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The Meaning of the Japanese Peace Constitution for Our Day

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Preface

In general our day is characterized by the Post Cold War Regime. After the event in the Gulf, it has become clear to contribute to the international peace order means to obey the orders of the strong powers. From my point of view this is not correct. We have to find a new point of view from which to analyze the world situation.

International efforts to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait using economic sanctions should have been continued. Big powers decided the time limit for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and the US military forces combined with forces from other countries were used under the pretense of international justice with very little criticism from the USSR, China, and other nonaligned nations. The combined forces could use their military force freely. The Japanese government paid a sum of 130 billion dollars to support the military activities of the international forces. I do not feel that Iraq should have attacked Kuwait, but neither do I support the use of military force to solve prob-

lems such as this. Saddam Hussein was supported by the American government and other nations until he attacked Kuwait. The day after he attacked Kuwait, he was considered a modern Hitler. This was not fair. The leaders who had supported him before he attacked Kuwait should have felt responsibility for having supported him.

We are now living in a special time to analyze the world situation and to understand the meaning of having and using military forces. We should have a new point of view from which to understand the meaning of having and using military forces in connection with national power and order. We are living in a time of great change. The Japanese government especially is looking for a reason to use their military forces abroad even though they are forbidden to do so under their Peace Constitution.

I would like to give a new point of view from which to analyze the new world situation. The Japanese Peace Constitution does not allow for any military force under the control of the government. This policy of pacifism has great meaning in our day.

I. The Character of Our Day — “Throwaway” People

The people who stress the necessity for rearmament of Japan to defend itself against military invasion are having difficulty justifying having the Self-Defense Force especially since the Malta Meeting. Day by day it is becoming more difficult to justify holding military forces because an invasion of Japan or nations like it is not likely to occur. However, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is being used to support the need for the Self-Defense Force in Japan. Recently Japanese leaders emphasize the need for Japan to become more active in the UN peace activities. This is just another way to justify the holding of military forces. Japan is already taking responsibility in the area of non-military activities by helping with economic support of the UN activities. Many conservative leaders in Japan complain that Japan only pays money but does not use human participation. Although criticism in this area also comes from abroad, the Japanese government emphasizes it in order to support its desire to use military forces abroad.

If Japan had organized the necessary organizations which could function to take responsibility in peace keeping abroad excluding the Self-Defense Force, it could have greatly contributed to the peace effort, but the Japanese government failed to do so because they gave priority to working toward using the Self-Defense Force abroad. At the same time, they hope to justify holding the Self-Defense Force as a necessary tool for keeping world peace.

Our day is characterized by the Highly Advanced Scientific Technological Industrial Commodities Production System, hereafter referred to as the HASTIC Production system. The HASTIC Production System has spread all over the world. This HASTIC Production System is changing the world situation by changing the meaning of scientific technology, and the use of natural and human resources. Scientific technology; natural resources, and human resources have value only in relation to the HASTIC Production System.

The HASTIC Production System changes social relationships and fundamental living

conditions for all people. Being connected to this HASTIC Production System gives rise to many conflicts and much unfairness. This Production System rapidly changes market conditions. All people are put into an international market system. Bananas and shrimp produced in the Philippines become a world market commodity once they have contact with this HASTIC Production System. The same can be said about the wood of Siberia, tourism in the Micronesian Islands and the Sudan in Africa, etc. They were virtually unknown until they became part of this HASTIC Production System.

An Asian youth educated in Japan can use his skills in Africa or Arabia in connection with the HASTIC Production System. In this way, once the system spreads, the national powers which controlled people's actions formerly are losing their power and people's lives are becoming more internationalized. The acceptance of the HASTIC Production System brought about “perestroika” in the Soviet Union, modernization in China, and democratization in “Eastern” Europe. It also brought down the wall between the east and west thus ending the Cold War.

The lessening of the function of national powers brought about fragmentation of various nations including the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The character of these independence movements today is not the same as the character of those which occurred between the French Revolution and the late 1980's. Former independence movements were to establish national independence. Presently, movements are not to establish independence. They are not trying to establish their own market. Instead they are trying to educate their children in their mother tongue to fit into the HASTIC Production System. The market of Slovenia in Yugoslavia is not wide enough to support its high standard of living. It has to be connected with the world market. The Baltic States too must be connected with the world market to survive.

The general spread of the HASTIC Production System is changing the conditions of underdeveloped nations and Eastern European nations. The introduction of the

HASTIC Production System is breaking down the basis of people's livelihood. For example, the opening of McDonalds in the socialist nations puts many small restaurants out of business as people flock to fast food McDonalds which operate under the HASTIC Production System. Small stores do not have the technology and capital to keep the products fresh as long so they are forced to close while the large stores and restaurants connected with the HASTIC Production System take over. In this way, people all over the world are becoming unemployed, or have unstable jobs. Many are forced to become illegal foreign laborers due to this system. I use the new term "throw-away" people because this is a new concept. They are not people who have escaped for political, religious, or racial reasons as people in the past have done. Instead they are produced by the introduction of the HASTIC Production System. This system treats people like things which it throws away when they no longer fill a function in the system. Part-time workers, illegal aliens, legal foreign workers, seasonal laborers, piecemeal workers, and peo-

ple on social welfare are all produced by this system.

The acceptance of the HASTIC Production System causes additional problems in the underdeveloped nations. All nations have to change their social structure to make them compatible with the HASTIC Production System. This includes introducing computer systems, modern means of communication and transportation, etc. They must also change their educational systems to train the labor force to work in the HASTIC Production System. If this is not accomplished, there will be no one who can maintain and use the equipment. In order to adapt, much capital is necessary, and many nations especially underdeveloped nations must borrow huge sums of money. They have to pay lots of interest on this borrowed money. The underdeveloped nations then fall deeply into debt. Thus, their labor force and natural resources lose their value especially in relation to the international money exchange rate system. Many people of these nations become "throwaway" people.

**XIVth Biannual General Conference of
International Peace Research Association
(IPRA)**

Kyoto Japan 27-31 July 1992

Conference Theme: Challenges of a Changing Global Order
Place: Kyoto International Conference Hall
Ritsumeikan University

The International Peace Research Association and the Japan Organizing Committee of the Kyoto Conference are pleased to invite you to attend the XIVth General Conference of IPRA, Kyoto, Japan, 27-31 July, 1992. The Conference Commissions will be based on the IPRA's Commissions and Study Groups. Those who wish to present a paper at the conference are suggested to contact Conveners of IPRA's Commissions and Study Groups. More detailed information on Kyoto conference, such as the registration, conference fee, program schedule, etc., can be found in the October (1991) issue and the January (1992) issue of IPRA Newsletter. For further information, please contact Prof. Paul Smoker, Antioch College, Yellow Spring, Ohio 45387 USA, fax: +1-513-767-1891.

