the report examines the significance of borders through a comparison with anti-Semitism (anti-Judaism).

In the 20 minutes following Namioka’s report, Ikuo Gonoï pointed out several issues concerning the three reports. This was followed by a steady stream of questions from the audience, and a lively question and answer session ensued. The Manchuria Pioneer Brigade was seen off from pre-war Niigata, and Niigata was also the place from which the boats departed to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea to repatriate Korean people after the war. In the city there is a Botnamu (Willow) Street planted by Korean residents of Japan at the time of their repatriation. Displayed in the exhibition area named “Niigata Port was the ‘Gateway to the Continent’

in the Japanese invasion of China,” in the Niigata City History Museum there was a map of Niigata and a poster of the Gassan Maru (5,000 tons), the “Niigata-North Korea ferry, the shortest route between Japan and Manchuria.” It was in this historical city of Niigata where the reporters and participants held this session to discuss “borders.”

PSAJ Spring Conference / Session III

Invasion and Resistance: The Relationship between Africa and the World

TODA Makiko

PSAJ Member

Kyoto Women’s University

There were once kingdoms and empires in Africa, which enjoyed a history of prosperity. Africa certainly never was “the Dark Continent,” but relationships with the outside world were drastically altered by the slave trade. Colonialism and post-colonialism have caused Africa pain, but we should not forget the history of resistance in Africa. African people have resisted the invasion of outsiders for a long time. In this session the relationships between Africa and Japan, and Africa and the world were discussed.

Presentation 1: LUKEBANA TOKO Willy (PhD. Candidate, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, The University of Tokyo), “Africa and Japan from the Origins: Will ‘Cash Dispensarism’ Make a Difference?”
Presentation 2: YOSHIDA Atsushi (Meiji University), “External Natural Resource Development and Risk of Conflict/Instability in Africa.”
Discussant: MORIKAWA Jun (Rakuno Gakuen University, visiting research fellow of the University of Adelaide)

Willy Lukebana Toko claims that, in some ways, old images of Africa dating back to the 16th century and beyond have remained alive in present-day Japan because scant effort has been deployed on both sides to enhance cross-cultural and human exchanges. Thus, his purpose is precisely to warn that the mounting, much acclaimed and publicized attention to Africa we have been witnessing in Japan over the past decade will bear thin fruit without frantically involving people from both sides and disposing of the illusory faith in the “unique almighty cash” when dealing with Africa.

It is a truism that, beyond decolonization, old depictions of Africa have been by and large abandoned, or at least hushed up in some ways. However, to some extent, in the West and Japan (for our purpose) old ghosts leading people to view Africa as a more or less insignificant part of the World continue to haunt the minds of many politicians, writers, journalists, humanitarians, philanthropists, activists, and so on.

As a matter of fact, a great number of books published by Japanese journalists, writers, activists, and so on reek of arrogant and prejudiced statements against Africa. Additionally, prominent Japanese politicians, journalists, and activists still do in fact continue to make pronouncements literally matching the depictions of Africa to the Japanese Meiji Period, while (or perhaps because!) at the same time, somehow the Japanese government and civil society bodies are very instrumental and proactive in delivering aid to needy countries around the globe in general and to Africa in particular.

The grim reality is that even up to this day, the peoples of Japan and Africa remain literally disconnected. One of the reasons that would explain such a state of affairs lies in the fact that very little effort is made to encourage cross-cultural exchange and mutual understanding on behalf of authorities and the media on both sides. It is no exaggeration to assert that for the present-day ordinary Japanese, Africa is regarded merely as a faraway and dangerous place where black people fight with each other, leaving behind a deplorable plight of human casualties and the like. The image of a desperate Africa in dire need of

assistance is straightforwardly stressed at every occasion when it comes to talks or events about Africa.

On the contrary, in Japan, very thin attention is given to valuable and grounded research on African societies and realities earnestly made available by credible and reliable Japanese scholars. In Africa, on the other hand, literally no effort is made to show a different Japan than that of a “cash dispenser.” Will “money without people” make the valuable contribution of Japan to peace-building and development in Africa come to fruition? The aggressive involvement of people from countries such as China or South Korea in Africa, with all the discrepancies and friction this might be doomed to bring about, is likely to bear greater and more palatable fruits in the long run!

