



## Re-committing to Nuclear Disarmament: From Central Asia to East Asia Pursuing the Road to Denuclearize East Asia

By Kazumi Mizumoto

The Hiroshima Peace Institute held a symposium entitled “Re-committing to Nuclear Disarmament: From Central Asia to East Asia” on August 5 at the International Conference Center Hiroshima. An audience of 220 citizens including students and foreigners attended and listened to the presentations and discussions given by six panelists including a keynote speaker.

The main purpose of the symposium was to hold discussions among panelists from different nations on the conditions necessary for and obstacles in the way of establishing a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ) in East Asia, based on the successful conclusion of the treaty on a NWFZ in Central Asia in September 2006, which represents a significant achievement in the field of international nuclear disarmament.

The current environment differs greatly in Central Asia compared to East Asia. The five Central Asian states (C5) used to be part of the former Soviet Union and Russia still maintains considerable influence in the politics, diplomacy and security of the region. The Soviet Union had built a nuclear test site and deployed nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan but those weapons were later transferred to Russia and now all the C5 are non-nuclear states. The majority of people in the C5 are Muslim, share a similar culture and the size of their populations is relatively small: 2.7 million people in Uzbekistan, 1.5 million in Kazakhstan and 4-6 million in the other three countries. They are rich in natural resources, including oil fields located near the Caspian Sea, but there seems to be currently no significant military threat to them.

In East Asia however, there is the nuclear state of China and the nuclear-suspicious state of North Korea. South Korea and Japan are under the nuclear umbrella of the U.S. The U.S. and Russia, the two nuclear giants, also have major interests in the politics, economy, diplomacy and security of the region. Instability on the Korean Peninsula and in Taiwan could easily become a serious security concern.

In the symposium, Mr. Tsutomu Ishiguri, Director of the U.N. Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific, made a keynote speech on the conclusion of the treaty on a NWFZ in Central Asia and its significance. Ishiguri and his center supported the 10 year process of negotiation for the treaty. In his speech, he referred to the collective security of the region, including the nuclear umbrella provided by Russia, and proposed a solution of creating a consultation mechanism for the nuclear states outside the treaty. He also emphasized the importance of the strong leadership exercised by some presidents of the C5 at critical points during the negotiations.

Then the five speakers made presentations. In his speech entitled “Challenges to the Second Generation of NWFZs,” Dr. Jargalsaikhan Enkhsaikhan, Director of the Mongolian NGO “Blue Banner” and former ambassador to the U.N., expressed the importance of establishing second generation NWFZs in areas currently experiencing conflict or tension, such as the Middle East, South Asia and Northeast Asia. He also proposed that to solve the issue of the U.S. nuclear umbrella in East Asia, Japan and South Korea should seek single-nation non-nuclear status similar to that of Mongolia.

Dr. Wang Shan, Deputy Director of the Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, argued that the ongoing Six-Party Talks to solve the North Korean nuclear issue should be linked to the building of an overall security mechanism for the region. He also maintained

that confidence building based on common ideas and values in East Asia and establishing a multilateral consultation mechanism to overcome rivalry among the big powers are of necessity for the region.

Dr. Ha Young-Sun, Professor at Seoul National University, Department of International Relations, referred to the contradictions and dilemmas that are hindering the denuclearization of East Asia. He proposed that as a goal for the short term, a peace process based on the implementation of the 1992 Basic Agreement of North and South Korea should be established and a four-party agreement should fully replace the 1953 Armistice that ended the Korean War.

Mr. Motofumi Asai, President of HPI, urged the Japanese government, as preconditions for the denuclearization of East Asia, to comply with the three non-nuclear principles, convert from the U.S.-Japan military alliance including the nuclear umbrella, and seek an apology from the U.S. government for the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan.

Ms. Haruka Katarao, a member of staff of the “Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War,” highlighted two approaches that members of the younger generation can take to engage with peace and nuclear issues: these were in research and peace activities. She introduced her own experience of both approaches during her middle/high school and college/graduate school years, presented a documentary film in which she appeared, and reiterated the significance of communicating the atomic bombing experience and sending the message of peace from Hiroshima to the world.

Can the experience of Central Asia be applied to that of East Asia? We could not reach a clear-cut conclusion on this difficult question. However, the presentations of the panelists from the U.N., Mongolia, China, South Korea, and Japan/Hiroshima were commonly committed to the need for a gradual approach to realize the denuclearization of East Asia, rather than dismissing it as a daydream concept.

### Treaty on a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Central Asia

A treaty to establish a NWFZ in Central Asia, signed by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in September 2006 in Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, with Preamble, 18 articles, and Protocol.

Article 3 prohibits the five states from conducting research on, developing, manufacturing, stockpiling and possessing nuclear weapons, and Article 5 prohibits the carrying out of nuclear weapon test explosions. Article 6 supports the rehabilitation of territories contaminated by nuclear materials, considering the existence of the former nuclear test site of Semipalatinsk and the uranium mines located in many of the countries of the region.

Regarding the possibility, in case of emergency, of deploying Russian tactical nuclear weapons in the region under the current engagement of four Central Asian countries in collective security with Russia, Article 12 makes clear that the “Parties shall take all necessary measures for effective implementation of the purposes and objectives of this Treaty,” whereas it also admits that the “Treaty does not affect the rights and obligations of the Parties under other international treaties” previously concluded.