Paul SMOKER Secretary General of IPRA
Tadashi KAWATA Japan Organizing Committee Chair
Sakio TAKAYANAGI President of the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ)

II. The Meaning of Armament in Our Day

The spread of the HASTIC Production System minimized the chance of one nation occupying another using military forces. The conflicts occurring in the local areas can be solved using the police force so military forces have lost their basic function. Of course we can see the situation in which Iraq occupied Kuwait, but in that case Iraq had such a big military force supported by western powers and Kuwait had a very small military force. It was really a local problem and there was no necessity to use military forces but Hussein felt he could gain control of all the oil rich Arab area. He felt that the western powers would not use military force against him and in essence they had said that they would not. Hussein planned to negotiate and later withdraw, but the western powers took action before he had a chance to carry out his plan.

As long as we allow the holding of military forces, this type of problem will recur because if political leaders have military forces they will use them. If a nation does not have a military force at all, leaders who do will not be allowed to attack the unarmed nation.

Unfortunately military forces have grown up as a huge bureaucratic organization requiring a huge budget to purchase equipment and support and train military personnel. The military has made many other groups dependent upon it so any efforts to reduce the military are strongly opposed because they will cause a large loss of capital and unemployment. The unemployed are not trained for any other job. The USSR's coup d'etat in 1991 is a typical case in which the military economic complex took action against the government's move toward lessening the military forces. It became very clear in the USSR coup d'etat that military forces were not to help the people but to support the central governmental power. So once there was some conflict between the masses of people and those who held political power, the military forces could be used against the people. Sometimes when the people's opinions are very strong against those who hold governmental power, it is difficult to use the military forces against the people, but

this rarely occurs. In other words, usually the government can use the military forces against the people.

In our day the task of disarmament has become a fundamental task for the people because there is no need to have a military force. A big part of the budget is being wasted as well as many natural resources and much manpower to support military organizations which are no longer necessary. But the task of disarmament is one of the most difficult tasks to accomplish because the military is so intertwined with so many areas of people's lives.

In the history of Japan we have experienced disarmament twice and each time the social structure also changed dramatically. The first time Japan experienced disarmament was through the Meiji Revolution in 1868. All the *samurai* military forces were disbanded by the new government and they lost their social position. They were forced to become farmers, merchants, etc. so many of them escaped to the yet undeveloped northern part of Japan now known as Hokkaido. The second time was after World War II when Japan was disarmed by accepting the Potsdam Declaration and a new constitution was implemented. This new constitution forbade Japan to have a military force. Through this new constitution, Japan was freed from using energy and natural and human resources for building up the military. Therefore, the energy and natural and human resources could be used to develop the Japanese economy.

Presently in the USSR and other countries, some of the leaders are beginning to realize the importance of disarmament which would free resources to be used to develop the national economy, but unfortunately the huge established military forces resisted reducing the military forces.

III. The Importance of the Japanese Peace Constitution in Our Day

Through acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, Japan had to institute a new type of constitution which declares that Japan cannot and will not have a national military force. Although this new constitution would seem to make Japan a very weak nation, ironically it has enabled Japan to become a very strong

nation by freeing its natural resources and manpower so all its energy could be used to build a strong prosperous economy. In the preface of the new Japanese Constitution, hereafter referred to as the Japanese Peace Constitution, it declares that war was the result of actions taken by the government. To remove any possibility of the Japanese government starting another war, the Japanese Peace Constitution declares that Japan cannot hold a national military. In the Japanese Peace Constitution, it also declares that Japan as a nation does not have the right to use military forces abroad. This means the Japanese Peace Constitution makes Japan a new type of nation with no military forces under the control of the central governmental power. It is a new type of nation with a demilitarized central government.

Under the Japanese Peace Constitution, Japan is not allowed to hold any type of military force not even a self-defense force. The Japanese Self-Defense Force, which is in reality an armed force, is unconstitutional. This does not mean that Japan has no right to defend itself, but that it cannot defend itself using a military force. Most wars in the past have been started using military forces under the pretense of using them for self-defense. If a government has a standing military force, it can use the influence of the military force to promote its policies. As long as people organize a nation and try to keep social order and peace, they must organize some forces. Therefore, even under the Japanese Peace Constitution, Japan is permitted to have a police force. However, the Japanese right to self-defense should be limited to a police force. Abroad the Japanese government can use other types of self-defense such as economic sanctions, negotiations, foreign aid, cultural exchange, etc.

People will ask how to distinguish between a police force and a self-defense force. It is clear that the present Japanese Self-Defense Force cannot be considered a police force. A police force has no necessity to have tanks, bombers, and other military weapons.

The Japanese Peace Constitution forbids the government to use any military forces in cooperation with other nations within Japan or outside. The Peace Constitution requires the gov-

ernment to solve conflicts using peaceful means. The Japanese Peace Constitution leaves no room for assuming that the government will need to use military forces to solve international conflicts.

Under the present situation with a new social structure which is brought about by the HASTIC Production System, people all over the world are being thrown away. There is conflict in society in relation to these "throwaway" people. These people will resist beyond the national level sometimes through terrorism and violent organizations such as the Mafia and *yakuza* (Japanese gangs). They will organize the production and sale of drugs, prostitution, and organizations for illegal employment. Sometimes their resistance will include the use of very high technology including helicopters, high speed boats, various electronic equipment. Police forces will need to be developed using high-tech equipment in order to combat these groups.

In Japan today one of the biggest issues is whether or not the Self-Defense Force should participate in the UN peace keeping organization and forces. We need a Japanese organization to work with the UN in keeping peace, but it should have no relationship to the present Self-Defense Force. There should also be an organization which can help in the case of accidents and disasters such as airline crashes, volcanoes, earthquakes, famines, etc. but this organization too should be completely separate from the present Self-Defense Force. The reason why the government wants the Self-Defense Force to be involved in peace keeping, giving aid, etc. is to help justify spending huge sums of money and using natural and human resources to maintain the large bureaucratic Self-Defense Force. From the beginning the Self-Defense Force has had no legitimate function.

The new market conditions are changing very rapidly and the military forces are becoming the biggest unnecessary drain on national budgets. Therefore, disbandment of the military forces is one of the most important if not the most important task of our day. Since Japan is a disarmed nation, it will serve as an example for other nations as they strive to accomplish disarmament. As I see the world condition now, the ideal of the Japanese Peace

Constitution, making Japan a nation with no arms, has become the ideal for all nations.

