

PSAJ – Newsletter

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PSAJ-Newsletter No. 4

Sept, 1984

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE 1984 SPRING SESSION¹

KURINO Ohtori
President, Peace Studies Association of Japan

After being appointed President of the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) in November 1983, I have been studying, in consultation with other PSAJ officials, what matter the Association should give priority to among the many tasks faced. I was recently struck by the following sentences in a book written by a Japanese scholar of constitutional law: ". . . peace research will indeed play an important role in providing a theoretical basis and orientation for peace education . . . and peace diplomacy. Although research is being actively conducted in Japan today, it is hoped that the results will be accumulated as Japan's original peace research, by absorbing intellectually from a wide number of fields. The superb results of such research should contribute to world peace by exerting direct influence upon various nations by means of overseas exchange of teachers and education." This was written in 1982, one year before the Association celebrated its tenth anniversary. The author expresses a fair evaluation of the work of the Japanese peace researchers who came to form the Association, and expectations of them. Certainly, we Japanese peace researchers should exert greater effort to fulfill the tasks entrusted to us as part of a global peace research community.

I further thought, on reflecting on our decade of work, that the PSAJ should make a fresh start aimed at achieving further progress. The timing is opportune, given that 1986 has been designated by the United Nations General Assembly as the International Year of Peace. Special programmes of activities are planned to be put into effect by the Association.

So that the Association may make further progress, studies on the fundamental principles, theoretical basis and starting point of peace are called for. The Board of Directors and Planning Committee approved such ideas and embodied them in the programme of the 1984 Spring Session, which took up "the Constitution and Peace."

It is not easy to summarize the general situation of peace research in the world today. But, if I may venture to do so, I may suggest that peace researchers have been able to provide a fairly clear understanding and analysis of the critical situation the world faces, but have not achieved success in proposing pertinent ways and means for solving critical issues. This holds true for Japanese peace researchers, too, as seen in the criticism of the 1983 issue of our journal, *Peace Studies*. What is noteworthy about the criticism charging peace researchers with "evading realities," is that it was offered not by scholars of the so-called "realist school," but by those who are sympathetic to Japanese peace research.

Among the global problems or "global problematique" confronting human society, as described in *Peace Studies*, some originated in Japan or have been intensified by Japan: the nuclear arms race, nuclear strategies, militarization, "absolute poverty" and chronic famine of the peoples in the South, and destruction of the environment, to mention the main issues.

From my personal point of view, I believe the Constitution of Japan envisages a sort of "community of mankind." This is the import of paragraph 2 of the Preamble, which states in part:

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace loving peoples of the world . . . We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

The present international situation must be regarded as "abnormal" given the norms of the Constitution. However, the present attitude and actions of the Japanese government tend to exacerbate the situation rather than contribute to the realization of the norms contained in the Constitution.

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the 1950 statement made by the Peace Issues Discussion Group, entitled "On Peace for the Third Time."² This is of value for one point in particular: the originality and independency of thought contained therein, in spite of the fact that it was drafted and made public during the period when Japan was still occupied. The statement deserves reading by PSAJ members and peace researchers overseas.

Here, I hope the Association will be able make a comparable statement at a time it should so judge, and that the members will give consideration to this matter.

1. This is an edited version of the speech made at the 1984 Spring Session of the PSAJ.

2. "On Peace for the Third Time" is reprinted in Japanese in *Heiwa Kenkyu (Peace Studies)* Vol. 2, 1976. An edited English version appears in *Peace Research in Japan*, 1976. Overseas readers who cannot easily obtain a copy can address enquiries to the Overseas Liaison Committee.

PEACE RESEARCH IN JAPAN: A CRITICAL REVIEW

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Any review of peace research in Japan starts from two peculiar experiences of this nation: one, the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the first nuclear genocide in world history; two, the Peace Constitution, which bans any possession of arms. That these two facts have attracted particular attention from abroad, which made Japan "special" in a way, is quite legitimate and understandable in a world of nuclear nightmare and the arms race.

But if we try to grasp the particular nature of peace research in Japan, these facts can be misleading. Japan, after all, never asked the Americans to drop the bomb; neither Hiroshima nor Nagasaki is a creation of our own. So too with the Constitution. Although debates flourish on the origins of the Constitution, it was undeniably drafted under the US-dominated occupation.

The argument that Hiroshima-Nagasaki and the Peace Constitution make Japan "special," is therefore, like calling a cat with two tails special: a sort of peculiarity that never speaks for the cat's quality. Neither Hiroshima nor the Constitution qualifies Japanese peace research as such. They matter when, and only when, these experiences are transformed into original and enlightening frameworks and analyses. Has peace research in Japan made any contributions of this kind?

I believe it has. I also believe such research to be now fading away. To make these points clear, we must depart from peace research in the narrow sense and instead broadly overview the vast literature on peace in Japan.

Indigenous Peace Research: 1945-1960

Postwar studies on peace started from the self-criticism of Japanese intellectuals concerning their attitudes toward the war. They failed to prevent, if not collaborate with, the war that led to Hiroshima. This tragic experience formed a shared guilt-consciousness that defined intellectual attitudes toward postwar order. There should be no war, and the new Japan should be a thoroughly pacific nation with no weapons nor the will to use them. Peace here was much more than a simple absence of war; it was the legitimizing doctrine of a political regime that was to emerge out of the preceding destruction and turmoil, symbolized by Article Nine of the Constitution.

Such a regime based on pacifism was never realized, and the nation remains up to this day under the rule of a conservative party in close alliance with the United States. On the other hand, the scheme of a would-be Japan developed into a framework of a domestic regime that defines democracy as actual popular self-determination, and that regards peace as the paramount criterion of self-determination. Although this framework was not put into practice, it provided a political project for mass movements: the struggle for peace developed into a struggle for a peaceful regime. Unless the ruling government meets the criterion of Japanese pacifism, it is not worth calling Japan a democracy. Here international relations and domestic polity were closely intertwined.

The role assigned to the intellectuals was to remind the people that the existing regime does not meet the criteria, that the regime is not democratic, and that we must struggle to make it so. Most of their works were published as enlightening articles appearing in popular magazines with a very normative overtone. They were more speculative than empirical, dealing with morals and ideas instead of facts and figures. But these are not shortcomings. While social scientists abroad were engaged in "value-free" or "structural-functional" descriptions of what already exists, peace researchers in Japan were questioning the basic assumptions of the social sciences. Two of these merit attention.

First, peace was the doctrine of international order. This is different from saying that the world should avoid warfare. Based on both a normative drive to avoid the man-made disaster of World War II and also a realistic assumption that, at the stage of nuclear confrontation, any war will betray any noble purposes, this argument combined normative judgement and pragmatic analysis: any existing international orders must be evaluated from the standard of peace (normative), and peace is also a possible objective in a given international order, in spite of ideological differences or conflicts of interests (pragmatic). Thus one researcher could argue that (1) ideological confrontation does not directly invoke warfare; (2) there is a gap between ideologies and a state as an armed power; (3) both the United States and the Soviet Union are trying to avoid total confrontation; and finally, (4) any understanding of the "two worlds" does not lead us to the conclusion that armed conflicts are inevitable. While researchers abroad were trapped in the Cold War antagonisms, a Japanese, without any "scientific" methods, could show the possibility of peaceful coexistence. And this pragmatic approach was only possible because the author evaluated international order from the view-point of peace, avoiding any ideological biases. The peace-making perspective provided intellectual frameworks in evaluating the Cold War, Japan-China relations, and other major diplomatic issues of the time.

Second, peace was also the legitimizing symbol for domestic regimes. Peace was the ultimate test of the accountability of political regimes to popular interests. Therefore so long as a given regime is integrated into the war system, allied to one global superpower while neglecting the other, it was not worth calling it democratic, as it endangered one fundamental right of the people: freedom from warfare. This, after all, was only one of the possible definitions: if we follow the Schumpeterian model, where free elections and freedom of political expression are regarded as the criteria of democracy, Japan would most certainly be classified as a democracy. This normative definition is, therefore, a major departure from this type of empiricism.

This normative definition of democracy had a concrete meaning in the political process: the interaction between the conservative government and extra-parliamentary mass movements itself became a form of popular political participation. True the ideals of postwar democracy were never fully realized. But the very existence of popular movements allowed the representation of popular interests which otherwise might have been happily neglected by parliamentary democracies: without these movements, we cannot understand why the Japanese military budget was kept to a relatively low degree, in contrast to other industrialized nations.