*Mizumoto is associate professor at HPI*

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## Conclusion of the Treaty on a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Central Asia and Its Significance

**Tsutomu Ishiguri, Director, U.N. Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific**

In the current international climate where progress towards nuclear disarmament is facing considerable challenges, including the recent nuclear test conducted by North Korea, the conclusion of the treaty on a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Central Asia (CANWFZ) is an outstanding achievement after a long absence in this field. An idea of the establishment of CANWFZ was first proposed in the Almaty Declaration of the Heads of State of Central Asian States in February 1997. The Statement of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the five states (C5) of the region in Tashkent, September 1997 and the U.N. General Assembly resolution adopted in December 1997 also supported the idea.

After the holding of several U.N.-sponsored Expert Group meetings of representatives of the C5, the final draft was completed in Samarkand in September 2002. Contrary to the wish of the U.S., the U.K. and France, although the other two nuclear-weapon states, China and Russia, supported it. It was finally concluded in September 2006 when Foreign Ministers of the C5 met in Semipalatinsk for the signing of the treaty. The C5 requested the U.N. (my Center) to assist them to draft a CANWFZ treaty as they had not yet amassed sufficient diplomatic expertise during the short period after they gained independence from the former Soviet Union. In order to promote consultations and negotiations of the treaty among the C5 I organized coffee break meetings.

For the signatories, the main body of the treaty prohibits their research, development, manufacture, stockpiling, acquisition and possession of nuclear weapons. For the five nuclear-weapon states, signing the attached protocol to the treaty obliges them to pledge not to use nor threaten to use nuclear weapons against any signatories. The treaty is unique in that it establishes the first NWFZ in the northern hemisphere, it contains a former nuclear-weapon state, Kazakhstan, and it refers to the environmental rehabilitation of territories contaminated by previous nuclear tests and related activities.

The position of the three nuclear-weapon states, the U.S., the U.K., and France (P3), is that such a treaty cannot be supported without their consent. However, a NWFZ should be established on the basis of an arrangement freely arrived at among the states of a given region. Therefore the C5 should be free from any pressure or intervention of the P3. Besides, the nuclear-weapon states are likely to benefit from a NWFZ, for example, it can effectively control the proliferation of nuclear weapons and related equipments and materials within the region.

The P3 are also concerned that under the 1992 Tashkent Collective Security Treaty, Russia might deploy tactical nuclear weapons within the region. In response to their concern, the treaty states that, whereas this CANWFZ treaty does not affect the rights and obligations of previous international treaties, the "Parties shall take all necessary measures for effective implementation of the purposes and objectives of this Treaty in accordance with the main principles contained therein." If Russia's tactical nuclear weapons are the core of the P3's concern, where necessary, a consultative mechanism should be formed involving Russia and the P3.

As to the question of whether the experience of CANWFZ can be applicable to East Asia, the following points should be considered. This treaty has materialized based upon an arrangement freely arrived at among the C5. As for its background there exists common desire, to establish a NWFZ, pursue nuclear abolition, strengthen the independence and sovereign rights of the small nations that achieved independence from the former Soviet Union, and to revitalize multilateral disarmament negotiations which had been in crisis. Some presidents exercised strong leadership at critical points during the negotiation process despite being under enormous pressure from the P3. As a U.N. body, my office supported them by organizing meetings on more than 60 occasions. In order to examine an idea of the establishment of a NWFZ in other regions, these factors can be seen as vital preconditions.



## Challenges to the Second Generation of NWFZs : Northeast Asia and Single-State Zones

**Jargalsaikhan Enkhsaikhan, Director of "Blue Banner"**

From Latin America to Central Asia, five regional NWFZs have so far been established, which I call the first generation, and I am now considering the establishment of a second generation of NWFZs. In particular, the Middle East, Central and Eastern Europe, South Asia and Northeast Asia, areas of regional conflict or tension that affect the interests of nuclear-weapon states, are currently under consideration, as are single states including Mongolia.

Of all the second generation zones, establishing a NWFZ in Northeast Asia is clearly a matter of urgency. At a meeting organized by Blue Banner and other NGOs held in Mongolia in June, all the experts present agreed to support the denuclearization of Northeast Asia. In order to facilitate the establishment of a NWFZ in Northeast Asia efforts should in the first instance be focused on the ongoing Six-Party Talks, and civil society including NGOs,

citizens, and think tanks should be encouraged to support this process.

Regarding a single state zone in Mongolia, we encouraged bilateral negotiations with the P5 nations following the end of the Cold War and then appealed to the international community through the U.N., and the single-state non-nuclear status was approved by the U.N. General Assembly. We also enacted domestic laws to penalize individuals and states that violate these new national conditions.

There is a definite challenge ahead to establish a second generation of NWFZs, but it could lead to the creation of a new regional security architecture. Strengthening the network of existing NWFZs is also needed. Both governments and civil society should form effective coalitions to promote the establishment of new NWFZs in the runup to the forthcoming 2010 NPT Review Conference.



## Nuclear Issues in East Asia and Security Policy of China

**Wang Shan, Deputy Director, Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations**

As North Korea's nuclear weapon exists as a threatening tool to ensure its survival, it does not represent a direct military threat to the U.S. The U.S.' biggest concern is North Korea's potential export of nuclear weapons and nuclear materials. To North Korea, the purpose of nuclear development is to bring about normalization of its relations with the U.S. in exchange for a renunciation of nuclear weapons, which would likely bring an end to its isolation. We need to link the negotiations of the Six-Party Talks to the creation of a regional security mechanism.