In the case of the conflict in the Gulf, large nations used their combined military forces to punish Iraq. The Japanese government emphasized that we should not only contribute financially, but also send forces. From my point of view, Japan should form an organization to seek a peaceful means for settlement.

The Japanese Peace Constitution gives new rights to the Japanese people. People have the right to live in peace. No Japanese person is obligated to be trained to kill others through military training. All Japanese people can use their lives to promote peace as no one must take military training. At the same time the Japanese government needs to promote conditions which enable people to live in peace. By following the Japanese Peace Constitution strictly, the Japanese government would have no military force and would be able to look for policies that would maintain peaceful relations with other nations. Compared with other nations with militaries, the Japanese Peace Constitution gives Japan the opportunity to use natural and human resources more freely for peaceful development.

IV. The Problem of Maintaining Security in Our Day

We now recognize that many small national and racial groups are trying to form their own independent nations. Sometimes this leads to conflict using military weapons like in Yugoslavia, but these conflicts are not the same as wars in the past. These are local conflicts and will not lead to a world war. As long as other nations do not give military aid, they will not be long term.

In our day even small nations can be independent if they are connected with the HASTIC Production System. We can see small nations in northern and western Europe such as Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, and the Netherlands enjoying their independence. These nations are all connected with the HASTIC Production System. At the same time individuals can keep a secure high standard of living if they are connected with the HASTIC

Production System. Their security is founded in the national social welfare system and the benefits of their employers which are connected with the HASTIC Production System.

Unfortunately the spread of the HASTIC Production System is producing many "throwaway" people. Most of them move from place to place and their life is very insecure. They work under very difficult conditions for long hours and low wages. Some of them become homeless and their children become street children. Even the nations with good social welfare systems will not really help these "throwaway" people as their numbers increase. In northern European countries, they are refusing to accept foreign laborers unless they can fit into the HASTIC Production System. The breaking down of the so-called socialist nations causes many displaced people with no social security.

The spreading of the HASTIC Production System is producing "throwaway" people all over the world. Of course many of them can maintain a certain standard of living through working part-time, but fundamentally their standard of living is far below others and is very insecure. There are many reasons for social conflict. This social conflict cannot be solved by military force because the social conflict is caused by the gap between those who are employed by the HASTIC Production System and those who are thrown away. Neither can this conflict be solved only by using ordinary or secret police. Instead a special new type of security system must be organized to solve such problems as drug abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, antisocial activities by various groups including racial and religious groups, etc. This new type of security system must extend beyond national borders in some areas and yet be local in other areas. People who can have good conditions through their connection with the HASTIC Production System must pay for this new type of security system through taxes or special membership payments. Of course in the near future the task of helping the "throwaway" people keep some standard of living will be a world-wide task. In that case each nation will have to decrease their military budget in order to be able to support the "throwaway" people.

Conclusion

Due to the spread of the HASTIC Production System, there is one world market. There is no longer the probability of one nation occupying another using military force. The high level of military technology would lead to complete destruction of the human race. The problem of disarmament is a fundamental task of each nation. By accomplishing the task of disarmament, resources will be able to be used to develop the economy and help promote organizations which will help "throwaway" people thus maintaining security. I propose the establishment of a world-wide aid organization to support "throwaway" people funded with funds which were formerly budgeted to support the military.

The Japanese Peace Constitution will serve as a model for the political order without military forces thus freeing human and natural resources to establish a coexisting order of all

people. Unfortunately presently in September, 1991, the Japanese government and some right wing political leaders, as well as many Japanese people do not recognize the true significance of the Japanese Peace Constitution and are working toward not only enlarging the Japanese Self-Defense Force but also broadening its function to include using the Self-Defense Force abroad in UN peace keeping efforts. They complain that the Japanese Peace Constitution based on pacifism is not realistic. But in the near future, many in the world will come to realize the importance of the political regime of the Japanese Peace Constitution — that is a nation with no military forces — is indeed realistic with great possibilities for the realization of world peace. I hope that peace researchers around the world will realize the importance of the Japanese Peace Constitution and will support following it strictly in Japan while at the same time support using it as a model for other nations. ■

Ten Characteristics of the Post-Cold-War World

The war in the Persian Gulf, which broke out just as the world began settling into the security of the cold war's end, threw into sudden relief the nature of international politics in the post-cold-war era. Had peace prevailed, the characteristics of this new age would have become apparent gradually. Because of the war, however, we seem to have gained a vivid view of the new realities all at once. Below I will discuss the nature of the era to come by outlining 10 emerging characteristics.

A Toned-Down Superpower Struggle

First of all, the United States and the Soviet Union will continue to engage in a fierce struggle to dominate the new world order, but Moscow, recognizing the U.S. economy's superiority, will stop short of making any

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demands that would invite another cold war. Moscow's maneuverings in the interval just before the gulf war to bring about peace and Washington's dismissal of this attempt clearly manifest this trend. The Soviet peace offensive was motivated by a desire not only to protect domestic interests but also to stand up to the United States in the first showdown of the post-cold-war era. Recognizing this aspect of the Soviet initiative, Washington found it difficult to go along. On the eve of the war, though Moscow suddenly deserted Iraq and sided with Washington; given the political unrest and economic crises the Soviet authorities faced at home, they realized that they were in no position to risk renewing the cold war.

Second, the United States will make full use of the political functions of the United Nations now that there is a possibility of cooperation

among the major powers. In particular, it will increasingly turn to the Security Council for resolutions legitimizing its administration of the new order in the third world. Before the war Washington tenaciously pestered the Security Council until it passed a resolution condoning the use of force. And in the war's final days it insisted that Iraq's surrender not be accepted until it had unconditionally accepted all the Security Council resolutions.

If the United States is able to assume the lead in the newly empowered Security Council, it may become a unique organ promoting pro-American sentiment among the major powers and mitigating anti-American feelings among the developing countries. If, however, the Security Council oversteps the boundaries of just conduct and becomes a mere tool of U.S. interests, it will lose its legitimacy as a vehicle for the major powers' third-world policy. In the Gulf War, the United States did not push the Security Council for a mandate to conquer Iraq, contenting itself with a go-ahead to restore Kuwaiti sovereignty.

The Widening North-South Divide

The third point is that the post-cold-war cooperation among the major powers will make it easier for the United States to intervene in third-world conflicts as a champion of justice and democracy. In the past Washington stayed out of most ethnic, religious, or territorial disputes unrelated to the spread of communism for fear of exacerbating U.S.-Soviet ties. It also turned a blind eye to numerous human rights abuses among its allies lest it lose their allegiance.