Japan, up until at least 1960, was a nation of divided legitimacies, one for the conservatives and one for the pacifists. Ironically, it was the pacifists rather than the conservatives that had an explicit legitimizing doctrine, based on the Constitution and the memories of Hiroshima. When the intellectuals were formulating these doctrines, they were, consciously or not, approaching what would later be called "participatory democracy" in the

Western world. And it is worth repeating that peace was the concept that led to this unique contribution. Japan became special not because of Hiroshima or the Peace Constitution as such, but by forming a unique ideology of democracy out of these experiences.

Peace Research in the Global Context: 1960s to 1970s

1960 marked the turning point of postwar Japanese history in a dual sense. First, mass movements against the Japan-U. S. security treaty, which finally culminated in the collapse of the right-wing Kishi Cabinet, illustrated the clearest example of the dynamic model of Japanese democracy: regimes that are democratic on the *empirical* level face extra-parliamentary political participation based on the normative model of democracy. Although the regime suffers from "divided legitimacy," the political system itself works in a dynamic manner that ensures not only formal procedures of democracy but also its end results, which means, in the Japanese context, peace as the ultimate form of popular self-determination. Mr. Kishi was thrown out of office, and the second military build-up plan (Nijibo), was scrapped for nearly two years. Second, the coal-miners' strike in Mi-ike, which peaked politicized workers' movement in Japan, articulated class contradictions unconsolidated in a capitalist democracy.

The consequences of this turbulent year was not a move toward a more pacifistic and populist regime, but toward the consolidation of the conservative government. The Ikeda Cabinet, succeeding Kishi's, carefully avoided the war-peace issue while emphasizing economic development. Unlike Kishi, who preferred to talk about the development of the *state*, Ikeda preached his "income-doubling" policy, which would raise the living standard of the *people*. For the first time, the conservatives acquired an ideology for legitimation as against the opposition and their pacifist ideals. Moreover, after the strikes in Mi-ike, the final glare of politicized labor in Japan, union activities retreated into simple economism.

The change toward developmentalism placed peace research in a completely new environment. Before 1960, the opposition could lean back on the pacifist ideals and thus de-legitimize the government; but now they had to confront a regime with a different legitimizing doctrine. Unless peace researchers constructed a new doctrine to confront developmentalism, the unique character of Japanese peace research—defining both the international environment and domestic regime by the principle of peace—would lose its relevance.

This sort of doctrine was never formulated. What happened instead was the import of "peace research" from abroad. Peace research as a new discipline emerging in the United States and Europe matched the pacifist orientation of Japanese researchers, resulting in the rapid expansion of study groups, associations and institutes: The Tokyo Peace Research Group (1964, renamed later as the Japan Peace Research Group), the peace research sub-committee of the Japan Association of International Relations (1967), Peace Studies Association of Japan (1974), and finally the Institute for Peace Science of Hiroshima University (1975).

It would be unfair to regard this as regression. Under the new stimulus from abroad, peace research expanded its scope of inquiry from simple description of the arms race, U. S. strategies, or the conservative rule, toward a more systematic study of the war system and imperialism in the tradition of Johan Galtung. Parsonian sociology and behaviourism heavily influenced earlier works in the field; the new peace research, unlike the former indigenous one, had a more scientific facade with sophisticated methodologies.

But importing frameworks from abroad also meant importing their shortcomings. Peace research in those days was almost a mirror-image of the realist school of international relations. The realists thought peace could be achieved within the existing order, while peace researchers found fundamental changes in the existing world order as an imperative for a stable peace. But both rarely postulated justifications or alternatives to the existing *domestic* orders. If anything, domestic orders appeared as political *resources* in achieving either the status quo or global transformation, as seen in such statements as "detente betrayed at home" or "people-to-people diplomacy." In diametrical contrast to indigenous Japanese peace research, they rarely questioned the nature of domestic regimes: peace was essentially an international issue rather than a domestic issue.

The rare exception was the oft-cited Galtung's theory of imperialism, which combined domestic cleavages and international stratification. This thesis found a large following in Japan, and greatly contributed to expand the field of inquiry from simple war-peace issues to the global structure reproducing North-South disparities. But here was a different problem. Galtung's thesis, following his sociologist origins, was too abstract and functionalist to pin-point the actual process and contradiction in the global system. His discussion on centers and peripheries was based on the *relations* between the two actors; aside from that, he offered no definition of either centers or peripheries. Galtung explained too much, which boiled down to too little.

Both the strengths and weaknesses of peace research abroad were reflected in the "new" peace research in Japan. Systematic methodologies opened new horizons: survey methods crystallized in a series of studies on peace as a cultural symbol, simulations enabled a more dynamic account of the war system. Structuralists opened our eyes toward global structures of dominance and exploitation, the Third World in particular. Thus peace research abroad enlarged our understanding of our *environment*, supported by systematically collected data. When it came to domestic order, their contributions were very small: after all, that was not their concern.

Both mirror-images of the realist school and hyper-abstract theories of global structures missed the contribution of indigenous peace research: peace as a domestic doctrine. This meant that no political projects will appear from the works of those abroad, and that we must find it on our own. But peace research in the 60s and the 70s tried to avoid domestic issues as much as possible. This was understandable, in a way, because peace movements at that time were divided from bitter partisan conflicts, concerning their evaluation of nuclear build-ups in Russia and China. Pragmatic views on the international order suffered from this domestic situation.

Nevertheless, the lack of political projects took away the corresponding domestic realities from peace research, while the conservatives established the legitimacy of their regime by developmentalism. One of the rare references to domestic orders was the theory of participatory democracy, highly commending non-partisan peace movements. But as I have tried to show, democracy in Japan was participatory from the very beginning, where free elections or parliamentary procedures were never regarded as democracy as such. Moreover, if one commends citizen's movements, one must also show how these can gain political efficacy aside from party politics, and it was in this very period that developmentalism undermined the efficacy of peace movements in Japan. In sum, the importation of peace research to Japan was marked by academic development and the erosion of political projects to confront the regime.

Peace Research at the Crossroads: Late 1970s and beyond

The military-build up in Japan proceeded slowly and cautiously, as the government was determined not to evoke such crises as the anti-security treaty riots in 1960. Things became more visible after 1980, when the electoral victory of Ronald Reagan in the United States and his confrontationist policy with the Soviet Union warned many intellectuals in Japan that the nuclear nightmare might be close. As in Europe, anti-nuclear movements gained momentum, mobilizing around 100,000 people to their rallies (March 1982). Peace research, now fully equipped with its analysis of the arms race, became a popular discipline, producing a great number of books and articles both in academic journals and popular magazines.

Something, however, was missing. The objectives of the anti-nuclear movements were as vague as "comprehensive nuclear disarmament," without any reference to the regional crisis of nuclear war in Asia. Their goals were as ambiguous as well: to receive more signatures to be presented to the UN Special Session on Disarmament. Unlike their European counterparts, they did not have any actual missile deployments to rally against, nor did they have any concrete proposals to be presented to the regime. They simply asked the United Nations to stop the nuclear arms race. When SSD II failed to achieve its original objective, the movements also lost momentum.

Something was missing in peace research as well. The academic frameworks denouncing the arms race, after all, had reached its sophistication already in the 1960s. Those who presented the framework of militarization, as a structural analysis covering East-West conflicts to North-South disparities, also suffered from the same flaw as Johan Galtung: explaining everything comes close to explaining nothing. In a short period of time, peace researchers started to repeat themselves.

The movements lacked concrete proposals to the regime, while peace researchers focused their research on the international environment, with little regard for the form of polity at home. Although the issue of disarmament was clear enough, the issue did not develop into a framework that integrates *both* international orders and domestic orders. Thus, when talking about disarmament, whether the movements were asking the government to take up certain *policies* or whether they were seeking an alternative type of political *regime* that would satisfy their demands remained unclear; in fact, whether they were asking anything of the Japanese government was doubtful.

Two years have elapsed since SSD II. The Americans has started to deploy Tomahawk cruise missiles in the neighbouring seas: a clear target for peace movements. But the disappointment after SSD II brought a sense of apathy to the peace movement. Does the same apply to peace research?

Going back to the founding fathers of indigenous peace research might serve as a clue. In the days when peace formed a counter-ideology toward the state, we knew nothing about "peace research" as such. But we could also say that both Hiroshima-Nagasaki and the Peace Constitution provided an opportunity for us to form original frameworks that make us really "special." Without bringing "peace" back into this domestic context, we will never be allowed to make this proud statement again.

PEACE EDUCATION IN JAPAN

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Introduction

After the defeat in World War II, Japan experienced a drastic change in her value system. The imperial institution was deprived of its mythical halo and reduced to a mere symbol. Aggressive and ultranationalistic influences were eliminated pursuant to the "purge directive" of January, 1946. The occupation policy of the U. S. focused on the demilitarization and democratization of Japan so that she would never again be a threat to international order. As a result, autocracy and militarism were replaced by democracy and pacifism. The war-renouncing act of the new Constitution (Article 9) represents the institutionalization of this change. It reads as follows.