In 2005, China published a White Paper on arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation in which China expressed its position to support the promotion of security in the region through multilateral cooperation. In the new 21st century environment, two academic positions are discernible: one focuses on non-proliferation rather than disarmament, and the other on supporting existing disarmament efforts. In order to bridge the contradiction between these two positions, it is necessary to create a new security mechanism for Northeast Asia. However, the prospects for the creation of such a mechanism are currently poor.

There are three problems associated with creating such a mechanism. Firstly, mutual understanding based on common ideas and values is indispensable. China supports the view that Northeast Asia requires a mutually-acceptable and inclusive conception of security. Secondly, security strategies which pursue arms buildups through military alliances cannot guarantee regional or global

security. Thirdly, a multilateral security mechanism in Northeast Asia should be able to deal with a wide range of issues including trade, energy, the environment and natural disasters. In addition, it should bring about multilateral cooperation through the overcoming of existing rivalry between the great powers.



● Q & A

o had the experience of explaining this history to students who were on their school excursions or who had come from abroad. As a result of conducting research myself and sometimes teaching and having discussions in English, I believe I can promote peace education through actively expressing messages of peace.

## Keiji Nakazawa, Cartoonist Gen is Angry

Interview and editing by **Motofumi Asai**  
(Interviewed on August 20, 2007)

Mr. Keiji Nakazawa, the cartoonist who created *Hadashi no Gen* [English edition: *Barefoot Gen*] experienced the atomic bombing in Hiroshima, on August 6, 1945 when he was just a first grader in elementary school. In 1968, he published his first A-bombing related cartoon, which was entitled *Kuroi Ame ni Utarete* [Exposed to the Black Rain]. Since then, he has drawn a large number of cartoons on the theme of the atomic bombing and war, inviting positive as well as negative reactions. The most renowned and outstanding product among his works is *Barefoot Gen*, whose main character Gen could be said to be his alter ego. *Barefoot Gen* and other works of Nakazawa firmly convey his severe anger and sharp criticism toward those responsible for the atomic bombing and Japan's war of aggression both the U.S., which dropped the atomic bomb, and the Showa Emperor and Japanese war leaders, who fought such a reckless and hopeless war that led to the atomic bombing on Hiroshima as well as toward post-War Japanese politics which has entirely neglected to seriously address the war responsibilities.

### Father's Influence on My Thoughts

Nakazawa: My father strongly affected my way of thinking. He told me again and again when I was just a first grader, "This war is wrong" or "Japan will definitely lose the war. When you get older, Japan will be in such and such a situation. The time will surely come when you can eat as much white rice and buckwheat noodles as you want." I couldn't imagine such good days would come, because all we could have back then was locusts or stalks of sweet potatoes. But now, I think that my father might have foreseen all these things. As he foresaw prophetically, Japan lost the war and it is in an age of affluence now.

My father was a member of a theater group affiliated with the left-leaning Shinkyō theater group, or one of the biggest theater groups for a "new drama," led by Osamu Takizawa. The group held their performances at Hiroshima Doctors' Institute in the Shintenchi area, selecting a novel or a play like *Yoakema* [English edition: *Before the Dawn*] by Toson Shimazaki or *The Lower Depths* by Maxim Gorky. The left-leaning group was definitely marked and watched by the militarist authorities. One day all the members of the group were rounded up in one swoop and thrown in jail. I was terrified on the day my father was caught. It was my most terrifying experience. It was 1944 then and I was 5 years old. My mother was shaking and swinging her hair, which made me realize that something bad had happened to my family. I have never forgotten the sense of terror at that time. My father was in a jail for almost a year and seemed to have been tortured terribly. When he came back home, his teeth were loose or broken. Still, he continued to say, "This war is wrong" as he had done before. He was straightforward and adamant. The torture did not transform him.

### August 6: Deaths of My Father, Sister and Brother

I was the third oldest son in my family, following the oldest brother, elder sister, and elder brother. I also had a younger brother and younger sister, the latter was born on that fated August 6 and died 4 months later. On August 6, my mother was fully pregnant and the baby was expected within the month. When the atomic bomb was dropped, I wasn't at home where my father, elder sister, and younger brother died. But because my mother described in full detail how they died, I know what it was like. So, I drew a scene in *Barefoot Gen*, in which Gen was there trying to save them.

My mother was always troubled by the nightmare of the scene of our family dying. The body of my younger brother was stuck under the collapsed house and she could not pull him out no matter how hard she tried. After a while, the fire closed in. My younger brother started to scream "It's hot" and my father shouted "Do whatever." My mother did not hear the voice of Eiko, her elder daughter, who was probably crushed to death instantly between a pillar and the house. Though my mother was crying and saying that she was going to stay and die with her family, a passer-by from the same neighborhood, by a stroke of luck, talked her into escaping with him. He said, "Give them up. You shouldn't die together with them." When my mother looked over her shoulder while running away, the house fell in a fierce blaze, through which she clearly heard the screaming voice of my

younger brother, "It's hot, mom!" My mother told me these grief-ridden episodes. It is truly brutal for them to have been killed that way.