In contrast to the Korean War and Vietnam War, which were fought on ideological grounds, the gulf war was a *pro forma* moral struggle — with oil interests lurking in the background. Symbolic of this difference was the fact that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was likened by Americans not to Stalin but to Hitler; the United States was out to subdue not an ideological enemy but a morally corrupt dictator. Iraq's miscalculation was rooted in its continued belief that the United States would not trouble itself with a dispute outside the

realm of East-West relations.

Nevertheless, questions of justice and morality in international society are not always black-and-white matters. While criticizing Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait, many people also lambasted the major powers for their long imperialistic control of the middle East through numerous secret agreements. Attempts by the powers to act as arbiters of justice in the third world will undoubtedly meet with resistance.

The fourth point is that the North-South divide seems likely to grow wider. As in the case of the East-West split, problems between the haves and the have-nots have long been viewed with concern, and henceforth the squabbles are apt to transcend such economic issues as inequalities in wealth and relations of exploitation. There is a danger of antagonism spreading to such issues as differences in political systems and social values.

The fifth point is that the United States, faced with this situation, will try to control arms exports to the third world and may even push for partial disarmament of developing countries, hoping thereby to minimize the costs and maximize the effectiveness of its foreign policy. The Gulf War exposed the contradictions of an age in which arms exports are used not for political purposes but for economic profits. The underground shelter built by an engineering firm of an American ally safeguarded Iraq's leader; the soldiers on both sides fought each other with companion military products. If one of the tacit objectives of the war was the liquidation of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, the costs of letting military technology flow into the third world were clearly too high. No doubt the United States will get serious about curbing the military power of countries that pose a potential threat to it.

Meanwhile, the North's military sector, which had hoped that third-world demand would fuel growth in the post-cold-war era, will object to the marketing constraints. Defense contractors will pressure the governments of the industrial nations to pick up the slack. Military buildups will begin, and arms trade among the industrial countries will take off. From this follows the sixth point, which is

that it will be difficult to make headway in arms reductions. Though the cold war has ended, market dynamics will take up where ideological saber rattling left off.

Smart Weapons for Just Wars

Seventh, high-tech weapons will proliferate. A country that wages just wars in the name of international law and order must have the military capability to spare the lives of the civilians on the other side and the soldiers on its side. The superpowers of the future will be defined not by their vast arsenals of unusable nuclear weapons but by their military technology for winning wars with as few casualties as possible. While continuing to maintain its nuclear deterrent, the United States will seek to develop as a superpower wielding "smart" weapons.

Until now aerial attacks, such as the air raids on Tokyo and the defoliant bombing of Vietnam, have been methods of indiscriminate destruction. For a moral battle waged by the industrial democracies and covered by the world's media, however, the casualties among the enemy's civilians and the allied soldiers must be kept to a minimum. The first major battle of this kind took place in the Persian Gulf, where precision-bombing and intelligence-gathering technologies were fully mobilized. If too many bombs miss their targets and hit civilians, the offensive may have to be called off.

Eighth, in its role as moral leader, the United States will have to secure international support for any war it engages in, even ones in which American interests are principally at stake. The fighting will be waged under a system of joint responsibility, and all countries will be expected to bear part of the costs. During the gulf war, the Japanese government heeded the U.S. call for financial support, despite the public's aversion to financing foreign wars, because the United States had secured a mandate as moral leader through the Security Council resolutions.

Ninth, the world economy will have to be cooperatively managed by the industrial countries. The United States, because of the economic toll from its international involvement in

politics and heavy military expenditures, will need outside help. The shape of the world order will not be a unipolar Pax Americana; it will be a system of joint management by a consortium of industrial nations.

Last, despite its economic woes, the United States will weather the pain of its waning influence and recover its confidence by performing its duties as the world's moral leader. And, with their new surge of confidence, Americans will regard the Japanese more kindly — provided that Japan makes appropriate contributions to the world economy.

These are the salient characteristics of international politics in the post-cold-war era as revealed by the Gulf War. I conclude with some advice for Japan in this new age.

The Role of the Mediator

In the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for leadership in the new world order, the role of supporting American diplomatic initiatives is best assumed not by countries that have opposed the United States but by countries like Japan whose loyalty is unquestioned. No country is in a better position than Japan is to draft and promote peace plans for third-world conflicts. As an industrial democracy that is not a permanent member of the Security Council, Japan can use its position to iron out conflicts of interest between the major powers and the developing countries. This will help to ensure that the Security Council does not lose its legitimacy by becoming a tool to further the interests of its permanent members.

To deal with the danger of the North-South gap escalating into confrontations between political systems and social values, Japan should design its foreign aid program to reflect such first-world concerns as human rights, environmental preservation, and democracy, while giving careful consideration to the special circumstances of each third-world country. To do this, however, Japan must first prove that it has itself embraced these values.

As a country that restrains its own arms exports, Japan is in a good position to take the initiative in controlling the buildup of arms in

the developing world. In view of its dependence on other countries for its security, however, Japan should take action by drafting joint proposals with other governments, not by self-righteously preaching restraint. And even though disarmament across the East-West divide may make little progress due to pressure from the military-industrial complex, this should not be taken as evidence that the cold war is still going on. It has come to an end, and Tokyo should be making friends with Moscow.

As one way to enhance the burden sharing between Tokyo and Washington, Japan should ensure that its emergency medical assistance and other humanitarian aid is prompt and effec-

tive. We should not feel ashamed about being unable to make a military contribution as long as our foreign aid, however inconspicuous, brings results. In addition, we should beef up the volunteer organizations dedicated to helping other countries and promoting world peace, and we should set up a standing corps of volunteers to assist U.N. peace-keeping operations, placing emphasis on English-language training to overcome the communications barrier. The time has come for Japan to implement concrete measures for global contributions.

(Translated from *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, March 19, 1991.) ■

Japan's Peace Common Sense

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A Japanese woman I know, watching Desert Storm on television, became physically sick and had to leave the room to vomit. The broadcasts had a totally different effect on her from that intended by their U.S. producers. The difference did not stem from some mysterious entity called "national character," but from historical experience. During World War II, when the woman was of junior high school age, she had been forced to work in a munitions plant in Tokyo. Many times there had been air raids, and she and the other terrified children had fled to an underground shelter. When the all-clear signal was given, she had returned to work in the plant. The message of the TV broadcast — Don't worry, it's only a munitions plant — brought her not reassurance but nausea. Her very perception of the TV broadcasts was different; what she saw was not the same as what most U.S. viewers saw. Other people who had experienced bombing during World War II told me the same thing: "I felt that every bomb was coming straight at me."