According to Atsushi Yoshida, the total number of violent conflicts has actually declined since 2000, while deadly assaults against civilians have worsened and the total number of refugees has risen. In contrast to current debates on fragile states, he proposes the approach of external economic risk factors for the causes of armed conflict/instability. According to the resource wars argument, it is suggested that the role played by natural resources depends largely on their lootability—that is, whether resources can be easily appropriated by individuals or small groups of unskilled workers—or whether they are unlootable resources.

Using uranium mining in Niger and nickel and cobalt mining in Madagascar as case studies, his report examines the external risk of conflict/instability. In the case of Niger, uranium mining by French and Japanese nuclear companies poses a serious threat to the environment and people, and has caused Tuareg-led insurgencies in northern Niger. In the case of Madagascar, mining and other development projects have also recently brought about political instability. Political tensions between President Marc Ravalomanana and Andry Rajoelina, the former mayor of the capital city, escalated in early 2009. Yoshida pointed out that internal and external inequalities regarding the distribution of mineral resource income can increase the risk that a country

will experience conflict/instability.

Jun Morikawa showed that the pre-15th century African world was characterized by a rich diversity, self-sustainability and mutual dependencies. Based on these factors, Africa was somehow able to maintain its external independence. However, these strong points were severely damaged from the 15th century onward for the following reasons: the slave trade, widespread and intensive colonial domination by the Western European powers from the latter part of the 19th century and integration into the world capitalist system.

In other words, the African world lost its basis of diversity and its ability to sustain (or self-generate) political, social and economic systems. As a result, Africa was thrown into a vertical interdependency with outside forces, especially the Western powers. Various forms of resistance were undertaken by the African side in the course of this long historical process with both encouraging and discouraging results. Such processes can be observed even now.

Morikawa commented with respect to Lukebana Toko’s presentation, especially the section on Globalization and Africa, that it is necessary to include more analysis on the effects of China’s involvement in Africa. As for Yoshida’s presentation, Morikawa asked him how, from an environmental standpoint, an economic growth-centered development strategy would affect resource depletion issues and already heavily damaged African eco-systems.



A panel

PSAJ Spring Conference / Session IV

In Pursuit of Transnational Social Justice: Its Philosophy and Practice

OSHIMURA Takashi

PSAJ Member

Aoyama Gakuin University

It is commonly assumed that global peace, if we wish it to be sustainable, should be founded on a just global order. This session was devoted to discussing a global dimension of the social justice and ethical responsibilities of people in advanced countries.

The presentation given by Yasuhiko Ito (Nagoya City University) focused on the “philosophy of transnational social justice.” Ito argued that since the global market gives a relatively free hand to capital, the need is growing for the conceiving of some institutional device aimed at the regulation of global market power, as well as globally organized developmental aid to impoverished people, viewed as a negative product in the marketization process of undeveloped countries.

Recently, theorists have emerged who claim that justice dictates that the rich transfer their wealth to disfavored people. Ito, making close reference to these theories, concluded that responsibility is to be attributed mainly to beneficiaries of the globalizing economy. Ito also explored some cosmopolitan institutional designs for the eradication of poverty.

Takehiko Uemura (Yokohama City University), the second speaker, talked on the topic of “financial transaction tax as global governance.” Despite the lack of resources in addressing global issues such as sustainable development, environmental protection and eradication of poverty, huge funds, as Uemura pointed out, may be available to compensate for

this lack by introducing worldwide taxation.

Uemura examined some taxation proposals put forth by J. Tobin, P. B. Spahn, and S. Schulmeister. By taking a critical look at their feasibility, Uemura suggested that a solidarity tax, when globally practiced, may serve as effective means for raising considerable funds to tackle global issues, but vital questions remain as to what items solidarity tax is imposed on, how tax revenues are to be democratically distributed, and how to persuade uncooperative superpowers to come to the negotiating table.

In her presentation on the “pursuit of transnational social justice: a decade of the World Social Forum,” the third speaker Satoko Mori (Meisei University) illustrated the character of the World Social Forum of 2011 in Dakar, and analytically commented on its declaratory claim of alter-globalization as the forum’s output.