Shortly afterwards, my mother told me to go back to the house and dig up the remains of my family. With my eldest brother, I brought a bucket and shovel and went to the site where my house used to stand. The skull of my younger brother was uncovered at just the location where my mother said he had died. A skull of a child is quite intact. But when I held the skull under the scorching sun, I really felt a chill. I felt that the hairs had stood up on the back of my neck, imagining that my younger brother, who was stuck under the collapsed house and could not move his head, was burned little by little. Then, I dug up the skull of my father in the four and a half-tatami mat room, and the skull of my sister in the six-tatami mat room in the back. The skull of a girl has a certain expression. It has a gentle look. I thought "Ah, a skull has a facial expression." My mother said, "It was good for Eiko to die instantly. I'm glad that she died quickly."



Keiji Nakazawa

### Scenes from Hell After the Atomic Bombing

When we dug up the remains of my family, the stench of dead bodies filled the air around my house. The dead bodies were scattered all around and stank, because they were not completely burned. What surprised me most was that people died showing their human emotions until the very last minute. A mother died holding her child tightly within her arms. The face of the child was sunk in the mother's body, because their bodies were swollen from water.

Water tanks around the downtown in the Dobashi area were filled with dead bodies. There were some licensed red-light districts there. Those people must have slept in these districts when the atomic bomb was dropped. So, when they were surrounded by fire, many people probably jumped into these water tanks. On my way home, I walked through Hiroshima City with my oldest brother. I noticed that the seven rivers in Hiroshima were all covered with dead bodies. As I drew in my cartoon, bellies of dead bodies were swollen up like balloons with their guts rotted. The gas was bursting out of them, making a popping sound. The water then poured into these burst bellies and sank the dead bodies.

What terrified me most was that maggots bred at a frightening pace and turned into flies. There were tons of flies at that time. The air was so blackened by these flies that I could not open my eyes. These flies, or the blackened air, attacked me. Strange as it may sound, flies were alive even after the atomic bombing. And maggots bred so quickly. All of a sudden, maggots were everywhere. I hadn't imagined that human bodies were infested with so many maggots. Some things moving above my head were flies moving in groups. Nothing but smoke from burning dead bodies and flies traveling in groups moved in Hiroshima during those days.

We suffered from not only the atomic bombing but also a food shortage after the bombing. My family stayed in the Eba area for a while. Hunger really tortured us after the war. In Eba, at low tide, an endless array of ribs of dead bodies appeared at the mouth of a river. Scooping up sand under these ribs, lots of Manila clams came out one after another. They were growing, living on these dead bodies. We desperately picked up these clams to keep hunger away.

### Anger Against the Emperor System

I do not trust the people who keep their mouth shut about the emperor system. Japanese people should ponder deeply about the horror of the system, and the fact that the system still exists today.

I remember very well when the Emperor visited Hiroshima in 1947. Because my father often told me about the emperor system, I thought, "This guy destroyed my family and ruined our lives," feeling a hot surge of anger. On the day of his visit to Hiroshima, I was in the front row of children, who stood on the side of Aioi Bridge to welcome the Emperor. The Emperor came by in a black Ford car. At the sight of him, I thought that he had ruined





our lives and killed my father. The thought made me want to jump on him. I could not forget the impulse yet. The teacher told us over and over to throw our arms in the air and shout "Banzai." Retorting silently, "Don't be silly!" I kicked the broken piece of a roof tile with my wooden clog. The piece hit a tire of the car and sprang back at quite a pace. My blood was boiling and I was feeling, more strongly than ever, that my whole body was burning up like a fire. I really felt like strangling him to death.

Asai: People in Hiroshima, who welcomed the Emperor, seem to have had no anger or hatred toward him. What do you think is the reason?

This is because of the education in prewar days. The education before the war greatly changed Japanese people. There must have been some people who had had fierce anger against the Emperor. But I'm afraid that all of them might have died in jail during the war. Another reason is Hiroshima's conservatism. There seems to be very little we can do to change this peculiar character of Hiroshima people.

I can never forgive the emperor system. Japanese people, for themselves, have not brought the Emperor to justice yet. It is not too late. We have to think about the catastrophe the Emperor brought about to Japan and confront the emperor system, the fundamental cause of the catastrophe.

#### A-bomb Survivors and Discrimination Against Them

Asai: The population in Hiroshima sharply declined after the atomic bombing, but expanded rapidly in the postwar period. Given that the number of A-bomb survivors did not change, the swift

recovery of the population was attributable to the increase of non-A-bomb survivors. I'm afraid that the postwar reconstruction of Hiroshima was advanced, at the price of the A-bomb survivors being pushed to the margins of society.

Discrimination against A-bomb survivors started at that point. The discrimination silenced A-bomb survivors about their A-bombed ghastly experience. The awful discrimination was so pervasive that nobody could raise his/her voice in protest against it. I lived in Takajo-machi, or present-day Honkawa-cho, and often heard that female survivors in the neighborhood had hanged themselves.

One of my acquaintances got married with a woman in Tokyo and held a wedding party there, only to find that nobody attended the party. Once non-A-bomb survivors learned that you were an A-bomb survivor, they felt a sense that you were somehow dangerous. Such a sense of danger was exactly what the authorities wanted. If discrimination silences A-bomb survivors, it serves the interests of the authorities. The authorities could use the discrimination to oppress A-bomb survivors so that these survivors could not draw attention to themselves.