Among the major powers, the United States is unique in that it has never experienced the bombing of its cities (Pearl Harbor was, after

all, a "military target"). For most Americans, it is easy to look at bombing from the viewpoint of the bomber, but it takes an act of imagination to grasp the experience of the bombed. Which is probably why they can decide so easily to do it. "I can sleep at night," said ex-bomber pilot George Bush. Many in Japan, who are old enough to remember World War II, could not.

It seems that among the peoples of the major powers, the Germans and the Japanese showed the least enthusiasm for Desert Storm. This should surprise no one. The U.S. government staged the operation as a replay of World War II. Saddam Hussein was called "Hitler," the multinational forces were called the "allies," "unconditional withdrawal" (the language of the Potsdam Declaration) was demanded, Marines were poised for an amphibious landing, British "Desert Rats" were reactivated for a desert tank battle, cities were bombed, and nuclear attack was threatened. This reemergence of World War II imagery is not coincidental. U.S. establishment columnists have made it very clear that the U.S. government saw the war as a means

of "curing" American society of the post-Vietnam syndrome and of restoring the United States to the position of undisputed world dominance that it held in 1945. It is unlikely that this "didactic war" (as columnist George Will called it) will yield the desired result, at least for long. To paraphrase Marx, when political actors try to reenact major historical events, while in terms of human suffering they may produce tragedy, as historical drama they can only produce farce.

In any case, given this imagery, it is not surprising that people in Japan and Germany were not enthused. Neither of those peoples has a desire to return to the days of 1945; in neither does the imagery of World War II evoke happy memories.

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More than four decades have passed since the Japanese Constitution renouncing war was adopted. For the Japanese, the Peace Constitution is not a fresh idea. It, rather — together with all the contradictions and compromises that surround it — is engrained in their common sense. This Japanese common sense about war and peace is so different from the common sense of the other big powers — especially the United States — that it is difficult for each to grasp the other.

I could dramatize the difference with this example. If you were leading a college seminar in Japan and posed the question "Should your government have in its constitution a clause renouncing war?" this would probably provoke debate. If you posed the same question to students in a U.S. college, I believe you would get no debate at all. Probably most people would say that the idea had never occurred to them.

On the other hand, if you were to ask seminar students in the United States "Should your government have nuclear weapons?" you could probably provoke debate. If you asked the question to students in Japan, you would get no debate at all — except conceivably at the National Defense Academy. Such a possibility is not an item on the list of things that are publicly debated in Japan.

Pacifists in Japan mourn that since the

Constitution was promulgated they have suffered only defeats: The Security Treaty with the United States is intact, U.S. bases are still in the country, the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) have grown into a superpower-scale military, at least in budget terms. The Peace Constitution, in short, has never been implemented.

These things are true. But there is another side of this that people do not notice, because it seems commonplace. That is that in the 46 years since the end of World War II, no person has been killed under the right of belligerency of the Japanese state. This is a rare historical experience for a powerful country in the 20th century. Little credit for this goes to the government, which has been diligently whittling away at popular pacifism as best it can for years. Rather, this state of affairs has grown out of one of the most massive collective decisions of our time, the decision of a people, who had become so embedded in militarism that it almost seemed that their culture contained nothing else, to turn their backs on war. I understand that much of the militarist ethic has been absorbed by corporate business and that economic activity has tended to become a kind of warfare carried out by other means. Nevertheless, the fact remains: No person has been killed under the right of belligerency of the Japanese state for 46 years.

When I speak to Japanese audiences about this, I try to get them to grasp the weight of it by comparing their experiences with those of an a U.S. citizen. The experience of killing and being killed (I must say, mainly the former) is engrained in American culture. In ordinary U.S. society, you may meet a person who once killed Vietnamese with a hand grenade, or who helped bomb the slums in Panama, or who fired a rocket that landed in Baghdad, or who watched a friend die of bullet wounds in Kuwait. These experiences have deep effects on the culture, many of them silent: People generally do not talk of them.

They also affect the country's politics. In the United States, many presidents have been elected who have either killed people personally or commanded others to do so. Presumably, bomber pilot Bush can be includ-

ed on this list. A person who is personally unwilling to kill people, including with nuclear weapons, would not be qualified for the office of president of the United States. This is taken for granted.

In Japan, by contrast, there are now two whole generations of people who know nothing of such experiences, except from books, newspapers, or films. It is taken for granted that killing or dying for the state is not part of daily life. The SDF exists, but so far its principal functions have been as a source of rich contracts for corporations, a means of placating the U.S. Congress, occasional disaster relief, and a technical school for young men and women. So far it has not become, as many pacifists have feared it might, a major force acting to reinstall militaristic ideology in the society as a whole. It is not the subject of heroic movies, television dramas, or novels. In the fall of 1991 when the government provoked a national debate by proposing to send SDF units into the war zone in the Gulf, a number of SDF troops were interviewed on television. Many said that sending SDF troops abroad was unconstitutional, that they did not have to go, and that even if ordered to they would not. One may speculate that this was an important factor in the government's decision to give up the idea.

II

People of the generation that remembers the war worry very much that the people of the younger generation do not grasp the real nature of war. It is true that gatherings for peace in Japan typically draw only hundreds of people, compared to the thousands and tens of thousands that gather in the United States and the European countries. This is a problem, but people tend to forget that it is a problem stemming not from the failure of the peace movement but from its relative success. It is naturally easier to gather large crowds of people if your government has an army out on the battlefield. It is naturally harder to gather large crowds in a country that has been at peace so long that people find it difficult to take war seriously as a real possibility.

Japan bashers in the United States and con-

servative members of the Congress accuse Japan of taking a free ride, of adopting a hypocritical pacifism while actually hiding behind the U.S. military. The accusation contains some truth. Some people in Japan positively support both the Constitution and the Security Treaty, a position not of renunciation of military force but of preference for an arrangement in which the fighting will be done by someone else. From the standpoint of *Realpolitik*, this is shrewd enough, but from the standpoint of pacifism it is hypocritical.