Focusing on the climate justice movements, Mori elaborated on a newly formulated concept of climate debt and the responsibility for indemnity with respect to past environmental degradation. The movements, as Mori argued, may have great potentiality in providing a better insight into climate change problems, in view of breaking through the impasse of the post-Kyoto protocol and the COP16 negotiations.

In the questions and answers session, related issues raised included the volatile nature of the market, the superpowers’ negative stance in building multilateral governance, and state sovereignty constituting a hindrance to global justice. The discussion as a whole turned out to be animated and substantial.



A panel

PSAJ Spring Conference /
Host University Symposium

New Ideas of “Security” in East Asia: On the Proposed Program of the Host University

SASAKI Hiroshi

PSAJ Director

Niigata University of International and
Information Studies

As host university, we proposed and prepared one sectional meeting on the new image and possibility for “security” in East Asia. Our university was established 1993 with the idea of cultivating people who can respond to the needs of globalization and can create a world of “co-existence” and “peace,” especially in the region. In this sense, the topic of the meeting, “The Conditions for <Co-existence> in East Asia: Transformations of the Concept of ‘Security’” is also the theme that we have been investigating since our founding. We invited six prominent scholars in the field, Shoichi Koseki (Dokkyo University), Cary Karacas (City University of New York), Tetsuo Maeda (Tokyo International University), Seiichi Igarashi (Chiba University), Kenichi Nakamura (Hokkaido University) and Akio Igarashi (Rikkyo University) and were able to engage in an extremely fruitful discussion.

From the beginning, the traditional approach to international politics has recognized that the concept of security does in fact contain substantial diversity, but major scholars in the fields of international relations and international politics have quite strongly resisted incorporating this into their research for fear that it would obscure their analysis. In contrast to this limited approach to the study of security, however, in recent years new approaches have emerged, such as “human security,” and are even influencing the creation of actual policies. As a result, many

discussions on security have begun to take place, going so far as to even address the fundamental question of “how to define the essence of security.”* Generally speaking, when the meaning of a particular “concept” in the social sciences starts to dissolve into particulars, it not only means that the scope of research has become extended, it also implies changes in conventional thinking, methods of observation and finding connections, and the understanding of global phenomena.

The concept of “security” is a historical construct that has been formed over an extremely long period of time and human experience, as Koseki mentioned at the outset of the sectional meeting. It can be considered a cultural conception derived over the course of the development of international politics. If that is the case, treating the concept of security in isolation and simply comparing its traditional underpinnings with newly emerging ideas is unlikely to result in an adequate analysis of the transformation the security concept is undergoing. Rather, the problem of “security” should be understood in the larger historical context of the formation of the modern international system. Thus, if the traditional concept of security is undergoing a fundamental shift, that can only mean that a debate must take place about how the modern international political system itself is experiencing changes.

But as many observers have insisted, the region of East Asia is still characterized as one with strong nation-state structures, national conflicts and nationalism even after the Cold War. In addition, bilateral security treaties between the US government and the individual East Asian countries have been reinforced to protect against the “potential threats” of China and North Korea, and militarization has been accelerated in the region. In this sense, we could say the modern international system remains stable in the region and the traditional concept of “security” is close to being perfectly adequate for analyzing the region’s security situation.

However, in the face of 20th century experiences with global war, innumerable air raids and the military use of nuclear weapons technology, as Karakas argued,



Host University Symposium

the logic of “security,” which is a project of modern times, is gradually but unmistakably falling apart. Normally, when the problem of “security” is discussed, the starting point is to examine fundamental propositions such as “who” is protecting “what” against “whom” for “what reason” and in “what manner.” Yet, as globalization has proceeded and various social relations have begun to link up by transcending boundaries, a number of contradictions and conflicts have emerged, mainly throughout the 20th century, that undermine an understanding of the actual subjects and objects of security. And there are no exceptions to this in East Asia.

In simple terms, the basic notion that “security = national security” elevates the state to the status of sole protector of the citizens of the nation from external threat, mainly by employing military measures. However, this notion is not as self-evident as it once was. First, even just considering the problem of security “against what,” not only do “terrorism,” cybercrime, economic crises, drug trafficking, environmental degradation and fleeing refugees represent the diversification of security problems, but they also erode accepted notions of what constitutes threats within and beyond national borders. Second, the problem of “who” protects “what,” the subject and object of security, has led to some radical reconsiderations of the state in recent years. The fundamental question now being posed by some is: “Does the state offer genuine protection to its citizens?”