I moved up to Tokyo in 1961. I had controlled myself to close my eyes to the atomic bombing until my mother died in 1966. A-bomb survivors suffered severe discrimination in Tokyo. When I once casually said in a group that I had experienced the atomic bombing, a grotesque expression rose to the faces of those present. I had never seen such a cold look. I felt that there was something wrong with it. When I told this episode to a member of the Hiroshima Prefectural Confederation of A-bomb Sufferers Organizations, she said that many people in Tokyo are ignorant about the atomic bombing. She also said that once you said you had suffered from the atomic bombing, they tried to avoid touching the tea cup you had held and would not come near you, believing that radiation would be transmitted to them. Then, I thought, "It makes sense to me now." I decided not to talk about the atomic bombing any more.

I tried to live in Tokyo to make that place my final home with the intention of keeping silent about the atomic bombing. But when she died in 1966, I realized that I had managed to live thanks to her. The death of my mother, a big part of my life, was so shocking that I rushed back home.

Because I have dug up the remains of my family before, I could imagine what would be left after a human body is cremated. But after the cremation of my mother's body, I merely found several dotted white fragments of bones, which made my blood boil instantly; "Radiation took everything, even the bones of my dearest mother. Give me back her bones!" The only means I had to express myself then was cartooning. So, I decided to do what I could do through cartoons.

#### My Thoughts About Hiroshima

Until 10 years ago, I never came back to Hiroshima. The town of Hiroshima reminded me of the dreadful past, which I did not want to remember. For instance, the sight of a river brought back to my mind the sight of piles of white bones. The walk around the city reawakened memories of what it was like at different places. I could not stand to remember the stench of dead bodies. The stench is truly beyond description. I had the feeling that I did not want to come near Hiroshima. But my former teacher lives in Hiroshima and my old classmates get together for his birthday party, which started to draw me to Hiroshima again. Probably time has washed away the earlier bad memories. Now I'm determined to make Hiroshima my final home.

As I said, I think that people in Hiroshima are very conservative. This conservativeness should be changed. For that purpose, each individual needs to make some diligent effort. I am a cartoonist. So, I have no choice but to fight with cartoons as my weapon. The only way to change the conservativeness is that each person in each position tries to appeal to society. Though I have strong negative feelings that the conservativeness of Hiroshima is not easy to change, I encourage myself with the belief that change is possible. I do believe that Hiroshima has to advocate the cause of human dignity more and more, as the keepers of Auschwitz do.

Asai is president at HPI



Barefoot Gen Vol.1 : A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima, P272 (Last Gasp of San Francisco, 2004)

# “Global Peace Thoughts and Practices: Its Universality and Diversity”

HPI began its 6th lecture series for the citizens of Hiroshima at the end of May. The opening series of five lectures was held, as last year, at the Hiroshima City Plaza for Town Development through Citizen Exchange. We chose “Global Peace Thoughts and Practices: Its Universality and Diversity” as the title for the first set of lectures, the intention being to examine anew what exactly “peace” is and how peace building can be achieved. With clear awareness of the global perspective, we attempted to explore the universality and diversity of peace and the possibility for actually building peace. The efforts of movements against war and for reconciliation in areas such as Africa, Europe, Latin America, the Islamic world and Asia were examined.

### **First lecture: The Experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa**

**Lecturer: Yoko Nagahara, Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies**

**Date: May 24**

Prof. Nagahara first explained the historical development of Apartheid in South Africa and addressed the reconciliation issue through the experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was founded following the abolition of Apartheid. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission focuses on recovery from the damage of human rights violations brought about by Apartheid, calls for “restorative justice,” and strives to share each individual’s experience as a part of national memory. The Commission could be seen as a model case for a post-civil war society. However, there are many problems still to be solved in relation to it, such as an accurate definition of severe human rights violations, delay of reparation for victims, economic disparity between Blacks and Whites, and ongoing issues over gender structure which date back to precolonial days. Nagahara pointed out that colonialism, that in turn led to Apartheid, was itself a crime against humanity. The overarching crime has yet to be addressed.

### **Second lecture: German Pacifism in the 20th Century**

**Lecturer: Makiko Takemoto, Research Associate, HPI**

**Date: May 31**

Takemoto served as the lecturer for the second lecture. Due to the fact that Germany is well-known for the brutality of the Nazis, research on the Germany of this period has largely focused on the side that caused the war. Contrary to this trend, this lecture took up the period of the 1920s, which occupies a significant place in the history of the German peace movement, focusing on the people who had sought peace during the period. The lecture located the concept of “peace” in German history, explaining that the word “pacifism” or “pacifist” began to be used in the 20th century and that pacifists before World War II were, for political interests, taken advantage of by both East and West Germany during the Cold War.

### **Third lecture: Tiny Battle Between Grandchildren**

**Lecturer: Midori Iijima, Associate Professor, Rikkyo University**

**Date: June 7**

Prof. Iijima, a specialist in Latin American history, regards the 20th century for Latin America as an era of “U.S. intervention as force majeure” and civil wars. In her lecture she focused on Latin American and especially Chilean history, and the problem of reconciliation in a society politically divided. It became evident on the death of General Pinochet that the legacy of military dictatorship had been handed down to the grandchildren of those who had antagonized one another. It is decidedly difficult to resolve resentment caused by a civil war, or a war against a domestic enemy, that is, in effect, a war against one’s own neighbors. Moreover, in many cases in Latin America, a culture of violence has often been accentuated, not eliminated, under the “peace accord” or “power transition to civilian rule” since the military has been such an important institution in its history. Bringing about reconciliation has proven extremely difficult even in the Chilean case. Iijima discussed these issues as seen from the perspective of the battle between the grandchildren, making reference to Chile’s relations with Spain and the U.K.