Yet while this hypocritical pacifism can be found, it is not a characteristic of Japan's peace movement as a whole. That is, to be consistent the peace movement would have to fight not only to protect the Constitution but also to oppose the Security Treaty and the U.S. bases, and this is exactly what the movement did for years. The trouble is the movement was defeated in this struggle, as well as in its struggle to prevent the founding and expansion of the SDF. On the other hand, the government has been defeated in its long struggle to change the Constitution so as to legalize the SDF. The result is the present unhappy situation in which the government maintains illegal military forces, the U.S. brings in illegal nuclear warheads while the Japanese government says it does not, the constitutional renunciation of the right of belligerency is interpreted to mean the military budget should not go over 1 percent of the gross national product, and Japanese pacifists, like it or not, must live under the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Amid this jumble of double-think it becomes difficult to think at all. But while the resulting system is absurd, contradictory, and objectively hypocritical, Japan's popular pacifism is not. While the people's hatred of war and their commitment not to fight in another one has failed to express itself in a consistent set of political and legal institutions, it has at least, as I said before, succeeded in holding its last and most important fortress: preventing the SDF from killing anyone.

III

In the Gulf War, the sincerity of Japan's popular pacifism (please make no mistake: I

am not referring to the government) was again demonstrated. The public not only prevented the government from sending SDF troops to join the fighting but was also, as mentioned before, markedly chilly toward the whole multinational effort and especially toward the U.S. government's refusal to accept offers for a negotiated solution. True, the peace movement was not able to prevent the government from sending \$9 billion in aid for the war. But even people who supported this did so mainly from a desire to get U.S. spokesmen to tone down their Japan bashing, rather than from real enthusiasm for the war. While the government and establishment commentators have used the war as an opportunity to demand that the public wake up from its pacifist daydream, face political reality, and take up its international responsibility (which, translated, means change the Constitution, legalize and legitimize the military, and be prepared to jump into the next war), the message is not, I think, selling well.

Ironically and unintentionally, the Gulf War, staged as it was as a parody of World War II, carried many Japanese pacifists back to their roots. The TV screen portrayed a reenactment of the horror of the very thing that turned this people from war to pacifism. For it is slander to say that Japan's pacifism is naive and not grounded in the realities of modern politics. It was born among a people who came face-to-

face with the realities of modern politics in an encounter of devastating intensity, people standing up from the rubble of cities that had been carpet-bombed, firebombed, and atom-bombed, and choosing a different life. They knew more about political reality than any bomber pilot looking down at it from the sky.

On March 19, 1991 a group of Japanese placed a full-page ad in the *New York Times* criticizing the U.S. government for using military force to attempt to settle the dispute with Iraq, expressing solidarity with Americans opposing the war, and quoting the war-renouncing Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. The group expected to get mostly angry, Japan-bashing letters. Of the more than 700 letters that had been received at the time of this writing, some three-quarters — that is, well over 500 — supported the opinion expressed in the ad. This suggests that Japan's peace common sense, while growing out of the people's particular historical experience, need not be thought of as something peculiar to the Japanese alone, an allergy or syndrome to which other peoples are, or should be made to be, immune. Rather it should be thought of as a historical treasure of global significance. May it thrive. (This is a shortened version of an article that appeared in the *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No.3, July-September, 1991.) ■

A View from a Baghdad Bridge

ONO Osamu

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I

It was a long journey of four days from Kyoto to Baghdad. In Moscow, we were temporarily trapped and then released in an early stage of the putsch in the Kremlin. We crossed the desert from Amman, in Jordan, to Baghdad to supply medicine from NICCO, a Japanese N.G.O., to Iraqi children.

In Baghdad the sun of August was blazing

on the government buildings now mostly ruined by air-raids during the Gulf War. Gigantic portraits of Saddam Hussein come into sight here and there in the centre of the city.

An eight-story building of the Ministry of Local Government stood entwined with the building across the street housing the Ministry of Justice. These buildings look intact from a distance, but once we stepped inside it turned out to be deserted ruins. Explosions caused by

guided missiles in the court yard had smashed and blown out whole interiors through the window into the streets. Floors were covered with debris and splintered glass. What remained of the lighting fixtures were dangling from the ceiling. In this building only, eleven people were killed by the pre-dawn air raids. Almost all the water-purification plants in Baghdad and other major cities in the south were destroyed, as were the key stations for communication systems and government offices.

This destruction has brought the Baghdad government into a state of coma for months.

A rare exception was the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which still affords visitors a superb view of the city plus that mushroom-shaped observation tower whose ominous silhouette we remember, looming up against the night sky of Baghdad, surrounded by the innumerable explosions of missiles.

II

In Baghdad a block of the Christian quarter had been completely destroyed by the air raid during the Gulf war. Only the facade wall of a Greek orthodox church stood in the debris with its cross on top of it. Here U.S. smart missiles apparently could not distinguish the residential quarters from the military barracks. Missiles would take no heed to the teaching of Tenth Commandment: DO NOT MURDER.

The shelter known as Ameria was known to the world the very next morning as CNN televised the vivid scene of rescue operations conducted at the shelter where several hundreds of people, mostly women and children, were killed in pre-dawn air raids. In the darkness of the now empty shelter, a wailing voice was heard trailing along the surrounding walls.

As we placed flowers by the wall partially lit by a sunbeam coming through the huge hole missiles had made in the thick concrete ceiling, a wailing woman in black passed by. An Iraqi from the neighbourhood said to us that the woman had lost nine members of her family in the air raids.

Ameria shelter is located in a large residential area, a part of town for middle-class people in Baghdad where neither a military nor an

industry building is in sight. The shelter stands between a primary school and a supermarket. The shelter was first built during the war with Iran.

The mass murder of innocent women, children and old people hiding in the shelter can be compared to Guernica during the Spanish War, Mi-Lai in Viet Nam or even Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

III

Why did the U.S. and Coalition Forces choose the way to war? Why did they not choose the embargo or economic sanctions against Iraq? If the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait had to be punished with such massive blows with high-tech weapons over the common people of Iraq, why has Israel not been punished as well for occupying Palestinian territories despite the U.N. resolutions? Why did U.S. bomb Iraq's nuclear facilities outside Baghdad? They were small and under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. The bombing could have created second Chernobyls.

Why was the Iraqi government forced to go down on its knees before the U.N. for producing chemical or biological weapons — a poor man's nuclear weapon — while its people is still faced with the threat of Israel's 400 or more nuclear weapons? Iraqi forces are said to have killed in the past thousands of Kurds by chemical weapons in gas attacks.

Was it just and right to answer Iraq with thousands of missiles and tens of thousands of sallies of high tech bombers to slaughter its citizens, simply because the Iraqi government would not comply with U.N. resolutions, while the U.S. refused all diplomatic talks with Iraq? The U.S. forces lost only about 380 lives during the Gulf War, while Iraq is said to have lost more than ten-thousand, including civilian. Someone wrote that this was the most cowardly battle ever fought in history.