For instance, it is quite obvious that the “human security” of the inhabitants of Okinawa has been

frequently sacrificed to meet the “national security” demands of the Japanese and US governments. The US-Japan security relationship, therefore, constantly provokes in Okinawa a fundamental question: who benefits from this security? Furthermore, it is only natural that Okinawans go on to ask another basic question, which is “whether the state is really protecting its citizens” given that more than 70% of US military facilities in Japan are concentrated in Okinawa, which represents only about 0.6% of the entire land mass of Japan. The usual logic of “security,” which relies on such terms as the “state” and “protecting the citizenry,” is sharply at odds with the “human security” of the Okinawa people. As is well known, ever since defeat in World War II, Japan has had an uneven relationship with the US with respect to the issue of security. The problem is that the contradictions of this relationship have been transferred to Okinawa, which lies on the periphery of the region.

Following the end of the Cold War, according to the analysis of Maeda, Japanese “security” policy (which includes the treatment of Okinawa) has been redefined within the parameters of the US-Japan Security Treaty to occupy a more prominent position in the US global strategy. Since the 9-11 terrorist attacks, Japan has moved even closer to the US, becoming an aggressive supporter of the Bush administration’s “war on terrorism.” However, the basic relationship between the central Japanese government and Okinawa has remained unchanged. Since 1972 (when the US returned control of Okinawa to Japan), the structural contradictions of the “Okinawa Problem” have consistently been papered over by economic issues, namely, subsidies and regional development. Okinawa has consistently been forced to choose between “bases or money,” a choice that has aggravated divisions within the island. Throughout this whole period, the Japanese government has dealt with this unprincipled “security” arrangement by throwing money at it: on the one hand, creating a “sympathy budget” of funds paid to the US military; on the other, paying financial subsidies to Okinawa.

In a similar manner to the Okinawa problem, the case of the Fukushima nuclear power plant (3-

11) entails a complex problem that cannot simply be reduced to a conflict between an electric power company and local citizens. Just as with the siting of US military bases in Okinawa, the risks associated with nuclear power development are pushed to the periphery. The Japanese government, a part of the international atomic regime, has built its nuclear power plants in peripheral Fukushima, located well away from the national capital, again because of an underlying asymmetrical power relationship between the central and local governments.

In this way, a rather large gap has opened up between peace studies (critical theory), which does not assign a privileged status to the state, and the field of security studies as it exists today. As globalization proceeds, the field of security studies, like other social sciences, is facing the need to reconsider the world view and assumptions upon which it is based. As a project of modern times, "security" is undergoing a slow but steady transformation. The risks and threats that are the objects of "security" are not only increasing in number, they are developing in ways that cut across national borders. Consequently, in the determination of the subject and object of "security," many problems have emerged which the traditional state-centric approach is simply incapable of analyzing. Examples include the problems that stem from military bases and nuclear power plants, but there are many more.

In addition to this, however, a more important and highly normative problem exists: how should the problem of multilayered "security" be reconstructed? In order to answer this question we must pay attention to the role of the new regional actor, Transnational Civil Society (TCS), as Igarashi has proposed. An attempt to reexamine the concept of "security" contains political and practical implications. In considering the subject of "security," a large difference exists between the traditional "national security" and the "human security" viewpoints. The former is of course mostly concerned with the state, while the latter has a more diversified and expansive set of concerns that encompass international organizations, corporations, non-governmental organizations

(NGOs), and individuals, not to mention the state itself. The subject addressed by "human security" is, at least in theory, every human being on the face of the earth.

Lastly, in a region such as East Asia, however, the problem is how to proceed with the formation of a "security community." As the culture, history and political traditions of Europe are completely different, East Asia will have to repeatedly conduct its own experiments with security creation. The only certain conclusion that can be drawn is that new research into security can only function as "reflective social science" by accepting the reality of a process of repeated trial and error and by adjusting thinking in accordance with the results produced from this process.