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

Education was regarded as important in pursuance of this reform. Military training was abolished, propagation of State Shinto was prohibited, and "undesirable" teachers and textbooks were removed. In the prevailing confusion, public sentiment reinforced these social changes. People were tired of war, and their tragic memories were still vivid. Avoidance of war and desire for peace, which once were regarded as the acts of a traitor, were now given positive value. Even though the Occupation Forces banned the release of information concerning the damage in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there was an outcry from the victims of the A-Bomb who felt a strong need to give witness to their horrible experiences. Later this feeble movement developed into a powerful anti-war organization. This consciousness of Japan being the first and the only A-bomb victim determined the major character of Japanese peace education.

Peace education in Japan thus sprouted on ground where its "Post-War Democracy" and the "Ordeals of its Atomic Bomb Experiences" met and fused. It emitted sparks that enkindled a flame in people and filled them with the hope and determination to make Japan a peace-loving nation. But now, Japan finds itself in a dilemma, needing somehow to face the complex difficulties of its social and political environment.

For the past 39 years, Japan has followed a path very unique from that of other countries in peace education; it has formed special characteristics of its own. This paper aims at a brief overview of Japanese peace education. We will discuss its special qualities as shaped by its history, its focus and its direction, its hopes and its difficulties, its advantages as well as its disadvantages. We hope to explore the essence of this Japanese peace education and to search for areas where it can positively contribute to a rising international concern for peace education and for some positive steps toward peace.

Peace Education — The Transmission of War Experiences

When looking back over the history of education in Japan, we can identify two periods when this concern for peace was raised: first, in the early 1950s and, second, in the 1970s.

The early 1950s saw a tidal wave of publications on war experiences. This started out as a gush of enthusiasm to give witness to one's experiences during World War II, especially to those in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Among the numerous publications, *Genbaku No Ko*¹ (*Children of the A-Bomb*) laid the cornerstone for peace education. In its preface, the editor, Arata Osada, clearly defines the idea of peace education. He states that in this new era the earnest desire of educators is that their children be persons who can build a peaceful world. To attain this aim, the barbaric but invaluable experiences of war should not only be positively remembered, but also used as teaching materials to educate pupils to hate and do something about the cruelty and inhumanity of warfare. All prejudices, which might possibly be psychological causes of hostility toward others should be eradicated from the minds of children. Right knowledge, a beautiful spirit and the strong will to oppose all war should be cultivated and strengthened.²

It is not an exaggeration to say that the origins of Japanese peace education lie in this preface. This preface is, in short, an effort to impart the cruel experiences and bitter knowledge of war to the younger generation so that they fully realize the wretchedness of war.

From 1950 to 1955, when this memoir gained great publicity, Japan saw a massive growth and enhancement of its peace movement. Amid the heightening tension of the Cold War, both the Korean War and the Bikini Incident gave impetus to the movement which had started out in Hiroshima as a simple demonstration against nuclear weapons, using the slogan "No More Hiroshima."

On the 1st of March, 1954, near the Bikini Islands where the United States was conducting a hydrogen bomb test, a Japanese fishing boat was exposed to deadly radiation, and one crewman died. The popular response to this incident was quick and clear. As the news spread, ordinary citizens began collecting signatures against nuclear weapons. By the end of that year, more than 20 million people had signed. From these grass-root beginnings, a nation-wide movement arose, and thereafter, it came to hold an annual World Conference of Anti-Nuclear Weapons, beginning in 1955.

Peace education grew hand in hand with this movement. In 1951, the Japan Teachers Union held a general working assembly on "Never Send Pupils to War Again." This was the first effort to organize numerous organizations concerned with peace issues at local and community levels. Since then, peace education has been one of the most important items on the agenda of its meetings. The Japanese Teachers Union has become the main driving force in organizing the voluntary efforts of its teachers in classrooms all over the country.

In the 1960s, however, enthusiasm for and interest in peace education gradually decreased. This was a reflection of several interacting factors: the high growth of the economy, the creeping expansion of the new military, the change in the educational environment, and the split of the anti-nuclear movement along political lines.

Throughout the 1960s, Japan enjoyed an enormous growth in her economy. This indeed raised the living standards of the Japanese, but it also directed the interest of the people away from war and peace to a striving for affluency in their daily lives.

The classroom was no exception to this. The demands of the economy were for more highly trained and educated workers. In addition, there developed a clear difference in the treatment and promotion of employees — between those who had graduated from high schools and those from colleges, between those who had graduated from prestigious universities and those from non-prestigious universities. Universities and high-schools, and even elementary schools, were thus incorporated into a kind of hierarchical structure. Naturally, this accelerated competition to enter a "good" university, the passport to a successful life.³

On the surface, Japan's economic growth was realized by limiting its military expenditures under the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty. However, there was a hidden but steady re-militarization going on. Already in 1950, there was a Police Reserve Force, established at the urging of the U. S. to make Japan a bulwark against communism. It was formally developed into the Self Defense Forces in 1954. Although people debated whether the Forces were constitutional or not, de facto growth of the Self Defence Forces made steady headway.

Moreover, the power of the Ministry of Education was being expanded little by little, and it soon gained control over the educational structure: teacher personnel, the text books to be used, the content of the various subjects, the methods of teaching, and so on. School and teacher freedom and autonomy in curriculum were gradually restricted, and topics relating to peace and war were pushed aside for those subjects deemed necessary for entrance examinations.

But it was both these external factors and problems *within* the peace movements that caused the downfall of peace education. In 1963, the issue of a partial nuclear test ban treaty was brought up at the Ninth World Conference on Anti-Nuclear Weapons and caused a heated debate between the Communist Party group and the Socialist Party group. The former insisted that the movement distinguish between the nuclear arms of socialist nations and those of capitalist nations. The latter group, on the other hand, insisted that *all* nuclear arms be prohibited.

This debate snarled the conference and it ended up by splitting the movement. In the chaos of this factional dispute, many small citizen groups (including students, housewives and religious groups) lost their zeal and eventually dropped out of the movement. This rupture in the anti-nuclear movement not only caused a setback in other actions for peace, but also created confusion in peace education.

For these reasons peace education lost its popularity in the 1960s. It was a decade when children were brought up ignorant of war. After about a decade of this absence of peace education, a survey on the A-Bomb was held among children of junior high-schools and elementary schools in Hiroshima. The result verified that even in Hiroshima, children were no longer familiar with the real tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and that they were ignorant, even of the basic facts of World War II. Shocked by this, teachers in Hiroshima, especially the *hibakusha* (the A-Bomb victims), began teaching the cruel facts about Hiroshima, using their own experience as material in classrooms. This was the start of the rebirth of peace education. Little by little, peace education began to — and has continued to — spread geographically. But the problems of the 1960s have left their scars, adding complications to this second phase.

Peace Education at the Turning-point

The above historical overview of peace education in Japan can be summarized briefly as follows. It started as an effort to educate people about the horrors of war, among which Hiroshima and Nagasaki were emphasized the most. An effort to keep a check on the younger generation's knowledge of and sensitivity to war has characterized its history. Actually, the standard method has been to expose the students to primary material on war and then to appeal to his or her emotions (e.g. by visiting Hiroshima, showing films, meeting the *hibakusha* etc.) The rebirth of peace education too was supported by a sense of crisis concerning these fading memories of war. This resurgence of interest, represented by the slogan "Never Send Pupils to War Again" is still going on now.

The hypotheses underlying peace education seem to be: 1) If students are taught the agonies, miseries and wretchedness of war, students will naturally develop a sense of hatred toward it, 2) and if a scientific analysis is added, students will (or might) be led to positive, if maybe only indirect, actions towards peace. At a glance this scenario seems to be quite persuasive.

However, this method of teaching about war is not without its pitfalls. The first and most important problem is that, by focusing on content alone, peace education in Japan has remained past-oriented. Many teachers are now complaining that, in spite of their own enthusiasm, the more they teach about war, the more negative are the reactions of their students.

To remind the reader, I do not mean that teaching about war is unimportant. Japanese peace education has been quite helpful in accumulating material and information on war experiences, especially those concerning the two nuclear disasters. Indeed, what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki 39 years ago and what is happening to the *hibakusha* today can not be stressed too much. But if we overlook the generation gap (between those who teach and those who are taught), or neglect to relate the past to the present realities of our students, teachers might end up simply teaching about war and the experiences of war, "ancient history" to their students.