For the Japanese and for the Vietnamese, the Gulf War showed nothing new in idea, just high-tech weapons employed in the same old routine of military action, as was conducted upon their nations several decades ago. Among

the weapons used against them were the B-29, incendiary bombs, A-bombs, napalm bombs, and flame throwers. These were the high-tech weapons of the 1940s and 60-70s.

IV

All Japanese were astounded before the TV screen as they watched the air raids and the anti-aircraft barrage brighten the sky of Baghdad. For the youth brought up in post-war years, the smart action of Tomahawk or Patriot missiles may have given them no stronger impressions than what they had already gotten from playing their computerised war-games. But for us older Japanese all air raids news stirred up and wakened their long-dormant wartime memories. Whole districts of Tokyo were totally charred by the U.S. air raids during the Pacific War, claiming 100,000 lives. These air raids burnt down most of main cities of Japan and finally caused the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

If wars are waged always by orders from a handful of people in high places, these people are responsible for murdering thousands of the innocent. Why are these people so apt to resort to military action? Why not try economic sanctions instead? This would take time but generate more desirable results, namely the collapse or the refashioning of the unwanted regime. This has been proven effective on Viet Nam, and today we are watching the collapse of the Soviet Union of yesteryear.

The U.S. government and the majority of its people seem to lack the imagination to sense the horror and misery of those caught in air raids. For the American, the last battle they remember fought on their own soil was the Civil War, which ended in 1865. Pearl Harbour was attacked by Japanese air forces fifty years ago, but mainland of the U.S. remained intact throughout World War II. This means that for over four generations, U.S. citizens have not experienced the sorrow and bitterness of seeing their country made into a stage for battles.

The Gulf War was fought by U.S. and Coalition Forces. But Iraqi sources have disclosed that U.S. & Coalition Forces spent nothing for the Gulf War, since 67% of the total

expenses were financed by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf nations, 20% by Japan and 13% by Germany.

Almost all industrial nations — regardless of their national ideals — had helped Iraq arm to the teeth. And then at the next stage, they helped U.S. and Coalition Forces to destroy the arms they sold, only to create a New World Order. What an irony of world history!

V

News about the putsch of August 19-21 in Moscow has led to a special reaction among Moslems, especially Palestinians in Jordan. They did not conceal their joy in anticipation of the return of whatever great power in Russia so that the U.S. would no longer be the sole master of the Middle East, and so that their opposition to Zionism would no longer be curtailed.

Even though the world has quickened its pace of change in every corner of the earth with so many and such important incidents, the Gulf War should be looked back upon with the most careful consideration. The war has somewhat crippled Iraqi governmental bodies but could not break the heart of Moslems. Rather, it has strengthened their resolve. A senior officer in Baghdad snapped at the question of how the economic sanction would affect them if it lasts: "Come sanction, come embargo. We are Moslems. We are so much used to persevering in hunger and even thirst during our time of fasting, Ramadan. We are not afraid of any kind of threat directed toward us. We will fight to the end."

Lying in hospital beds are many children or suckling babies of skin and bones, mostly underfed, while some are in isolation ward for dysentery or cholera which recently has started to spread in rural areas where water-purification plants were destroyed. In Basra, people have no recourse but to drink salty water.

We left a member of our organization behind in Baghdad to let him engage in installation of Water-purification devices in rural villages.

There is a desert that spreads from Baghdad to Amman, in Jordan. It is a trip of 800 km

over a surface like that of the moon: harsh sunlight and an endless stretch of sand and rock, without a trace of water for tens of miles.

We remember people were talking about the dismal future of their water resources. The Tigris and Euphrates, the Iraqi's sources of water, are going to be tapped in Turkey. The Jordan has been pumped up mostly by Israel

authorities; 90% of all the water is flowing into Israel, which is demanding more to help incoming Soviet Jewish immigrants settle down in the occupied territories. Said a Palestinian, "They are even tapping water from the river flowing along border with Syria. So, next war to break out will be for water." ■

Non-Governmental UNESCO Activities in Japan

I

The National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan, a federation of more than 250 local groups all over Japan, was founded in May 1948. At that time it was called the "Federation of Unesco Cooperative Associations in Japan." As the name indicates it was begun as a movement to achieve Japan's admission into UNESCO, a goal which was reached in July 1951, more than five years before Japan's admission into the United Nations.

There is a special background to this movement. In 1947-48, just a few years after the end of World War II, many Japanese people were frustrated by the sudden changes in their ideals or ideas about the course their nation was taking, changes brought about by the defeat of the ultranationalist regime and ideology. Japan's new Constitution had already been enacted, but the people could not absorb the new "peace principle" and were seeking something to replace their old ideals.

When UNESCO was founded, these people found a strong source of inspiration in its Constitution. In Sendai and other cities groups of intellectuals and ordinary citizens formed associations to cooperate with UNESCO, and soon created a national federation. Their objective was to exert influence on the Japanese government in order to achieve Japan's early admission. But even after this goal was reached

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the movement remained and expanded nationwide as NGO (non-governmental organization) UNESCO activities.

II

As an inter-governmental organization, and as one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, UNESCO has, in accordance with its Constitution, stressed NGO activities. It has encouraged member states to set up national UNESCO commissions.

Japan enacted a special law creating and regulating a National Commission for UNESCO. However, its activities have been different from those of the NGO UNESCO as described above. It could be said that the NGO UNESCO's work may be able to influence the work of the National Commission. Of course, both institutions and activities should serve to disseminate and propagate the work of UNESCO. But they are different in level. The network and activities of the UNESCO clubs, centers and associations or federations are closer to the grassroots, closer to peoples' actual lives.

III

The Director General of UNESCO soon recognized the importance of these NGO activities and began to encourage member nations to follow Japan's example, but at the same time the

leaders of the Japanese national federation were hoping for the foundation of counterpart organizations in as many other countries as possible. In 1974 the Asian Federation of UNESCO Clubs and Associations was established with members from about ten countries. Since then the UNESCO Secretariat and Japanese leaders have works to hold world congresses. The first was held in 1978.

The World Federation of UNESCO Clubs and Associations (WFUCA) was founded in 1981, with Mr. Kazuno, President of the Japanese National Federation, as its president. The 1984 World Congress was held in Japan, with sessions taking place in Sendai, Kyoto, Hiroshima and Tokyo. There were a total of about 300 participants from 80 countries. (A report was contained in an issue of the International Peace Research Newsletter in 1985).

The 1991 World Congress was held in Dakar, Senegal. New officials were elected, including Professor Yuji Suzuki of Hosei University.

IV

Since the 1960s the stress of UNESCO's work has been increasingly placed upon North-South relations and assistance to developing countries, in the context of UNESCO's fields of competence. Also, NGOs involved in assistance have been encouraged to have diversification in their activities. The UNESCO Secretariat has encouraged "Co-Action Programmes" activities, and the Japanese National Federation and its member associations have made efforts to render services with these same aims.