### **Fourth lecture: International Affairs and Islam: On Islamic Fundamentalism**

**Lecturer: Masaki Uno, Professor, Hiroshima City University**

**Date: June 14**

Prof. Uno first explained several concepts of Islam, which as a religion and way of life, is often misunderstood in Japan. Then he explained that today’s understanding of Islam is mainly offered from a European perspective and that European judgments of Islam are frequently imposed on the rest of the world. He argued that the main cause of the current conflicts over national borders lies in the creation of modern nation states and the principle of nationalism, issues which were largely championed by the countries of Europe. He also argued that the current movement of Islamic fundamentalism should be understood as an outcome of wars that took place in the 20th century. In addition, Uno stressed that religion, as a world view, should not be designated as unorthodox in an understanding of Islam. He also mentioned the necessity of having insights into history and war, and the importance of understanding others and fostering mutual understanding.

### **Fifth lecture: Transformation of Anti-war Narrative**

**Lecturer: Yoshiaki Fukuma, Associate Professor, Kagawa University**

**Date: June 21**

Prof. Fukuma dealt with “anti-war movements” in the battle of Okinawa. In his book *Hansen no Media Shi [Anti-war Mass Media History]*, published by Sekaishissha, 2006, he examines Japan’s post-war mass media, focusing on the themes of “front line and home front” and “atomic bombings” from the perspective of “public opinion,” and rational arguments about public affairs such as politics, from the perspective of “popular sentiments.” In the lecture, he examined movies such as *Himeyuri no To [Himeyuri Lily Tower]* and *Okinawa Kenji Tai [Okinawa Boys’ Squad]*. He analyzed what was portrayed in the movies, how these movies were received by the public, and what was and was not accepted by them with the help of historical materials such as cinematic reviews. He argued that the desire of popular nationalism in post-war Japan, exemplified in the Okinawan issue and linked to issues relating to nationalism and gender, should be understood through an examination of these historical materials. He also stressed that we should critically examine the complex and interconnected desires that surface in discussions of war or the anti-war movement, as well as those relating to subterranean authority.

The lecture series was well attended, as was the case with the previous lecture series. Many questions and opinions were presented following the lectures, indicating the audience’s strong will to engage with the issues discussed. The series turned out to be very exciting. As requested by some members of the audience, we should concentrate on peace issues in more diverse areas in order to learn more about global pacifism and its practice in the world. We hope to continue to grapple with this issue in future lecture series.

*By Makiko Takemoto, research associate at HPI*



# HPI Research Forum

May 18, 2007

## Title: The Contemporary Significance of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution: Learning from Those Nations Which Do Not Possess Military Forces

Speaker: Dr. Akira Maeda, Professor, Tokyo Zokei University



Dr. Akira Maeda

On 14 May, 2007, a national referendum bill stipulating the procedures for revising the constitution was enacted in Japan. It is widely believed that Japan's peaceful constitution has so far played an important, although not entirely satisfactory, role in maintaining Japan's post-war peace and democracy. However, many people are now seriously concerned about the danger of losing the pacifist clauses if it is amended. Maeda, who is now actively promoting the idea of examining the Japanese constitution in the light of a comparative analysis of other nation's constitutions, was our guest speaker and presented a paper on this pressing issue.

Japan's constitution is unique in the world, in that, in the Preamble it explicitly proclaims the right of Japanese people to a peaceful life. In addition, Article 9 proclaims the nation's absolute pacifism. However, there are other nations, which adopt the principle of no armed forces, pacifism, permanent neutralism, or a non-nuclear policy in their constitutions. Maeda therefore emphasizes the importance of comparing Japan's constitution with the constitutions of such nations.

It is not widely known that there are in fact 27 nations in the world, which possess no armed forces. They are all small nations, but they amount to 15 percent of the entire sovereign nations in the world. Not all these nations clearly proclaim pacifism in their constitutions. Yet, most of them are democratic nations with a high standard of human rights including women's rights and education, and many of them have abolished the death penalty from their legal systems. In general, these nations have a relatively well-founded peaceful culture, implying a close

relationship between the national principle of non-violence and a guarantee of citizens' basic human rights.

Amongst these nations, two the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Palau clearly express a non-nuclear stance in their constitutions. The constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia, a country that established autonomous government in 1979, prohibits any experiment, storage, use or handling of nuclear weapons. The constitution of the Republic of Palau, established in 1981, also includes similar non-nuclear clauses. However, Palau's non-nuclear stance was virtually mutilated by a bilateral agreement with the U.S., which once had plans to establish a military base on this island and thus fiercely opposed the inclusion of a non-nuclear declaration in Palau's constitution.

An examination of the constitutions of other nations with no armed forces reveals that, even if their constitutions proclaim pacifism or non-nuclear principles, the constitution itself is useless without persistent popular efforts to promote peace in various ways.

Considering the current situation of Japan, in which Article 9 is being step by step eroded by state actions, Maeda emphasizes the importance of popularizing the idea of peace and non-violence through grass-roots movements, e.g., making local municipal governments issue a "peace and open city declaration."

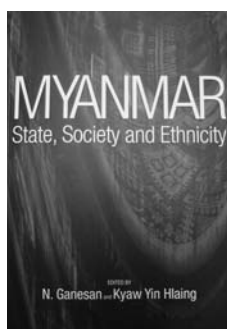
*By Yuki Tanaka, professor at HPI*



## Publication of HPI Research Project

Narayanan Ganesan and Kyaw Yin Hlaing, eds.,  
(Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007)

## *Myanmar: State, Society and Ethnicity*



This book is the outcome of two workshops held at the Hiroshima Peace Institute in 2005. The collection of papers was published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore in February 2007.

