

Diverse Panelists Discussed a Road Map towards “Abolition”

International Symposium “Hiroshima Strives for Nuclear Abolition: Pursuing measures to energize the 2010 NPT Review Conference”

Kazumi Mizumoto

Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI) and the Hiroshima Peace Media Center of the Chugoku Shimbun co-organized an international symposium entitled “Hiroshima Strives for Nuclear Abolition: Pursuing measures to energize the 2010 NPT Review Conference” at International Conference Center Hiroshima on December 5, 2009, with the support of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation. The event began with opening remarks from Hiroshima Mayor Tadatashi Akiba, followed by keynote speeches, reports by panelists, discussions between speakers and panelists, and a presentation by a group of local middle and high school students. The insightful and stimulating speeches and discussions were enjoyed by an audience of more than 250 people of various generations, from high school students to senior citizens.

(Summaries of speeches, reports and discussions on Pages 2 and 3.)

This event was the second symposium co-organized by the two host organizations, following the first one held in August 2008. The objective was to identify major issues relating to the realization of nuclear abolition and the denuclearization of Northeast Asia, and to examine the role of Hiroshima and Japan prior to the Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to be held in New York in May 2010. A further jointly-organized symposium will be held in July this year which will examine the achievements and unsolved issues following the May Review Conference.

In his opening remarks Hiroshima Mayor Akiba stated the following: the chances to abolish nuclear weapons are increasing worldwide, accelerated by US President Obama’s speech in Prague, his leadership within the UN Security Council and his winning of the Nobel Peace Prize. A significant paradigm shift is occurring in the environment surrounding nuclear weapons, war and peace. Akiba introduced the “2020 Vision,” an action plan which is aimed at the abolition of nuclear weapons by 2020 that has been developed by the Mayors for Peace, of which the Mayor of Hiroshima is the president. Akiba also appealed to the audience to support the lobby for the adoption of the “Hiroshima-Nagasaki Protocol,” a specific road map towards nuclear abolition, during the NPT Review Conference.

The first of the two keynote speeches during the first part of the symposium was entitled “Nuclear Zero Is a Process, Not an Event” and was delivered by Jonathan Granoff, a lawyer, international peace activist and President of the Global Security Institute, a US-based think tank which is seeking the abolition of nuclear weapons. In his speech Granoff stated that “universal, legally verifiable elimination [of nuclear weapons] must be our collective goal,” and that “Japan, the one country that knows the empty face of the abyss, and an ally of the United States, at this moment will be an extremely effective voice.” To conclude his speech, he expressed his appreciation to Hiroshima for giving the world a message of hope, faith, and energy.

The second keynote speech was delivered by Jeong Sehyun, a former South Korean Minister of Unification and the incumbent Vice-Chairman of the Kim Dae-jung

Peace Center. In his speech entitled “The North Korean Nuclear Issue and ‘A World Without Nuclear Weapons’” Jeong posited that the US and Japan have misinterpreted the real intention behind North Korea’s adherence to the nuclear card, that being its attempts to guarantee the survival of the regime. Jeong stated that the Obama administration should i) give the first priority to the nuclear issue and separate it from others such as the abduction issue; ii) hold a summit between the US and North Korea at the earliest possible stage; and iii) adopt an active policy towards North Korea such as guaranteeing the survival of the North Korean regime and initiating normalization negotiations in order that North Korea will abandon its nuclear weapons.

The second part consisted of three panel presentations, the first given by Yoshiki Mine, a Senior Research Fellow at the Canon Institute for Global Studies and a former ambassador who has served as the head of the Japanese delegation to the Conference of Disarmament in Geneva and the Japanese representative for Japan-North Korea Normalization Talks, among other posts. In his presentation entitled “Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Agendas for President Obama,” Mine stated that unless the US withdraws the option of carrying out a “nuclear attack on North Korea” and guarantees the survival of the North Korean regime, no solution will be found for the North Korean nuclear issue. He also emphasized the humanity-violating illegality and immorality of the use of nuclear weapons, thereby, stressing the importance of imposing a ban on the use of nuclear weapons prior to eliminating them (i.e. nuclear abolition).