*See Ole Waever, "Secritization and Desecuritization" in Ronnie D. Lipschutz, ed., *On Security*, Columbia University Press, 1995.

PSAJ Members' Activities

2011 Peace Research Seminar of the International Peace Research Association

KODAMA Katsuya

PSAJ Member

Mie University

The 2011 Peace Research Seminar of the International Peace Research Association was held at "WINK Aichi" in Nagoya on March 18, 2011. This seminar was intended to give young researchers opportunities to give presentations and to improve the quality of their research. What is more, it became an excellent meeting place between young peace researchers.

With the participation of the Secretary General

of IPRA, Prof. Katsuya Kodama, the seminar attracted 20 participants and eight well-prepared paper presentations were given. About 50 minutes are allocated for each presentation and following discussion. We had very lively discussions for each presentation.

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

OTANI Kyo (Waseda University) "Opportunity of Education after Approval as Refugee – The Current Situation and Problems in Japan"

SUZUKI Wataru (Hitotsubashi University) "Journalists at the Battle Front' in China during the Japan-China War – A Study on the Wartime Newspaper Association in Zhejiang"

SAKAI Tomomi (Osaka Jogakuin College) "Nuclear Disarmament through the Non-violence of Gandhi"

KINJYO Miyuki (Ritsumeikan University) "Conflicts of Memory in Israel – On the Massacre of Dayr Yāsīn"

OGIWARA Takeshi (Tokyo University) "Normative Clashes of 'International Peace' and 'Domestic Peace,' and the Methods of Coordinating Them"

MIYAZAKI Hiroshi (Ryukoku University) "Citizen's Movement and the Public Sphere – From the Example of Okinawa Takae"

IWAKI Hideki (Soka University) "From Coexistence to Conflict – Transformation of the Osman Empire at the Beginning of the 20th Century and the Origin of the 'Middle East Problem'"

NAKA Norio (Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin College) "Education for Conflict Resolution in Japan and the Cooperation-Complement-Fusion of Peace Research and Education"

PSAJ Members' Activities

Chubu-Hokuriku (Central Japan) Re- gional Study Forum

SATAKE Masaaki

PSAJ Member, Study Forum Coordinator

Nagoya Gakuin University

As a preliminary session to the 2011 Spring Conference of the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ), a Chubu-Hokuriku (Central Japan) Regional Study Forum was held at Niigata University of International and Information Studies (NUIS) on June 3, 2011.

With the participation of approximately 30 scholars, graduate students and citizens, including the PSAJ President Atsushi Ishida, the forum was a great success in encouraging young promising presenters to engage in further study and in stimulating academic and relevant discussions on peace studies.

The program, which started at 1 p.m. and lasted until past 6 p.m., was as follows:

Session I

KARACAS Cary (New York City University): Digital Archive on the World War II Air Raids on Japan.

Comment and Presentation by MAEDA Tetsuo (Okinawa University): Reflection on Strategic Bombing: The Case of Chongqing, China, Air Raids by the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II.

Karacas spoke about his ongoing project at JapanAirRaids.org, which is a web-based digital archive dedicated to the international dissemination of information about World War II air raids against Japan. He elaborated on the significance of disseminating information and forming a network on the issue, especially among Japanese and U.S. scholars and citizens.

After praising the rigorous effort of Karakas, Maeda

spoke about the legal case against the Japanese Government in relation to the defunct Imperial Japanese Army, which conducted air raids against Chongqing, China, from 1938 to 1941, killing approximately 11,899 Chinese people. During the period, the Japanese forces also conducted air-raids against Chengdu and other towns in Sichuan Province, killing 30,136 Chinese citizens. A total of 224 plaintiffs from Chongqing and other affected towns have filed four legal cases against the Japanese government since 2006 and the trial has been ongoing at the Tokyo District Court. The air raids preceded indiscriminate bombings by warring countries in WWII and caused tremendous destruction in China. Hence, he claims, the Japanese government should make a formal apology and pay compensation.

Session II

NIITSU Atsuko (Tokyo University): Art for Liberation and Salvation—The Mural Movement of Mexican Migrants in the United States

Comment: GONOI Ikuo (Rikkyo University)

Based on field research in the U.S., Niitsu analyzed the Mural Movement of Mexican Migrants in terms of their clamor for liberation and salvation as a marginalized minority.