The book explores a number of issues that are central to a proper understanding of Myanmar and the reasons for its current state of being. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss Myanmar in relation to other countries in Southeast Asia. The issues addressed in these preliminary chapters are the nature of

state-society relations, and minorities and their involvement in state-building. The issue of ethnic minorities is rather important in the case of Myanmar since approximately 140 different ethnic groups were catalogued by the British colonial authorities prior to independence.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine historical developments and their subsequent impact on the course of political developments in the country. Chapter 4 by Robert Taylor emphasizes the accidental nature of colonial political developments and how British colonial policy was neither discrete nor consistent. The following chapter by Kei Nemoto looks at the Japanese invasion and occupation of Burma: it outlines the "special relationship" that has existed between the countries in the post-War period and the critical role of the Japanese Minami Kikan, a secret organization, in furthering the relationship. The chapter also identifies

and examines the various groups of Myanmar nationals to be found in Japan and their activities and affiliations.

Chapters 6 and 7 elaborate on various aspects of political and economic development in Myanmar. The first of these chapters by David Steinberg traces how the concept of political legitimacy is obtained and exercised in Myanmar. The subsequent chapter fleshes out the intricacies of associational life in the country and how the severe restraints placed on group activities have affected the political-economy of state-society relations. The final chapter in this cluster identifies the state of human security in Myanmar, looking at relevant aspects of human well-being such as food, health, economic and environmental availability and the limitations upon them.

The last group of chapters identifies and traces developments pertaining to three of the largest ethnic minority groups in Myanmar; they examine the Karen, Kachin and Shan communities. Importantly, these chapters also provide first-hand information on how the Karen and Kachin ethnic insurgent groups negotiated ceasefire agreements with the military government. Additionally, the chapters examine how these communities are trying to rebuild their lives peacefully after more than five decades of conflict. The final chapter of the book contains an impassioned plea against the Western sanction regime, arguing that sanctions have only hurt the well-being and livelihoods of ordinary citizens rather than the elite which they have been aimed at.

*By Narayanan Ganesan, professor at HPI*



# DIARY

July 1, 2007 - October 31, 2007

**Jul.9** Hitoshi Nagai gives lecture on "Loser's Justice" at Center for Study of Peace and Reconciliation, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hitotsubashi University.

**Jul.9-15** Hiroko Takahashi conducts research on U.S. Atomic Energy Commission documents at National Archives in Washington D.C. area, U.S.

**Jul.14** Yuki Tanaka gives lecture on "State, Sexual Violence in War, and Manhood" at workshop organized by Center for New European Research, Hitotsubashi University, at Hitotsubashi University.

**Jul.19** HPI President Motofumi Asai gives lecture on "World Peace" at training course for new section chiefs at Hiroshima City Hall, organized by Hiroshima City Training Center, in Hiroshima Prefecture. Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture on "Current World Situation of Nuclear Weapons and Hiroshima" for peace education lecture series at Hiroshima International University in Higashihiroshima City.

**Jul.20** Yoshiaki Sato gives lecture on "Articles on the Organization and the Measures of Action of Draft Charter of East Asian Community" at CREP international workshop organized by Institute of Social Science, at University of Tokyo.

**Jul.21** Asai attends, as panelist, conference "What We Will Learn from the Iraq War" at 60th Anniversary Symposium for Japanese Constitution, organized by the Japan Federation of Bar Associations, in Tokyo. Sato gives lecture on Draft Charter of East Asian Community at CREP International Symposium on "Future East Asian Regionalism" organized by Institute of Social Science, at University of Tokyo.

**Jul.28** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Nuclear Weapons Today and Perceptions of the Atomic Bombings" at Peace Club for Junior High and High School Students at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

**Jul.30** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Hiroshima and Peace" for training program for journalists organized by Hiroshima City, at International Conference Center Hiroshima.

**Aug. 2** Asai gives lecture on "Developments in Nuclear Issues on the Korean Peninsula and Tasks for Denuclearization" at 2007 World Conference against A&H Bombs for Scientists, organized by Kyoto Branch of Japan Scientists' Association, in Kyoto. Mizumoto attends, as chief judge, presentation contest "Junior and Senior High School Students, Passing on the Message of Peace from Hiroshima" organized by the Board of Education, Hiroshima City, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug. 3** Asai gives lecture on "Deepening Crisis in the Japan-U.S. Alliance and Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution" at 2007 World Conference Against A&H Bombs, organized by Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb (Gensuikyo), in Hiroshima Prefecture. Takahashi comments on residual radiation issues at "Screening of Documentary TV Program on the A-bomb" by study meeting for Peace Film and Hiroshima Peace Film Festival, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug. 5** HPI holds international symposium, "Re-committing to Nuclear Disarmament: From Central Asia to East Asia" at International Conference Center Hiroshima.

**Aug. 6** Sung Chull Kim presents paper on "Changes in Systemic Identity and International Cooperation" at 51st annual meeting of International Society for Systems Sciences, at Tokyo Institute of Technology.

**Aug. 7** Asai gives lecture on "For Those Who Create Peace" at study meeting organized by Friendship Society in Hiroshima, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug.8-10** Narayanan Ganesan gives lectures on "Political Developments in Myanmar" and "Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia" at South-South Summer Institute in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, organized by Asian Political and International Studies Association.