Peace education in Japan is at a turning-point, not only in methodology, but also in content. As discussed above, Japanese peace education has focused on "peace" in contrast with "war." However, when we reflect on the outcome of research concerning "structural violence" in society, we find it has begun to broaden its scope to include underdevelopment, pollution, poverty, discrimination, oppression and other ills of society which hinder the full development of the individual.

Recently, teachers (although still only a few) have begun to interest themselves in North-South relations, the structure of poverty, oppression by governments, international and inter-cultural communication and so forth. This trend should be seen as an attempt to build a coalition between peace research and peace education. It may, however, ironically complicate attempts to strengthen the contents of peace education. This mushrooming of topics is causing a shift in emphasis away from traditional education for peace to education for development and education for international understanding and so on. It has not yet reached a stage of integration but is causing confusion about what should be taught. For example, in classrooms "positive peace" could signify anything from juvenile delinquency to "examination hell."

Nevertheless, there are encouraging signs of progress. After a decade of disagreement, the various factions in the anti-nuclear movement agreed enough to send a national representative to the United Nations First Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament in 1978. This was brought about because of the pressure from various citizen groups seriously concerned about the accelerating arms race. Other special groups concerned about making an impact on society also arose, such as the Ten-Foot Campaign to produce documentary films on the atomic bomb.

Although still proceeding at a slow pace these movements have succeeded in making the disastrous nature of nuclear arms known throughout the world. The younger generation, too, admits they have learned something from them. According to a rather recent survey, over half of the high school students polled agreed that the anti-nuclear movements were successful in spreading the facts about Hiroshima. However, in terms of actual results, disarmament and the prohibition of all nuclear tests, 49% answered that the movements have been ineffective. And only 17% answered positively to the question whether they would participate in an anti-nuclear movement if this opportunity ever arose.⁴

This apathy, derived from a sense of helplessness, is not unique to the younger generation. Nobody knows the answer. What we may only know is where the present situation is leading us. But if peace education is really aiming for the survival of the human race, then it cannot do so without facing this feeling of powerlessness among both the young and the old.

If peace education in Japan hopes to grow in the future, it must find some method of relating the past to the present, make an effective coalition with peace research, and overcome the mood of apathy and the sense of helplessness, all too prevalent nowadays.

Notes

1. OSADA, Aarata ed. 1951. *Genbaku No Ko (Children of the A-Bomb)*, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.
2. *Ibid.* p. 13.
3. For the details of educational policy and economic demand in the 1960s, see HOOK, Glenn D. 1982. "Education as Business - Whither Peace Education?," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 15-23.
4. Forum for International Education ed. 1980. *Kokosei no Heiwa Ninshiki - Yobi Chousa Houkoku (Peace Cognition of High School Students - A Preliminary Survey)*, Forum for International Education.

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH MATERIALS ON HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI USEFUL FOR PEACE EDUCATION

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The number of English materials on damages, victims and sufferings caused by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is not large, compared with the number available in Japanese. However, those especially necessary and important for people in foreign countries have come to be translated and published in gradually increasing numbers. I would like to introduce some of those which could be useful for peace education.

1. DOCUMENTS AND NOTES OF ATOMIC BOMB EXPERIENCE WRITTEN BY SURVIVORS

Editor : Dr. Arata Osada,

Title : *Children of Hiroshima*

Date : 1951

Publisher : Harper & Row Publishers, New York, San Francisco, London

Price : \$6.95

Content : Documents written by students (elementary, junior and senior high schools and university) in Hiroshima who experienced the atomic bomb disaster.

Evaluation : As the book contains many kinds of appeals by children and students, we can learn how the atomic bomb disaster exerted a deep and miserable influence on the pure minds of children.

The book is of monumental value as teaching material based on the experiences of the atomic bomb victims themselves. The quotation below is illustrative: "Then, in the morning when I got up, my elder brother was dead, and every member of my family died one after the other" (Kikuko Yamamoto, 5 years old when she was exposed to the explosion of the atomic bomb)

Editor : Dr. Takashi Nagai

Title : *Living Beneath The Atomic Clouds*

Date : 1979

Publisher : San-yu-sha Shuppan, 1-7-1, Suido, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo

Price : ¥450

Content : Children's record of suffering due to the atomic bomb. These records are written by the students of Yamazato Primary School and Junior High School.

In Yamazato Primary School, over a thousand children died as a result of the atomic bomb as the school was located very near the hypocenter of the atomic bomb explosion.

Evaluation : These stories of children who survived the bombings were collected and published by Dr. Nagai, himself a *hibakusha* bedridden due to leukemia. The terrible situation on the day the atomic bomb was dropped can be realised before one's very eyes.

Author : John Hersey

Title : *Hiroshima*

Date : 1981

Publisher : Bantam Books, 414, East Golf Road, DesPlaines, Ill. 60016

Price : ¥930

Content : Six survivors' stories of their experiences at the time of the bombing.

Evaluation : The first English documentary on the atomic bombing by an American journalist.

Author : Eleanor Coerr

Title : *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes*

Date : 1977

Publisher : G. P. Putnum's Sons, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

Price : \$6.95

Content : The record of the struggle against disease by Sadako Sasaki, who died of leukemia when she was twelve years old.

Evaluation : The pictures in this book make it convenient for teaching children.

2. LITERATURE

Author : Masuji Ibuse

Title : *Black Rain*

Date : 1978

Publisher : Kodansha International, 2-12-21 Otowa, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo. /10 East 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

Price : ¥980

Content : Black rain, containing radioactive fall out, falls on a young woman who later suffers from fearful "atomic disease." Her chance of marriage dissolves. The hero of the novel, her uncle, writes a diary describing the atomic bomb disaster, encouraged by his niece. Shigematsu the hero hopes for her happy marriage, but it is in vain as she becomes ill.

Evaluation : The novel brings home to us the fear of radiation and the humaneness of the hero to his niece. It has used at teaching material for junior and senior high school literature classes.

Author : Sankichi Toge

Title : *Hiroshima Poems*

Date : 1980

Publisher : San-yu-sha Shuppan, 1-7-1 Suido, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo

Price : ¥1,200

Content : Toge's "Give Back Father," "August 6th," and 23 other poems.

Evaluation : Anthology of angry outcry against the atomic bomb. The plain expressions of poems are appealing to the mind of people.

Editor : Miyao Ohara

Title : *The Song of Hiroshima*

Date : 1971

Publisher : Taihei Shuppan, 1-2-15 Nishi Kanda, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

Content : Poems of 21 poets (Tamiki Hara, Sadako Kurihara, Hiromu Morishita, etc.)

Editor : Kenzaburo Oe

Title : *Atomic Aftermath*

Date : 1984

Publisher : Shueisha, 2-5-10 Hitotsubashi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

Content : Short stories about Hiroshima and Nagasaki ("Summer Flower" by Tamiki Hara, "Fire Flies" by Yoko Ota, etc.)

Evaluation : Short stories useful for literature classes

Author : Kenzaburo Oe

Title : *Hiroshima Notes*

Date : 1981

Publisher : YMCA Shuppan, 2-3-18 Nishiwaseda, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo

Price : ¥980

Content : Essays. In the essays Oe pursues the misery and dignity of living and loving as a human being surviving the atomic bomb.

Evaluation : Through the disaster of the atomic bomb, the reader is made to think about life as a human being.

Author : Harman Hagadon

Title : *The Bomb That Fell on America*

Date : 1946

Publisher : Association Press, N. Y.

Content : A long poem of 76 pages

Evaluation : Expresses the mental anguish of the bombings to the American people as seen through the eyes of a Quaker.

Author : Hiroyuki Agawa

Title : *Devil's Heritage*

Date : 1957

Publisher : Hokuseido.

Content : A novel in which a writer comes back to Hiroshima to report about Hiroshima eight years after the bombing.

3. DATA ABOUT THE ATOMIC BOMB DISASTER

Editor : Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Title : *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings*

Date : 1981

Publisher : Iwanami Shoten, 2-5-5 Hitotsubashi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

Price : ¥8,500

Content and Evaluation : The book abounds in data and includes pictures, graphs and so forth. Description of the lives of survivors, peace appeals, peace movements and other data about the atomic bomb disaster.

Author : Michihiko Hachiya

Title : *Hiroshima Diary*

Date : 1955

Publisher : University of North Carolina, School of Medicine

Price : ¥1,350

Content : Records during about two months after the explosion of the atomic bomb. The author himself was wounded but he continued to record the disaster.

Evaluation : The symptoms of the atomic disease of people who came to receive treatment were recorded faithfully and objectively from the standpoint of a doctor. This book has been widely acclaimed in many countries.