Gonoi commented that such a movement could turn out to be exclusive to Mexican migrants and that the migrants should explore ways to unite with other minority groups. He then asked what kind of response the movement has been receiving from other minority groups. To this, Niitsu replied that the Mural Movement has widened its scope to include issues of the identity of other minority groups, such as Afro-Americans.

Session III

UMEZAWA Hanako (United Nations University, Comparative Regional Integration Studies): The UN-EU Cooperation in Peace and Security: Conceptual and Historical Development

Comment: KODAMA Katsuya (Mie University)

Umezawa dealt with the cooperation between the United Nations and European Union in terms of peace

and security issues, especially after the Kosovo crisis in the late 1990s. Kodama commented that it is necessary to investigate further the reason why the EU and UN began to cooperate and also elucidate the differences between the UN-EU collaboration and the Japan-UN cooperation.

Session IV

CARLOS Ochante (International Pacific University): The Challenge of Language Learning: The Cases of Japanese Descendant Children from Latin America in Japan

Comment: WAKATSUKI Akira (University of Niigata Prefecture)

Carlos, himself a Japanese Peruvian, tackled the issue of the language learning of Japanese descendant children who have migrated to Japan with their parents from Latin American countries such as Brazil and Peru. This is a relevant study as Japan has accommodated a large number of foreign migrants and now has increasing multiracial aspects. He explored solutions by which migrant children will become bilingually fluent in their mother tongue, such as Portuguese or Spanish, and Japanese, the language of the host society.

Wakatsuki, head of the Niigata Foreign Citizen Council, reiterated the significance of support systems for children of migrants to ensure that they will not be isolated in society. He also pointed out that Japan now faces the challenge of becoming a multicultural society where the rights of migrants must be respected.

All sessions were chaired by Masaaki Satake.



The Chubu-Hokuriku (Central Japan) Regional Study Forum

Citizens Can Make Peace: A conference in Osaka brings together civic groups on conflict

MATSUNO Akihisa

PSAJ Member

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

Behind high-level diplomatic conferences and secret back-track negotiations, civic movements can also play a crucial role in conflict resolution processes. Once labeled as “noise,” something that could harm the “rational” judgments of policy makers, public opinion is now increasingly important, not only in the upholding of justice, but also in the breaking of deadlocks that formal institutions often fail to resolve. This was the conclusion of a conference in Osaka on July 23, 2011.

The conference on Citizens and Diplomacy: What civic movements can do for the resolution of conflicts of the world, held to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Osaka East Timor Association (OETA), brought together activists on Western Sahara, Palestine, West Papua and East Timor to explore the possibilities of civic movements in the resolution of conflicts.

Civic movements played a key role in turning the sympathies of world public opinion toward the East Timorese. Kiyoko Furusawa told the conference that solidarity groups in Japan invited East Timorese speakers every year, collaborated with parliamentarians to press the government, and participated in international fora including the UN. They helped establish the International Federation for East Timor or IFET, which in 1999 sent the largest international monitoring delegation to the UN organized referendum. Working together with Indonesian pro-democracy activists was also very important. Furusawa said that when they exposed the Indonesian military’s atrocities in

East Timor they were always aware that the Japanese military had committed similar actions there during the Pacific War. Now the groups are working on the issue of sexual slavery under Japanese military occupation.

West Papua is little known in Japan. However, Akihisa Matsuno reported that there are solidarity groups in Australia, US and European countries. While most world governments are silent on the issue for economic and diplomatic reasons it is civic movements that are creating new arguments to break up the feelings of fait accompli. Civic movements also can function as an alternative media since the mainstream media ignores the issue.

On Western Sahara, Toshiyuki Takabayashi said that resource exploitation is an increasingly hot issue, especially in Europe. Western Sahara is abundant in phosphorus and marine resources (fish, octopus) and these are taken away under Moroccan occupation. Citizens should criticize such unethical economic activities and the government’s diplomatic complicity.