It should be expected that this be the same for the activities of the WFUCA, especially with regards to NGO UNESCO activities of developed nations. But in fact this isn't yet true. There is still a wide range of tasks and

challenges for them to tackle under the influence of the work of UNESCO itself as an inter-governmental organization within the "UN Family."

As is well known by researchers, the withdrawal of the USA and UK from UNESCO and other big administrative changes have prompted it to go into a transitional period, and it is natural that this should effect NGO UNESCO activities. But unlike the national commissions, grassroots UNESCO activities can now have stronger initiative and independence. It is hoped that these activities will reexamine the ideals and objective contained in UNESCO's Constitution, letting them prevail or survive, in order to overcome the present difficulties. This is at least the gist of the present attitudes and policies of the Japan National Federation and most member associations.

V

One example may reflect the above-mentioned attitudes and policies. 1990 was designated by the United Nations as the International Year of Literacy, and since 1990 UNESCO has been trying to promote this movement along with the World Bank, UNDP and UNICEF. The Japanese National Federation has also tried to cooperate, creating national organizations, organizing international symposia in addition to other works.

Thus far it has succeeded in offering financial assistance to 68 new groups in 41 countries, and is continuing to raise funds and to study applications from additional groups in developing countries. It has also planned, at the level of the Japanese National Federation for closer cooperation with counterpart organizations in the developed countries, including those in the USA, for the benefit of UNESCO clubs and associations in the developing countries, and through them, to the people of these countries. ■



Peace Research Courses in Japan (1)

As the series of information on the peace research institutions in Japan have been completed with our Peace Studies Newsletter No.10, we now start a new series on peace research courses with the following course as the first one.

A Comprehensive Study on Peace and War —A Course on Peace Studies at Hiroshima University—

Masatsugu MATSUO

Hiroshima University

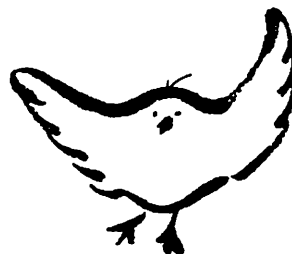
“A Comprehensive Study on Peace and War” is a one-year course in general education at the Faculty of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Hiroshima University. It is one of the general education courses called “interdisciplinary subjects,” which is intended to give an integrated perspective on such important interdisciplinary research areas as peace, ecology, information etc. It is one of the earliest courses on peace studies given in Japanese universities, along with the graduate course “Peace Studies” of the same faculty.

The course was begun in 1977 and has been continued since then. At the first semester in 1977, the course was entitled “Undertones of War,” and dealt with the problems of war and peace in the literature of the world. Apart from this, the course has roughly covered main research fields of peace studies, though the topics covered varied a little from year to year. Main topics include such themes as: peace thoughts, attitude toward, and concept of, peace; development of peace studies; nuclear arms race, nuclear disarmament; energy, food and population; Third World, peace and development, peace education; causes and nature of war; Japanese war crimes; Hibakusha, anti-nuclear movements, meaning of Hiroshima.

The course is taught usually by ten or more teachers of Hiroshima University and one or two guest lecturers such as an A-bomb eye-witness, each giving one or two lectures of two hours on his/her specialized field.

The first textbook was prepared in 1979 and published as a book “A Course on Peace Studies” in 1980. This was revised in 1984 and has been used since then. In 1990, the topics were rather substantially changed and rearranged. So a new textbook *Peace in the Nuclear Age*, focusing on problems of war and its human damage, is now in preparation.

The number of students has varied greatly, from some fifty to two hundred. An opinion survey of the students was conducted several times. There are a few points among the responses to be seriously considered for the future improvement of the course. Let us mention just one which seems most important. Each topic is covered within a severe limit of time, usually two to four hours. So, the students’ aspiration for deeper and detailed understanding of a specific theme is often disappointed and frustrated. Apart from these, the students’ responses are in general very favorable. In this sense, it may be said that the course has come up to the students’ expectations. ■



Main Activities of the PSAJ in 1991

The 1991 Spring Session was held on June 2, at Bukkyo University, Kyoto City under the main theme of "The Post-Cold War and Disarmament."

The 1991 Fall Session was held on November 9-10, at International Christian University, Mitaka City, under the main theme of "The 50 Years since the Outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War and the Future Japan."

Focusing on the topics, "Responsibilities of the Assailant and Thinking of Reparations," meaningful discussions were conducted on "The Post-Cold War and Japan" with Prof. Jun Nishikawa presiding.

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

NEWS

Visiting Japan?

It may be possible to arrange a meeting with Japanese peace researchers during your visit. Please advise the Overseas Liaison Committee of your plans as far in advance as possible.

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. Information on the availability and contents of overseas newsletters can be included in our bi-annual Japanese newsletter.

Recent Publications

Heiwa Kenkyu (Peace Studies) — Annals of the PSAJ

Short English summaries of the articles are included in each issue. Each issue is available from Waseda University Press, 1-103 Totsuka-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160, Japan. The price of each issue is ¥2,800.

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Global Democracy in Transition KATSUMATA Makoto

Global Democracy

The End of the Cold War in Europe TAKAHASHI Susumu

The Rising of the Ethnic Conflicts after the Eastern European Revolution MASE Katsuyasu

Peace Maintenance and Democratization of East Asia

in the Post-Cold War Era PARK II

Politics of Denationalization in Central America KOZAKI Tomomi

The Abolition of Apartheid and the Prospect of

Regional Pacification SATO Makoto

South Africa in Transition HORIE Koichiro

A rise of Islam in Algeria FUKUDA Kunio

Military Keynesianism as an Anti-Democratic Ideology

—A Critical Review—..... SATO Motohiko

Challenge of "Citizen Diplomacy"

—Beyond "People-to-People Diplomacy (*Minsai Gaikou*)" UMEMURA Hideaki

New Global Order and the U.N. Reform

—Prolegomena for the Third Generation Global Organization—..... SATO Yukio

Article:

The British New Right and their Criticism of Peace Education FUJITA Hiroyuki

On Circumstances of Inviting the XIV. General Conference of

The International Peace Research Association (IPRA) to Japan OKAMOTO Mitsuo

Towards Interdisciplinary Research on Peace and the Resolution of Conflicts

..... Special Committee on Peace and International Conflicts (JSC)

Book Reviews

..... SHINODA Yutaka/ARAI Nobuyuki/IRITANI Toshio/HATSUSE Ryuhei/

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