4. TEXT BOOK OR SUB-READER FOR PEACE EDUCATION

Editor : Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education

Title : *Hiroshima—Living in this Nuclear Age*

Date : 1980

Publisher : Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education, c/o Kyoiku-Kaikan, 2-7-5 Hikarimachi, Hiroshima

Content : This book was issued as material for peace education for secondary school students.

The contents are "Hiroshima and the 15 Year War between Japan and China," "Nuclear Weapons and Japan Today," "The History of War and Nuclear Weapons," "Children of Hiroshima," "A Lawsuit by the Atomic Bomb Victims and the Problems that They are Facing."

As supplement the book contains poems and songs.
 Evaluation : Suitable for secondary school students.

Editor : Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Reader Editorial Committee
 Title : *Living for a Peaceful Tomorrow – A Peace Reader for High School Students*
 Date : 1974
 Publisher : Private Publishing (c/o Hiromu Morishita, 1-2-14 Chuo, Itukaichi, Saiki-gun, Hiroshima)
 Price : ¥3,000
 Content : "Learning from The Original of Atomic Bomb Experience"; "What is War"; "Problem We Face Today."
 Evaluation : The contents cover all problems concerning Hiroshima and provide data to the young generation who live in the nuclear age.

Author : Yoshiteru Kosakai
 Title : *Hiroshima Peace Reader*
 Date : 1980
 Publisher : Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima
 Price : ¥400
 Content : Convenient data about the history of Hiroshima, miserable state of suffering caused by the atomic bomb, the Peace Park and cenotaphs in the park.
 Evaluation : Through clear descriptions, it is a handy introduction to Hiroshima.

Title : *A Standard Curriculum For Peace Education (Draft)*
 Date : 1979
 Publisher : Hiroshima Institute for Peace Education, c/o Kyoiku Kaikan, 2-7-5 Hikarimachi, Hiroshima
 Content : A draft of curriculum for peace education at preschool, elementary school and junior high school levels.

Editor : Nagasaki Prefecture Editorial Committee
 Title : *In the Sky over Nagasaki*
 Date : 1977
 Publisher : Peace Resource Center, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio, 45177
 Price : ¥600
 Content : Book for children compiled by Nagasaki Prefecture Hibakusha Teachers Association.
 The story of a 400-year-old camphor tree that came back to life after the bombing.

5. FILMS

Editors : Committee of Japanese Citizens to Send Gift Copies of a Photographic and Pictorial Record of the Atomic Bombing to our Children and Fellow Human Beings of the World
 Title : (1) *Give Back the Human Race*
 (2) *Prophecy*
 Date : 1982
 Outlet : Above mentioned Committee, Heiwa-Kaikan, 1-4-9 Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo
 Price : (1) ¥90,000, lease. ¥5,000, Videotape ¥18,000
 (2) ¥230,000, lease. ¥10,000, Videotape ¥25,000
 Content : The film about the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was brought back from The Archives in Washington, D. C. The films were produced from this original film.
 There are five language copies: English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Running time (1) 20 minutes (2) 41 minutes.
 "Give Back the Human Race" was edited mainly on the basis of the appeals of the survivors who are living now suffering from the effects of the atomic bomb.
 "Prophecy" describes the "living hell" of thirty nine years ago, the crisis caused by the nuclear arms race, sufferings of survivors, the antinuclear movement, and so on.
 Evaluation: (1) is suitable for school education.
 (2) is suitable for adults.

Planner : Planned by Hiroshima city and Nagasaki city, and produced by Iwanami Movie Company
 Title : *Hiroshima Nagasaki*
 Producer : Iwanami Picture Company, 2-21-4 Misaki-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
 Price : ¥250,000, lease ¥10,000
 Content : This is a record of the general suffering caused by the atomic bomb, described from the scientific view point. It is based on the report by the scientists who compiled "Hiroshima and Nagasaki-The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic-Bombings" (46 minutes)

6. SLIDES

Producer : Hiroshima Appeal Committee
 Manager : Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima
 Title and Content:
 A / *Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum*
 These slides are composed mainly of photos and exhibits displayed in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum
 B / *Hiroshima Wishes to Tell*
 These slides deal with the after-effects of radiation, the destructive forces of the bomb and so on.

C / A - Bomb Survivors

An attempt to express what was happened 39 years ago in Hiroshima: The pictures are drawn by atomic bomb survivors. Aerial photos are also included.
 Price : A: ¥1,600. B: ¥2,200. C: ¥7,000.

7. PAINTINGS

Title : *Unforgettable Fire*

Date : 1977

Publisher : Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 41-1 Udagawa-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo

Price : ¥2,200

Content : A booklet of pictures about the atomic bomb drawn by ordinary citizens.

Evaluation : The drawings are simple but the pictures and explanations of the bombing are so real because they are a result of Japanese citizens' experience. The pictures are effective for communication.

8. PHOTOGRAPHS

Author : Ittetsu Morishita

Title : *Hibakusha*

Date : 1978

Publisher : Morishita Ittetsu Photo Office, 4F Yoyogikaikan, 1-35-1 Yoyogi, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo

Price : ¥4,800

Content : Works of photographer Ittetsu Morishita inquiring into the present state of survivors.

9. COMICS

Author : Keiji Nakazawa

Title : *Barefoot Gen* (Vol. 1)

Date : 1978

Publisher : Project Gen, C/o, Masahiro Oshima, 5-4-3 Shinmachi, Hoya-shi, Tokyo

Price : \$3.80

Content : A story of "Gen", a boy of Hiroshima. The story tells of the hell of suffering from the atomic bomb, the pressure of the militarists during war time, the difficulty of life after the war, and so forth.

Evaluation : The pain and humour of Gen catch the heart of children today who are called "the comic generation." This opens a new direction for passing on the experience of the atomic bombing. This comic is translated into English and German.

CONSTITUTION AND PEACE: 1984 SPRING SESSION OF PSAJ

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The Spring Session of the PSAJ was held in Kyoto on 3 June, 1984, the main subject of discussion being "the Constitution and Peace."

Following the opening speech, in which the President of the Association welcomed the participants, the chairman of the Planning Committee stressed the contemporary importance of the contributions made by the Japanese Constitution, particularly Article 9, towards the country's lasting peace, in the light of the recent political movement led by right wingers to undermine the Constitution.

The two reports in the morning dealt with the historical background against which the present Constitution was enacted in 1947.

The first presentation, "Historical Structures Giving Rise to the Constitution of Japan," by Takashi Ebashi, began with an examination of how Japanese jurists evaluated the situation in which the country found herself immediately after the end of World War II, as well as their attitudes towards the "revolutionary" amendments made to the old Imperial Constitution. He stated that at an early stage of the Allied occupation there had been many jurists who did not expect sweeping changes in the old Constitution which, in their view, would be workable subject to certain technical modifications. Subsequently some lawyers, especially those belonging to the Kanri Horei Kenkyu Group (Study Group on Administrative Law) under the Allied occupation, recommended that the introduction in the Constitution of entirely new principles should be justified by the Japanese acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration which had been deemed as a supra-legal authority. They had considered that only the satisfaction of all the requirements imposed by the Allied Powers would enable the country to regain her independence. And their evaluation had been based on the doctrine of the supremacy of international law over municipal law. After the 1951 meeting of the Japan Public Law Association, however, the doctrine of the supremacy of Constitutional law over international law prevailed. In Ebashi's opinion, the fact should not be overlooked that the Japanese jurists at the time were ignorant of international politics, since there existed no possibility for Japan to make any contact with other countries abroad. The jurists were thus unable to appreciate the importance to be attached to international efforts for the creation and improvement of the conditions in which peace could be maintained in co-operation with other nations. What they had been able to do was to evaluate the pacifism enunciated in the Preamble of the Constitution only in connection with the provisions in Article 9 concerning the non-militarisation of the country. In conclusion, Ebashi considered it necessary to pay more attention to foreign relations with a view to achieving the basic objectives of the Japanese Constitution.

Commenting on the presentation, Osamu Watanabe pointed out that, in dealing with possible amendments to the present Constitution, there have been two different approaches adopted by the ruling party. First, the government led by Prime Minister Yoshida promoted the country's rearmament without expressing any attempt

to change the constitutional provisions. This approach, which had been accelerated at the time of the Cold War, was later followed by governments headed by Hatoyama and Ikeda, respectively. The second approach has been pursued by the Kishi and Nakasone governments which, having abandoned the idea held by Yoshida and others, openly declared their plan to revise the Constitution, in the light of changes which have taken place in international relations. They aimed at enabling the country to play a more independent and positive role in international politics, as one of the members of the Western Alliance. Watanabe suggested the existence of the possibility that the country might be militarised even under a democratic regime controlled by civilians, without returning to the old imperial regime.