Next, Arthur Binard, a Japanese-resident American poet, gave a presentation entitled “Hiroshima and Nagasaki: A View from the Ocean.” Since moving to Japan in 1990, Binard has been writing poems, essays and picture books through which he expresses his anti-nuclear messages. During the time he was investigating the Lucky Dragon Incident of 1954, he came to the conclusion that the crew of the Lucky Dragon were not simply victims of a thermonuclear test, but were “heroes” who explained to the world the reality of nuclear tests through managing to return to Yaizu port, despite being pursued by personnel from the US Department of Defense who were trying to cover up the incident. Likewise, Binard emphasized that *hibakusha* (victims of the atomic bombing) in Hiroshima and Nagasaki are in fact not victims but “victors.”

The third presenter was Akira Tashiro, Executive Director of the Hiroshima Peace Media Center, Chugoku Shimbun, whose presentation entitled “*Nuclear Weapons Can Be Eliminated: Reports from the Field*” introduced the long-running series of the same title from the newspaper. Following that, Yumi Kanazaki, one of the correspondents at the media center in charge of the series, described her firsthand experience of news gathering in the US. She stated that “My speculation that we are made to believe in the effectiveness of nuclear deterrence without knowing it became a conviction.”

The third part of the symposium provided opportunities for the speakers and panelists to hold discussions on topics such as the abolition of nuclear weapons, the denuclearization of Northeast Asia, and the roles of civil society, Hiroshima and Japan. There was also a presentation by two high school students representing the “No Nuke Network Hiroshima,” a group of local middle and high school students, who introduced their activities that are appealing to US President Obama to visit Hiroshima.

Associate professor at HPI



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Part I

Keynote speeches

Nuclear Zero Is a Process, Not an Event

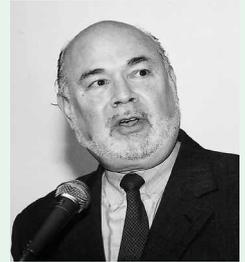
Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute

The people of Hiroshima and all of Japan have a moral right and duty to lead the world to a safer place. Now the people of America have a president courageous enough to affirm that the US has a moral duty to work to achieve the security of a world free of nuclear weapons. We must bring these aspirations into action.

The current system in place to keep proliferation in check is inequitable, discriminatory and thus unstable. Universal, legally-verifiable elimination must be our collective goal. Perpetual, extended nuclear deterrence prevents progress on deep irreversible cuts in arsenals and the achievement of a diminishing role for these weapons. With respect to the shared security interests of Japan and the US, including the threats that are being faced from North Korea, these can be amply met without nuclear weapons. Japan, the one country that knows the empty face of the abyss, and an ally of the United States, at this moment can be an extremely effective voice. A Northeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, proposed by Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada, has the possibility of being established quite quickly. No first use pledges for all nuclear weapon states should be supported strongly.

There are several routes to achieve a nuclear weapons free world. The best route is to embody in law the norm against any use and to conclude a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons, which builds verification, monitoring, dismantlement of nuclear weapons in any nuclear state and all the other threat-reducing steps into a cooperative, law-governed process.

I thank the people of Hiroshima for giving us a message of hope, faith, energy, and a call for us together to remember our humanity.



The North Korean Nuclear Issue and "A World Without Nuclear Weapons"

Sehyun Jeong, Vice-Chairman of the Kim Dae-jung Peace Center

Whether it is in regard to nuclear abolition or the success of the NPT Review Conference, the crucial factor is whether the North Korean nuclear issue can be solved, and that simply depends on the diplomatic skills of the US.

The motive behind North Korea's adherence to the nuclear card for the past 20 years has not been to secure economic assistance, but to ensure the survival of the regime. However, both the Koizumi administration in Japan and the Bush administration in the US misinterpreted this fact. Nevertheless, in the September 19 Joint Statement adopted during the Six-Party Talks in 2005, the member states recognized that what North Korea really wants is the guarantee of its regime through the normalization of diplomatic relations. They also specified three incentives

to be offered in the case that North Korea abandons its nuclear weapons: 1) the normalization of North Korea's diplomatic relations with the US and Japan respectively; 2) economic and energy assistance; and 3) a peace treaty to end the Korean War.

Recently, further hope has come in the form of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's reassertion of the three conditions in November 2009, although in a slightly different order: 1) the normalization of diplomatic relations, 2) a peace treaty, and 3) economic assistance. This reveals that the Obama administration has now grasped the real nature of the North Korean nuclear issue.