**Aug.10** Takahashi talks on "The Control of the A-bomb Information by the U.S. Government" at supporting organization for a collective lawsuit by *Hibakusha*, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug.11** Asai gives lecture on "To Think About the Japanese Constitution from Hiroshima" for participants of "Trip to Think About Hiroshima," organized by Young Women's Christian Association of Japan, in Hiroshima Prefecture, and gives lecture on "Mixture of Damages" at study meeting organized by Kudamatsu Catholic Church, in Yamaguchi Prefecture.

**Aug.12** Robert Jacobs organizes and facilitates public forum for Japan America Student Conference and gives lecture on "Lessons from Hiroshima," in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug.13-14** Mikyoung Kim collects data on North Korean refugees in Seoul, South Korea.

**Aug.14** Yuki Tanaka gives lecture on "Oda Makoto's Philosophy and 14 August 1945" at meeting of the organization called Civilian Voices 30, in Osaka Prefecture.

**Aug.15** Asai gives lecture on "Masao Maruyama" at meeting for "Going Back," organized by publisher of "Masao Maruyama's Notebook," in Tokyo.

**Aug.17** Mikyoung Kim chairs session on "Japan and Northeast Asia Relations" at Japan Studies Association of Canada (JSAC) annual meeting in Toronto, Canada.

Takahashi participates as panelist at Hiroshima Peace Film Festival 2007 Symposium "From Hiroshima to Hiroshimas in the World," in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug.17-18** Asai attends, as co-researcher, sectional meeting "Tasks for Peace Education in Social Studies" at Educational Meeting 2007, organized by executive committee of Educational Meeting to Create Future for the 21st Century, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Aug.19** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Peace and Anti-war Thoughts in Japan and Their Transition" at meeting of Social Studies Research Group, organized by private high schools in Hyogo Prefecture, at Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims. Mikyoung Kim presents paper on "History Textbook Controversies in Northeast Asia," at JSAC annual meeting in Toronto, Canada.

**Aug.20-29** Mikyoung Kim collects data on U.S. policy towards Northeast Asia in Washington, D.C., U.S.

**Aug.21-Sep.5** Mizumoto visits Cambodia for ex-ante adjustment of Reconstruction Aid Project in Cambodia, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.

**Aug.22-23** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Hiroshima" at Sophia Asia Center for Research and Human Development in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

**Sep. 1** Mikyoung Kim presents paper on "China and Human Rights Debates" at American Political Science Association annual meeting in Chicago, U.S.

**Sep. 5** Tanaka gives lecture on "Crime and Responsibility" at public lecture organized by Medical Association for Prevention of War, Australia, at Medical School of Melbourne University.

**Sep. 7** Tanaka gives lecture on "Oda Makoto and 14 August 1945" at Japanese Studies Center, Monash University in Melbourne, Australia.

**Sep. 9** Takahashi gives lecture on "The Control of the A-bomb Information by the U.S. Government" at seminar organized by Meiji Gakuin University and University of California, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Sep.18** Asai gives lecture on "To Confront History and Consider Peace" at peace guide training course, organized by CO-OP Tokyo, in Tokyo.

**Sep.29** Asai gives lecture on "Special Anti-terrorism Law" at study meeting organized by Hiroshima Peace Study Group, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Sep.30** Asai gives lecture on "Scheme to Revise Japanese Constitution" at 10th general meeting of Fukuoka Prefectural Branch of "One Million Signature Campaign to Block the Road Leading to War," in Fukuoka Prefecture.

**Oct. 3** Mizumoto gives lecture on "How to Conduct NGO Activities" at Hiroshima Asia "JUKU" Seminar, organized by and held at Hiroshima International Center.

**Oct. 8** Asai gives lecture on "To Foster Precious Lives" at meeting to consider peace, welfare and future of education, organized by National Conference to Support the Life and Right of Disabled Persons, in Osaka Prefecture.

**Oct.13** Asai gives lecture on "Japanese Constitution" at peace study meeting organized by Hiroshima Prefectural Employee's Union, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

Takahashi gives lecture on "Civil Defense Program in Japan and U.S." at study meeting for A-bomb Literature at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

**Oct.16** HPI holds the 2nd meeting of Peace Research Institute Network of Western Japan, at HPI.

**Oct.17** Mizumoto attends, as discussant, and Mikyoung Kim gives lecture on "Remembering Hiroshima and Gwangju" at international conference "Democracy, Human Rights, Peace in Gwangju and Hiroshima 2007" organized by Honam University in Gwangju Metropolitan City, South Korea.

**Oct.19** Asai gives lecture on "Sense of Otherness as Foundation of Peace" at sectional meeting for "Peace," of Japan Women's Conference 2007, organized by its executive committee, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Oct.27** Asai gives lecture on "Abolition of Nuclear Weapons" at meeting for U.N. Disarmament Week, organized by Osaka Gensuikyo, in Osaka Prefecture.

## — Visitors to HPI —

**Jul.30** Wuiling Cheah, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore.

**Aug. 3** Kim Ok-Lyoul, Executive Editor, The CNU Press, Chonnam National University and three other members, plus five students.

**Aug. 4** Niu Qiang, Secretary General, Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament, Wen Desheng, Council Member, China-Japan Friendship Association, and two other members.

## HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

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