Shouchi Koseki, in his "the Constitution of Japan as Seen by Asian Countries," suggested Asian countries had never considered that the Constitution itself could check the process of militarisation in Japan. He indicated for example that in 1947, when the present Constitution came into being, the Conference of Commonwealth Countries adopted a draft Convention to set up a joint inspection committee which should ensure that Japan would not be rearmed for 25 years. Having suffered from Japanese aggression during the war, these countries had wished to have guarantees against the possible threat of Japan through U. S. influence and control, but not constitutional provisions. In Koseki's view this is one of the reasons why no apparent contradiction between these countries and Japan arose even when the latter proceeded to rearm disregarding Article 9 of the Constitution.

In commenting, Yoko Kitazawa remarked that more attention should be paid to the relations between Japan and Asian countries whose peoples had suffered from Japan's aggression and colonialism. Asians fear Japan's increasing investments and the acceleration of her armament might bring about a new threat to their countries.

In the afternoon session, three reports dealt with various aspects of contemporary constitutional problems. Yoichi Higuchi, whose report was entitled "How the Constitution's Metamorphosis Should Be Evaluated," examined both changing circumstances surrounding the Constitution in the 1980s and views of constitutional lawyers on such circumstances. His examination was made from two different angles. First, referring to the contributions made by the Constitution to the maintenance of peace in Japan, Higuchi noted that notwithstanding some political realities such as reinforcement of the Japanese Self-Defence Forces which had been clearly in contradiction to Article 9 of the Constitution, no revision had been made in the Article itself, so that its normative effects remained *in toto*. Therefore the only means available to some jurists for their approval of the existing armed forces in the country was to make changes in the interpretation of the Constitutional provisions. An example of this had been the recently advocated theory on the metamorphosis of the Constitution (*Verfassungswandlung*), according to which its norms might be modified without amending the text, as changes took place in governmental action, practice, objective conditions, and so on. In Higuchi's view, all the theories similar to this were merely an interpretation of the Constitution, made on the basis of different value judgements and had not always been proved by scientific evidence. Secondly, he noted that the government led by Nakasone had tried to improve the country's military capacity, with a view to reaching the level already attained by the nations of the Western Alliance in the field of national defence. Particularly in the case of Japan, he observed, such a governmental policy had the potential danger to lead the country to militarism, and an anti-democratic totalitarian regime. Thus, there existed the anomaly that the efforts to increase her defence capacity up to the Western level would give rise to the destruction of the Constitutional framework established on the basis of the Western democratic model. The speaker concluded that jurists were required to be aware of the existence of such anomalies which should be known to all the peoples of the world and to make every effort to protect democratic principles laid down by the Constitution.

Commenting on the presentation, Katumi Ueda drew the attention of the participants in the meeting to the fact that the Constitution itself had never been revised, but certain changes took place in the circumstances which conditioned its interpretation and application. In his view, the basic problem was whether one should accept the legal system based on the present Constitution or the regime framed by the US-Japan Security Treaty. Apart from the above problem, he observed, it was important to analyse the mentality of the Japanese people, as it seemed to him that the modern European-oriented individualism and democracy had not been firmly established in Japanese society. It was indicated that a large number of people had contradictory sentiments and understandings; for example, they showed sympathetic attitudes to the debate on the legal status of the Yasukuni Shrine while respecting freedom of religion guaranteed by the Constitution; they wished no change to be made in the Constitutional provisions whilst approving the existence of the military forces in the name of self-defence.

Yoshiaki Yoshida dealt with the experiences gained by, and problems arising out of, activities in the field of the foreign relations of local governments at different levels of administration, with particular reference to their contribution towards the maintenance of peace. He stated that the local governments in Japan were empowered by the Constitution to establish peaceful and friendly relations with their counterparts in other countries as their duties included the safeguard of their inhabitants' living and life. There were a number of such relations set up by local autonomies; e.g. sister-city arrangements, joint declarations against nuclear weapons, protection and promotion of human rights for non-nationals living in their areas and so forth. Yoshida pointed out that efforts should be made to establish such relations in increasing number with local governments in the countries of the Eastern or Third-World bloc. In his opinion, such relations should not be mere supplements to the diplomatic activities carried out at the national level, but be instrumental in the movements to maintain the lasting peace of the world.

Discussant Takao Kubo referred to the activities carried out by the Prefectural Government of Kanagawa; the conclusion of a sister-government agreement with one of its counterparts in the People's Republic of China, participation in an international conference of local governments which adopted a declaration against nuclear weapons, organisation of an international symposium on peace, and so on. He stressed the importance attached to the increasing participation of the residents in these activities.

The last presentation by Shunji Taoka dealt with the problems of "Armaments Race in the Region of the Western Pacific." In the first place he focussed his attention on the nuclear armaments race between the USA and USSR in the Western Pacific, particularly in the Sea of Okhotsk, where the latter planned to place Delta-class nuclear-powered submarines with atomic missiles, in order to avoid the high capability of the USA in counter-attack submarines. Against this strategy, the USA requested Japan's collaboration so as to ensure the

freedom of submarine operations in the area. He then discussed the overall strategy of the USA, formulated in the light of the Middle East Crisis, which opened the possibility of counter-attack at all the spots of the world at the same time. In order to give effects to this strategy, the USA requested Japan's collaboration in the blockade of three or four Japanese straits, whereas the Nakasone government proposed to introduce sea-lane defence tactics. In his view, such requests and proposals would greatly jeopardise the peace and security of Japan. Taoka considered that there were certain policy alternatives which the country could adopt as a member of the Western Alliance; the autonomous status enjoyed by Denmark in NATO could be an example of such alternatives.

Commenting on the report, Yoshiro Matsui remarked that the Japanese government had never denied that the exercise of the right of collective self-defence was banned by Article 9 of the Constitution, but sought to gain the same results by enlarging the scope of the right of individual self-defence which, in this view, was permitted to be exercised by the constitutional provisions, as one of the inherent rights of a sovereign state. He pointed out that recently Japan concluded bilateral treaties with some Asian countries to protect her investments in the country concerned, and there had been legal doctrines to justify the dispatch of military troops for the protection of Japanese nationals and properties abroad. Since these movements would give rise to the militarization of Japan, he concluded, it was important, for the true security of the country, to reappraise the value of discussions about the neutralism of the country, the UN collective security system, non-alignment policies, and the UN's appeals for disarmament or for the establishment of non-nuclear zones in the international sphere, as well as people's movements to defend and promote the Constitutional principle and their possible control over Japan's foreign policy.

Following these presentations and comments, free discussions took place among the participants in the meeting. The topics highlighted through the discussions were related to the following areas: human rights of Korean nationals residing in Japan; Okinawa's position under the Japan-US security arrangements; the constitutionality of the Self-Defence Forces; Japanese mentality and the Constitution; three non-nuclear principles, i.e., not to produce, possess nor introduce nuclear weapons, and the Constitution of Japan.

The meeting was successful in that the presentation of the reports and subsequent discussions thereof identified the important problem areas regarding the Japanese Constitution and its contribution towards lasting peace. The discussions which took place at the meeting also suggested that there existed a number of important problems as to the country's security in the true sense, security for the sake of the people's benefits and happiness. It thus paved the way to the next session of the PSAJ meeting which would discuss the subject of "Japan's Security."

PEACE RESEARCH AND WOMEN: A SPECIAL SYMPOSIUM OF PSAJ (KANAGAWA, JUNE 30, 1984)

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"Even peace research, a science for human fulfilment, has been neglecting the thoughts and feelings of women. To avert the critical situation threatening peace today, we should search for womanhood and its principle of life. Womanhood, not excluding but including world affairs in a cognitive way, will work effectively only with a fair relationship between men and women. Peace research could be oriented by this perspective to transform its paradigms and conceptual frameworks. And we can find abundant energy and creativeness for the transformation of women by being active in everyday social life." Hisako UKITA, vice-president of the PSAJ, opened a special symposium of the PSAJ on 'Peace Research and Women' with the above statement.

Although the PSAJ broke its long silence on the women's issue, unfortunately the topic attracted less attention from PSAJ members, 'gentlemen professors', than from others; most of the 72 attendants were non-PSAJ members and women from other fields. In the symposium, two presentations were given: "Introduction of Gender Analysis in Peace Research" by Yayoi AOKI, and "Women and *Equality, Development and Peace*" by Jun NISHIKAWA. Led off by the comments by six discussants, active discussion followed, and it became clear that all shared a consensus on the necessity to link peace research with women's studies. However, the two concepts, *peace* and *women*, received scant attention to meet our demand: drawing a practical design of peace research and women.