The US policy in relation to North Korea should prioritize the nuclear issue, then hold a summit meeting at the earliest possible convenience, where bold proposals are put forward at an early stage in negotiations. These proposals should be pledging to guarantee the North Korean regime, negotiating a peace treaty, and showing the US' intention of offering "negative security assurances," that is not to use nuclear weapons against denuclearized, as well as non-nuclear, states. At the same time, Japan is also required to separate the nuclear issue from the abduction issue.

Part III

Discussions and Q&A

Panel discussions (excerpt)

Granoff: The utility of nuclear weapons at this juncture in terms of security is militarily of absolutely no value whatsoever. But the US is still clinging to the fear-based dominance model. The issue of breaking the myth and getting to the truth is so important and here Japan can play a big role. Japan at this moment should close the nuclear umbrella to give enormous momentum to the move towards nuclear abolition. Japan should not be silent. In a soccer game, you play for an hour and half, but there is only maybe 15 seconds when you can shoot for the goal. This is the time in which you can kick for the goal.

Jeong: The honesty and reliability of Mr. Obama's statement about "a world without nuclear weapons" is now being put to the test. There needs to be a reconciliation of interest with the sector within the US that is in favor of nuclear weapons. When it comes to Japan, there can be a clue towards nuclear abolition depending on how the Hatoyama administration negotiates with the domestic conservative faction that clings on to the "nuclear umbrella." Similarly, A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki are also required to carefully consider how to address domestic conservatives and militarists as this will influence the future course of the nuclear debate.

Mine: There are three facets to the issue when talking about the use of nuclear weapons: the non-use of nuclear weapons in the general sense, based on the idea of illegality; the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states; and the no first use of nuclear weapons. Among these, the second is also called "negative security assurance" which should be immediately put into practice. But the US rejects such a policy and Japan supports that stance. Also, the most serious problem regarding the logic of nuclear deterrence is the fact that it is usually disregarded that nuclear deterrence itself poses a great threat to counterparts.

Tashiro: From the standpoint of an A-bombed city, it seems that the ideas of no first use or negative security assurances can be achieved only if policy makers of the nuclear states wish to implement them. In these circumstances, it is naturally assumed that Japan should take the initiative. International relations notwithstanding, nuclear weapons are inhumane and immoral, at least from the perspective of ordinary citizens. Therefore Japan should make a strong call to international society for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. The media should cooperate in this effort to sway public opinion and bring pressure upon the leaders in Tokyo, Washington and Moscow.

Binard: I'm very upset with the Japanese government's backing of the US. The attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq could have been stopped if Japan had joined France and Germany in opposing the US. The same can be said about nuclear policy: the course can be changed if Japan keeps the reins on the US. Nuclear weapons are a human creation. So why can't they be eliminated? Even though this is essential for the survival of mankind, it is still not an attainable goal. Why? Because nuclear weapons bring wealth to certain people.

Part II

Panel presentations

Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Agendas for President Obama
Yoshiki Mine, Senior Research Fellow at the Canon Institute for Global Studies



The Obama administration faces various challenges in the midst of the growing moves towards nuclear disarmament. First, there will be no settlement in the North Korean nuclear issue unless the US abandons its former policy of possible nuclear attack and shows its willingness to guarantee the survival of the North Korean regime. The US needs to show a similar stance towards Iran: erasing the mistrust between the US and Iran and making the promise not to resort to nuclear weapons if Iran abandons its nuclear development. In fact, the non-use of nuclear weapons is as essential as nuclear abolition itself. The use of nuclear weapons is inhumane and therefore illegal, and it is particularly immoral to use nuclear weapons against those states that are recognized as non-nuclear states under the NPT system. With regard to President Obama's statement to act towards nuclear abolition, while his pronouncement itself should be welcomed, it is still uncertain whether it is possible to actually achieve “an unequivocal undertaking to accomplish the total elimination of nuclear arsenals,” the promise which was made at the 2000 NPT Review Conference. Also it is important to consider the value of gaining the nuclear cooperation of India, one country which is not party to the NPT regime.