Boycott can be an effective action. Aisa Kiyosue told the conference that Palestine solidarity groups had succeeded in preventing Muji from opening shops in Israel. Now solidarity groups are calling for a boycott of Sanrio goods such as Hello Kitty because Sanrio opened a shop in Israel. Kiyosue also said that although Palestinians have often been seen as “guerrillas” or “terrorists” they have a long tradition of non-violent resistance. Her group supported one such movement in the Jordan Valley. Palestinian farmers are literally struggling to stay there under the slogan “to exist is to resist,” despite persistent pressure on them from the Israelis to abandon the land.

Recent popular uprisings in North Africa and Middle East show that people’s power broke up the chains that formal political institutions failed to remove. Kiyosue said that at the bottom of people’s frustration lies disappointment with their governments’ attitudes towards the Palestinians. Now the governments may change their positions

towards Israel. Takabayashi said that the Arab spring should also bring hopes for Western Sahara. The support of African and Latin American countries for the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, pressure by civic movements in industrialized countries and the Saharawi people's struggle can together lead to a genuine resolution of the conflict. The good news is that South Sudan, upon independence, immediately recognized Western Sahara.

In the case of East Timor, it was a group from the democratized Philippines that brought together civic movements in the Asia-Pacific region to create more effective pressure on the Suharto dictatorship. Working together with pro-democracy forces in Africa and Middle East will be a key in the future.



*Mr. Takabayashi talking about Western Sahara.
(Photo by Akira Yanagimoto)*

Reports from NGOs Working for Peace - 02

The Struggle of the Island People of Iwaishima against the Kaminoseki Nuclear Power Plant and their Outlook for the Future

Association of the Island People of Iwaishima

Iwaishima is a small, heart-shaped island of 12 kilometers in circumference, floating in Japan's

Inland Sea roughly 4 km across the water from the proposed site for Kaminoseki Nuclear Power Plant. The island is home to just under 500 people, who make their living mainly from agriculture and fishing.

Almost three decades have passed since the nuclear power plant (NPP) project first surfaced, but roughly 90 percent of the island's residents have consistently opposed it from the beginning, continuing to carry out the struggle in a variety of different ways.

Firstly, they have attempted to promote joint ownership of the land at the proposed site on the far bank, where even today the site of the proposed NPP is small and spotted with areas not owned by the power company. Even in the construction area there is land and a large log house owned by people opposing the plant. As seen by the fact that the fishermen have consistently refused compensation totaling about 1,080 million yen for lost fishing grounds, the Iwaishima people's struggle against the NPP is continuing on the basis of the strength to secure the island as a community, and the strong solidarity of the residents.

The main reasons why the whole community of this island has come to oppose the NPP are, firstly, that the proposed site of the NPP lies directly across the sea from the island's main settlement. The islanders are thus furious, because the NPP would completely change their way of life, which up to now has been surrounded only by views of nature, and because it would force them to have no option but to be confronted with the mammoth



Kaminoseki viewed from Iwaishima Island

edifice of the NPP both day and night. Secondly, it should be mentioned that there are many people on the island who are repulsed by radiation, symbolized by the NPP, such as those who have had experience of radiation exposures as migrant laborers working inside NPPs, and also the quite large number of Hiroshima hibakusha, those who were exposed to radiation from the dropping of the atomic bomb, and their families. Thirdly, the sea in the vicinity of the proposed NPP is an important fishing ground for the island's main industry, fishing. The catches are sold on the market in Hiroshima, and there are large numbers of visitors who come from the Hiroshima area for whom the Iwaishima islanders provide recreational fishing boats. However, the fishermen are beginning to feel a sense of crisis for their livelihoods due to the antipathy toward the nuclear facility that has been communicated to them by these customers in no uncertain terms. Fourthly, as an island, while the people are anxious about the evacuation plan in the event of a nuclear accident, they have been unable to obtain a sincere response concerning this from the power company.

Furthermore, the reason why the people have been able to continue to carry out their unbending non-violent resistance activities over a long period is the anger over the fact that the Chugoku Power Company and the pro-nuke lobby, the ten percent of the island's population who were at the time the island's "big shots," had already joined hands at an early stage to betray the 90 percent of the island's ordinary people. From the time the nuclear power plant project arose right up to the present day, the people of the island have been forced to experience down to the bottom of their souls the methods of the Chugoku Power Company, which attempts to "buy up people with money," and the abhorrent state of the pro-nuke lobby, who "will sell their souls for cash."