Internationally, there are several stimuli to promote the study of women: UN international years of women since 1975, active participation of women in the anti-nuclear movement in the Western countries in the 1980s, and Ivan Illich's provocative suggestion of gender analysis and its widespread influence on scholars. The women's group in the International Peace Research Association also held a meeting on women, militarism and disarmament in Hungary last year. Certainly the PSAJ symposium on women was set in this trend.

Modern academic society has remained male-dominant, in spite of its sex-free appearance. Although peace research started as an interdisciplinary study with a strong value orientation for peace, equality, welfare and justice, the male-dominancy is still visible. Studies on women are treated as a special issue only for women, like studies on ethnic problems for the minorities themselves. Peace research abroad has touched on women's problems in the following ways: (1) women's role in peace movements, (2) women's values in peace education and cultural transformation, and (3) structural violence against women. (1) and (2) represent the views of women in the Western industrialized countries, who usually claim women are originally more peaceful than men and nonviolence is the imperative. (3) concerns women in the Third World. But do these studies answer our several questions? Given the variety of women's positions, interests and ideologies, how do you discuss women? How do you identify women or gender without a hidden bias of a particular social strata's view? How do you connect the issue of women with the issue of peace? It is neither obvious how peace research can approach women's problems nor how such an attempt creates a positive impact on the already established social sciences for peace.

We have to understand that we are deprived of any all-mighty scientific model to explain women's problems as a whole. We do not argue, like some feminists, that women have kept clean hands in regards to the war system. We do not agree with a rustic Marxist to define women as a single oppressed class in the capitalist mode of production. We cannot be satisfied with a structural functionalist applying the concept of structural violence to describe any difficulties of women.

To face women's issues in each social science means an attempt to criticize the insufficiency and distortion of the original analytical tools. Peace research should consciously recognize women as, *sine qua non*, research subjects, in order to transform itself from a mere assembly of individually established social sciences into a synthesis of them.

To turn our eyes to studies on women in Japan we can find numerous works on women and peace, mainly produced by activist women rather than by professional scholars. Women's social practices in postwar Japan have backed up their intellectual search for the past, present and future of women. Based on such indigenous sources, we can launch into research fields which will change the pseudo-neutrality of academic society and forward positive cooperation between researchers and activists, especially women.

The first speaker, Aoki, emphasized the radical reconstruction of male-female images in the social sciences by applying gender analysis. She disagreed with Betty Reardon, who said women are born as pacifists because of their nature to bear babies while men are originally militaristic. The gender concept remains undefined, she argued, and we need clear cultural conceptualizations of womanhood and manhood which are symbolized by the physical nature of both genders and distinguished from femininity and masculinity. Femininity is the socially imposed characteristic which is to belong exclusively to women, while womanhood is generally found not only in women but also in men. According to her understanding, we live in a mono-sexual society where masculinity permeates life as the universal value; women are singled out as objects of men, as mothers or prostitutes; even the physical male-female functions are vulnerable to the control of advanced technologies. To take up the issue of womanhood gives us an orientation as ecologists to regain physical identity as a human being as well as in relation to nature. Here she stressed the importance of the perspective of ecological feminism as a movement to overcome the present imperialistic world order and the unequal sexist system.

Nishikawa took a different approach, starting from the proposition that women were the first and the most numerous to be oppressed in history; women have been doubly exploited both as cheap labor and as housewives in the capitalistic market economy. The results of development or modernization are as follows: first, women's social status deteriorated due to job-advantages to men, even if the objective conditions for women seem improved; second, nationalism in the Third World to counter Western civilization often restores traditional cultural values and behaviors, which are hostile to women; finally, the question remains unanswered: what kind of system will the feminists propose to replace the contemporary discriminatory society? Given the prevailing conditions, where equality and development fail to progress hand in hand, we must analyze how women's liberation relates to liberation of all the oppressed and to peace.

Aoki's argument can be seen as an attempt to answer Nishikawa's question: her cultural anthropological method, a new approach in peace research, is a challenge to conventional social sciences. Takeshi ISHIDA developed this point, and critically reviewed Marxist attitudes toward women and peace issues. Kazuko TSURUMI suggested that we should distinguish the female principle from the male principle, the latter having been already realized in history. We have two types of cognition: the purely logical cognition based on the male principle, and cognition, based on the female principle composed of both logos and pathos.

A discussant, Akira KURIHARA, responding to Aoki and Tsurumi's views, referred to three cosmologies in world history: a cosmology of an equal tribal society maintaining a gender relationship, a cosmology of a hierarchical society ruled by the state and discriminating against women, and a cosmology of a highly mechanized society manipulated by the media. He warned us of the genderless, inhumane conditions today depriving men and women of their nature and urged the necessity to build up a new culture of men and women. Reiko WATANUKI supported Aoki's standpoint, arguing that our society damages the sense of gender, place, and time, and that such a trend culminates in peaceful genocide or structural violence.

Douglas LUMMIS questioned the validity of *womanhood* or *blackness* as a useful analytical concept. To define the male-female principles by cultural differences is like returning to pre-scientific logic: fire burns by its own nature. He recognized that peace research would benefit from analyzing the war behavior and the war system from the perspective of women. The US "veterans" in the Vietnam war raped and slaughtered Vietnamese women; similar behavior has not occurred in the history of women. Moreover, he said, we must examine how the war system is related to the social structure in which only men fill up the military organizations and women expect men to take guns.

Yoshie SAKAMOTO commented on women's understanding of the world, which is clearly different from that of men because of their oppressed and inferior status. Yuji SUZUKI opposed the feminist opinion on the ground that women have never formed a unified group; he believes that the alienation of women should be interpreted in the framework of historical class formation and the whole social structure.

Yoko KITAZAWA pointed to women's roles in social movements. Referring to the limits of the Japanese anti-nuclear movement in 1954, to which she committed herself, she argued that the present anti-Tomahawk movement was repeating the same tone, 'we oppose nuclear missiles based on the fear that Japan will face the danger of a nuclear war by being *involved* in a war occurring outside Japan.' She said, compared with thirty years ago, there had been no improvements in the situation: no signs of political responsibility, both in the government and in the people, to work for peace-making. Even if the big organizations, like trade unions, participate in the peace movement, they stick to existing interests in the affluent and 'peaceful' Japan. Only each individual can change his or her life-style or frame of mind. Such individuals have formed the movements and organizations to try to cooperate with the people's activities in the Third World. To put the women's perspective in the context of social transformation will be significant in eliminating the war system and the oppression of women and other social minorities.

Concluding the seminar, which unfortunately could not reach any concrete conclusion, the president of the PSAJ, Ohtori KURINO, promised to promote studies on women in the peace research community and to set up a working group on the subject in the PSAJ soon. This is a clearly positive result of the symposium.

PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS IN JAPAN (3)

David WESSELS
Sophia University

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR ADVANCED STUDIES ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA, SOPHIA UNIVERSITY (*Jochi Daigaku Kokusai Kankei Kenkyujo*)

The Institute of International Relations (IIR) was founded at Sophia University in April 1969. As its subtitle indicates, this Institute is particularly oriented towards research on the overarching issues of peace and development in Asia; the themes should be understood as a focus for, rather than a restriction on, the activities and interests of the Institute's members. As of April 1984, the staff of the IIR, all of whom are faculty members of Sophia University, include a Director, ten Permanent Members, and three Associate Members, who are specialists on politics, society, economy, law, history, and related fields. In general terms, it is an interdisciplinary center concerned with the full range of issues that are treated in international studies, including international relations and comparative social scientific research.

The IIR promotes coordinated research projects among its own members and with other cooperating individuals and institutions, both in Japan and abroad. The monthly study meetings of the staff contributed particularly to the development of two textbooks on international studies used widely in Japanese universities: *Kokusaigaku: Riron to Tenbo* (International Studies: Theory and Perspective), eds. K. Mushakoji and M. Royama (University of Tokyo Press, 1976); and *Gendai Kokusai Kankei Ron: Atarashii Kokusai Chitsujō o Motomete* (Contemporary International Relations: In Quest of a New International Order), eds. T. Kawata and K. Miwa (University of Tokyo Press, 1980). The study meetings of the staff in 1982–1984 were frequently devoted to the planning, implementation, and analysis of a comprehensive survey on the present scope and content of the international relations and area studies curricula in Japanese universities, as well as on the international consciousness and fields of interest of students taking such courses in Japanese universities. The survey also collected comparable information from selected universities abroad to serve as a basis for international comparison. The results of this survey will be published in Japanese and English during 1984.