Hiroshima and Nagasaki: A View from the Ocean
Arthur Binard, poet

I was repeatedly taught about the justification of the atomic bombings of Japan in the US, but I always wondered why it had to be done twice. After I moved to Japan, I investigated the Lucky Dragon Incident. The victims of the incident are usually regarded as the victims of “death ash” from the thermonuclear test, but they are actually more than that. Having witnessed a classified US military test, the 23 members of the crew of the Lucky Dragon managed to escape from the pursuit launched by the US Department of Defense under the accurate instruction of Captain Aikichi Kuboyama, and made their way back to Yaizu port, despite suffering from the effects of radiation exposure. They then told the world about the reality of thermonuclear tests. They are not merely victims but rather victors, and the episode of their tragedy is the century's most dramatic epic poem, comparable even to Homer's *Odyssey*. The stories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki must be passed on as the stories of victors with no distortion. I believe this to be my lifework.

Nuclear Weapons Can Be Eliminated: Reports from the Field

Akira Tashiro, Executive Director of the Hiroshima Peace Media Center, Chugoku Shimbun

In February 2009, the Hiroshima Peace Media Center commenced a feature series entitled “Nuclear Weapons Can Be Eliminated.” Today one of the three correspondents working for the series, Yumi Kanazaki, will talk about her own experiences of news gathering.



Yumi Kanazaki, correspondent for The Chugoku Shimbun

Based on news gathering abroad, last month we started a special series entitled “The Day the Nuclear Umbrella is Folded” which focuses on contradictions in Japanese nuclear policy. Despite the growing moves towards nuclear abolition following the start of the Obama administration, in the Truman Presidential Museum in Missouri, Truman's home, there can be found comments praising the atomic bombing in the visitors book, which is rather shocking. It seems that the US policy of nuclear disarmament is only a means to prevent its proliferation. The media should cover the contradiction between these phenomena and the movement for “a world without nuclear weapons” proclaimed by the Obama administration. There have also not been enough reports about Japan, the country which has experienced the atomic bombing, actually requesting the “nuclear umbrella” from the US. It is the public, including young people, that can change the minds of nuclear-inclined governments. I truly hope that our work will support your thinking and actions.

Presentation by students from the “No Nuke Network Hiroshima”

Yuki Okada: We are running a campaign to ask people at schools and in the town to make paper cranes. Our target is to collect over 23,000 cranes, the figure of which represents the number of nuclear weapons existing in the world today. We will send all of these paper cranes to US President Obama as we want to invite him to Hiroshima.

Yuji Kanemori: The reason why we want President Obama to visit Hiroshima is not to extract an apology from a US President for the atomic bombing, but rather that we want him, as a leader who can change the world, to experience at first hand Hiroshima citizens' strong desire for nuclear abolition and in this way strengthen his own determination to abolish nuclear weapons.



Audience comments and Q&A



Robert Gray, former US Ambassador for Disarmament: The difference between the Bush administration and the Obama administration is the difference between the Dark Ages and the Renaissance. The US is now in the process of preparing a Nuclear Posture Review. I would like Japan to support the efforts of Mr. Obama and his administration to push towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons. For the CTBT to be ratified in the Senate, they need 66 votes. At the moment, they have about 62. The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to President Mr. Obama is a tribute to the fact that he represents multilateral, peaceful diplomacy and the hope for the future. We need to support his efforts strongly and firmly.

— **Is President Obama popular in the United States?**

Granoff: The birth of the Obama administration represents the fact that the global thinking has caught on among American citizens and the President is indeed popular. But nuclear weapons are very difficult psychologically for Americans to deal with.

That's one of the reasons why Japan and Hiroshima are so important. You have so much to teach the world.

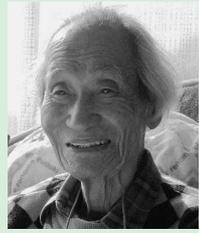
— **Isn't the US military industry making money by developing nuclear weapons?**

Granoff: According to one study, the United States alone has spent 5.7 trillion dollars on the nuclear arsenal so far, and about 50 billion dollars last year. On the other hand, the IAEA has never spent more than 120 million dollars in a year for all of its inspections.

— **Should priority be put on the North Korean nuclear issue over its human rights issue?**

Jeong: It is by no means correct to say that the human rights issue can be overlooked. Nevertheless, the United States needs to accept that priority has to be put on the nuclear issue in order to achieve “a world without nuclear weapons.” A peace treaty between South and North Korea, the US and China to end the Korean War will lead to the denuclearization of North Korea.