In the first two to three years of the movement, the members of "Aikyo Isshin-kai (the Association of the Island People of Iwaishima)" dedicated the whole of their daily life to opposition activities.



A "No Nukes" sign at the port

However, when they realized that the movement would continue in the long-term, they decided to put priority on their work first in order to secure the livelihoods of the members and create a degree of mental strength that would ensure long-term commitment to the movement. Following this, there was also a change towards each person doing the best they could to get involved in the opposition movement. This was because it would, of course, be defeating their original purpose if they succeeded in stopping the nuclear power plant but destroyed their island home and their livelihoods in the process.

For this reason, as well as direct action against the actual nuclear power plant project, work was begun to activate the island so that it would not have to depend upon money from the nuclear power plant. As well as the processing and sale of agricultural and fisheries products and repeated exchanges with urban residents, the "Kamimai" (God Dance), the pride of the island's people, a sea-crossing festival with a history of well over a thousand years, was revived after an interruption of some years due to the struggle against the nuclear power plant. The unique stone culture of the island, including the stone walls of the settlement, known as *neri hei* and the "Taira stone-walled terraced paddy fields" and other historic cultural sites were excavated, and efforts to preserve them were carried out. This all helped to gain outside attention for the island, and visitors to the island are increasing. Recently, restaurants and cafés opened by people who have come from

the mainland to settle on the island or by local people returning from the mainland have begun to create a new atmosphere of dynamism on the island.

Moreover, Iwaishima has been no exception to the wave of depopulation and ageing symbolic of isolated areas and islands in Japan, and the shortage of young people to carry on agriculture and fishing has become increasingly serious. At the same time, however, new projects are proceeding, such as the practice of sustainable agriculture involving the pasturing of pigs by the local people returning from the mainland, and the drawing up of ecological conservation regulations by the residents' association, which does not wish to see the rampant introduction of exotic species that might destroy the island's ecology. A new trend has also begun with the young urban people who visit the island to help out the locals in the form of agriculture and fishing experiences.

Based on these various practical, productive and cultural activities on the island thus far, and in order to further promote the vitality of the island and develop greater underlying strength, several projects, including energy projects, have been initiated to seek greater independence of the island from the outside.

Firstly, in order to proceed with the "Iwaishima 100% Renewable Energy Project," a general incorporated association, the "Iwaishima Thousand-Year Island Development Fund" was set up. For



*Taira stone-walled terraced paddy fields,
built only by human hands*

the time being the plan is to work towards securing necessary electric power for the island from solar generation while considering the introduction of various other sustainable forms of renewable energy. In addition, to push the development of the island one step further forward, as well as working to create new employment in the food, ecotourism and art businesses, and strengthen cooperation with urban residents, the island is also aiming to resolve daily life issues of the island such as senior citizen nursing care.

From the beginning, the island people were prepared for the fact that carrying out these activities might be difficult, but following the 11 March East Japan Earthquake Disaster and the horrendous state of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station accident, confronted with the reality of an unending nuclear accident, the island people have gradually been able to gain more understanding from people outside for their struggles and forward-looking activities, and are pushing forward their plans in each field. Moreover, while the numbers are still small, whole families have been immigrating onto the island, and some of these have become "helpers" for the island's aging population.

Each of the island's people, taking advantage of their various talents while showing mutual respect for each other, lives as the master of his or her own destiny. This is indeed the reason why they have been able to carry on the struggle together over so many years, and is also the reason why they will be able to go forward to find their own vision of the future of their island.

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(January 2010 – December 2011)

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Back numbers of our English Newsletter have been converted to PDF files in step with our efforts to upgrade the Peace Studies Association of Japan website. All the back numbers of the newsletter from issues No.1 (May 1979) to No.29 (October 2010) are now available on our English pages at << <http://www.psj.org/modules/news3/> >>. Publication of the paper version of the newsletter will end with issue No.30, and the transition to publication of the electronic version will begin from issue No.31. We hope that this will not inconvenience you in any way and that you will continue to find the PSAJ Newsletter of interest.

Satoko Mori
Chairperson, Overseas Committee