The staff of the IIR also teach in the educational programs of Sophia University. They provide the core faculty for an undergraduate minor in International Relations in the Department of Foreign Studies and a graduate program leading to Master's and Doctoral degrees in International Relations (thirty-two students in residence in the Master's program and thirteen in the Doctoral program in 1984). The Institute also provides guidance and an institutional base of support to foreign scholars and graduate students doing research in Japan, and it welcomes many short-term visitors from abroad each year.

In addition to the textbooks noted above, the IIR has sponsored or co-sponsored the publication of three books (one in English, two in Japanese); several series of Research Papers (there are now forty-seven in the main English-language series); and the semiannual (since 1978) periodical *The Journal of International Studies* (partly in English, partly in Japanese, with abstracts of articles in both languages).

Since its inception, the Institute has also been the locus for or a participant in numerous research projects, symposia, lectures, and continuing study meetings at both the international and national levels, many of which have been devoted to themes connected with peace studies. For example, the first Asian Peace Research Conference was jointly sponsored by the Peace Research Society International (President: W. Isard), the Japan Peace Research Group (President: T. Kawata), and the IIR in 1969 and held at Sophia University. The IIR's activities in fields such as peace, disarmament, and international understanding are too numerous to list here; but an outline of recent developments is contained in the pamphlet "Institute of International Relations: 1979–1984," a copy of which may be obtained by writing to the Institute.

Staff (as of April 1984): Director – MIWA Kimitada; Permanent Members – IMAI Keiko, KAWAGUCHI (HIROSE) Kazuko, KAWATA Tadashi, NAYA Masatsugu, OGATA Sadako, ORI Kan, ROYAMA Michio, TSURUMI Kazuko, WATANUKI Joji, David WESSELS; Associate Members – MURAI Yoshinori, MUNAKATA Iwao, ODAWARA Ken'ichi.

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Tokyo 102 JAPAN
Tel. (03) 238-5161

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE, SOPHIA UNIVERSITY (*Jochi Daigaku Shakai Seigi Kenkyujo*)

The Institute for the Study of Social Justice (ISSJ) was established at Sophia University in April 1981 to investigate the conditions of social injustice in the domestic and international arena, and thereby to promote social justice, and the peace and development of mankind. The Institute has sought support and cooperation from other groups both at home and abroad in pursuit of this objective. The Institute includes research, teaching, and action-oriented programs among its activities.

Research. The ISSJ has been the focal point for several research projects at Sophia University:

- (1) April 1979–March 1982: Research on Justice: theoretical study of the meaning of justice and empirical analysis of major issues of justice facing Japan.
- (2) April 1982–March 1984: Peace Research: Toward a Just World – In Search of Values and Methods of Peace and Development Education. The program included lectures, study sessions, and a study trip to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- (3) April 1982–March 1984: Food Problems in Developing Areas. In addition to interdisciplinary research on this theme, special seminars, lectures, and a music festival were sponsored on the Sophia

campus each year on World Food Day (October 16).

- (4) February–April, 1983: Field Research on Relief and Rehabilitation of the Refugees and Displaced Persons in Pakistan, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Somalia. Sophia University had sent about 150 volunteers to help in the refugee camps in Thailand in 1980. In furtherance of such work, field research was conducted and contacts established in other refugee areas by eight students and professionals, with financial aid from Caritas Japan and Sophia University.

Symposia and Lectures. The Institute, in association with other groups such as International Christian University (Tokyo) and the Japan YMCA League, has sponsored international symposia each year, which included both guest speakers from abroad and Japanese participants. The dates and themes are as follows:

- (1) 1981 (Oct. 30–Nov. 1): "Human Dignity in the Age of International Mutual Dependency."
- (2) 1981 (Oct. 22–24): "Development and Justice in Asia: Re-examination of Japan's Attitude."
- (3) 1983 (Dec. 9–11): "World Refugees and Human Rights: Our Responsibility and Role."

The Institute also sponsors numerous lectures on campus each year. Among the more notable are two talks by Mother Teresa of the Missionaries of Charity (1981, 1982) and a dialogue with Lech Walesa of the Polish Workers' Union Solidarity (1981).

Action Programs. In cooperation with the Sophia Relief Service, a service program established within Sophia University, the Institute has promoted direct action on behalf of justice. From June 1981 to November 1983, Sophia Relief Service collected US\$101,418 (¥24,392,174) on behalf of poor people and refugees throughout the world; these funds are distributed through the network of institutional contacts established with the help of the Institute.

Publications:

- (1) Annual: *Shakai Seigi* (Social Justice), since 1982.
- (2) Proceedings of the International Symposia of 1981, 1982 (the former was published by the Institute, the latter by the Japan YMCA League); and of the Field Research of 1983.
- (3) Several pamphlets on topics of social justice.
- (4) The Sophia Relief Service, which has its office at the Institute, also publishes an occasional Newsletter concerning its activities (*Sekai no Mazushii Hitobito ni Ai no Te o*).

Staff and Administration: Director – Anselmo MATAIX; Staff Members – Xavier GARRALDA, KASUYA Tomosuke, MATSUMOTO Eiji, ODAWARA Ken'ichi, SAKAMOTO Yasumi, TAKANO Yuichi, TAKEICHI Hideo, YAMADA Keizo; Visiting Researcher – Eduard ANZORENA; Administration – YASUOKA Takaaki, OHTAKE Yasushi.

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MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE PSAJ IN 1983

The 1983 Spring Session was held on April 23, 1983 at Dokkyo University, Saitama. Under the main subject of "The Meaning of Peace and Reality," papers were read on the semantic analysis of 'peace' in Japanese, what peace means for the ordinary people, a political analysis of the present Nakasone cabinet which has been accelerating its militarization policies, and the economic disadvantages associated with a militarizing economy.

The 11th PSAJ Conference was held on November 12 and 13, 1983 at Hiroshima University. The conference was timed to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the PSAJ. The common theme of the first day was "Hiroshima-Nagasaki in the Post-war Period," in which peace research in Japan was reviewed and the new frontier in present and future peace studies explored while others discussed from various points of view the significance and universality of what Hiroshima-Nagasaki symbolizes. The second day was devoted to the two important themes, "Toward Peace and Order in Asia," and "Scientific Technology and Peace."

Other activities included sponsoring the 2nd Peace-Disarmament Educational Forum held in Yokohama on May 21 and 22, and The Hiroshima Conference by the Asian writers held in Hiroshima from July 27-30.

The PSAJ published a Japanese annual, *Heiwa Kenkyu (Peace Studies)*, Vol. 8 (Nov. 1983) featuring the problems of the new international military order. The Association also published *Heiwagaku (Peace Studies)*, I, the first of a four volume serial publication, a Japanese newsletter, No. 57-3 and No. 58-1, and the English newsletter, No. 3 (Sept. 1983).

NEWS

Back Issues

Copies of Newsletter No. 2 (1982) and No. 3 (1983) are still available. The main contents are as follows: No. 2: militarization, peace movement, integration. No. 3: Soviet threat, nuclear attitudes, post-war arms race.

Visiting Japan ?

It may be possible to arrange a meeting with Japanese peace researchers during your visit. Please advise the Overseas Liason 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), Vol. 8, 1983

Short English summaries of the articles included in this issue are available from the Overseas Liason Committee. Contact may also be made with the authors. The articles are as follows:

SHINDO Eiichi	Analyzing the New International Military Order: Regional Dimensions and Challenge to Peace
SUZUKI Yuji	Militarization in Southeast Asia: A Case Study of Indonesian Politics under Suharto
MATSUSHITA Hiroshi	Militarization in Latin America
KIMURA Shuzo	Militarization in the Middle East
KITAZAWA Yoko	Militarization of the Third World: the Case of Africa
YAMAMOTO Takehiko	Enlargement and Expansion of the Military-industrial Complex in France: In Search of Rapid Increase in Foreign Arms Sales and Structural Changes in the Armaments Industry
OHTSU Sadayoshi	Soviet Economy and Peace
OKUMURA Shigetsugu	American Economy and Peace: Underlying Contradictions in Reagan's Military Build-up
SAITO Yasuhiko	Human Rights and Massive Exoduses of People
MIZUGUCHI Nobuaki	The Reception of Refugees in France and their Human Rights
FUKUDA Kiku	United Nations and NGOs
KURIHARA Akira	Peace by the People: Through the Analysis of Japanese Mass Religion
NEMOTO Hirotochi	Toward a Philosophy of Peace: Some Problem Posed by Yoshika Mitsuru
TANAKA Naoki	To Bring Militarization to a Stop: Our Alternatives and Restraints

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