Passing on the History of A-bombed and Occupied Hiroshima

Hideyuki Ohmura, Founding Chairman of the Cultural Youth League of Hiroshima

By Motofumi Asai,
President of HPI

Hideyuki Ohmura, having been in Hiroshima and exposed to radiation at the time of the atomic bombing, was a pioneering figure in passing on testimonies about Hiroshima at the center of a circle of young intellectuals in the city. He talked about his unique experiences during Hiroshima's "lost decade" which immediately followed the 1945 atomic bombing.

Ohmura divides his life into four "movements" as in music: Movement I, from his birth until the atomic bombing; Movement II, the subsequent five years when he was active in Hiroshima; Movement III, from his return to his native Fukuyama when he was involved in the local *Taiyō Shimbun* newspaper and a golf society; and Movement IV, a long fight against A-bomb-derived multiple cancers until today. In the present interview, Ohmura talked mainly about the first two movements, some episodes of which have also appeared in his columns "Golfing Chat" and "Golfing Chat 2" which he contributed to *The Taiyō Shimbun* over 500 times.

<Movement I >

Although my real birthday is December 1922, it is registered as January 1923. This was because of my parents' intention to postpone my selection for conscription by a year. This trick was rather common at the time. I studied at Seishikan Secondary School, the Hiroshima Teachers College, and then Hiroshima Bunrika University (the present day Hiroshima University).

Having passed the selection process for conscription in 1945, I was always concerned about when the conscription notice would arrive. However, time passed with no letter arriving in my post box, and it was already August. Everyone was wondering why there had been no air raids in Hiroshima, and there was even a rumour that the city might be attacked by some special means.

On August 5, 1945, the day before the bombing, I went back home to Fukuyama, about 100 kilometers east of Hiroshima, to collect some food. I was going to return to Hiroshima on the same day, but three circumstances allowed me to avoid direct exposure to radiation. The first of these was that I had had my bag stolen at Hiroshima Station, so I went back to Fukuyama two hours later than originally planned. The second was that, while at home in Fukuyama, my friends gathered at my house, therefore I postponed my return to Hiroshima until the next morning so that I would arrive in Hiroshima at 8 a.m. on August 6. The last circumstance was the terrible train delay that occurred on the morning of August 6 after air raids in Ashiya (300km east of Hiroshima) that took place the night before. I was originally to leave Fukuyama at 4 a.m., but the train actually departed after 6 a.m. When the bomb was dropped at 8:15, I was still seven stations away from Hiroshima, and after about 20 minutes the train reached Kaita, three stations before Hiroshima, where everyone was asked to get off. These three circumstances determined my destiny.

From Kaita Station I walked all the way through the Danbara

area to Ujina. There was absolutely nobody around who was not injured. With so many dead bodies everywhere, my emotions seemed to become cauterized so that I no longer felt anything when I saw them. I reached my friend's house in Ujina, took a rest there, then went to my university in the city once all the fires had started to die down. When I reached the city center, it was already getting dark. That night I stayed at a dormitory belonging to Toyo Kogyo (the present day Mazda). The following day I went to the city center again to look for my friends. I was still in Hiroshima when Fukuyama was attacked in air raids that took place on August 8. The next day, I went back to Fukuyama, and then returned to Hiroshima again to learn of the second atomic bombing on Nagasaki the same day.

On August 15, I went by train to Shobara to go shopping with a specially-issued return ticket which set the condition that one could travel to any destination but had to return to Hiroshima. It was in Shobara that I learned of Japan's surrender through the Emperor's radio broadcast. To be honest, my memories up to the surrender are rather scarce. I returned to Fukuyama in September and it was then that symptoms of A-bomb disease started to appear: epilation, bleeding gums and mild fever. But fortunately they did not threaten my life.

<Movement II >

I returned to Hiroshima the following October. Schools and universities were shut down all over the country so there were students of Tokyo, Kyoto, Waseda and other universities who were temporarily back home in Hiroshima. They were mostly studying pure science since they, unlike those studying the humanities and social sciences, did not go to the battlefield but stayed in the country to work in the war industry. We got together and were motivated to take some action in the city where it had been said that no plant would grow for the next 75 years. We formed the Cultural Youth League of Hiroshima in December 1945, with me as the founding chairman. Our aim was to pass on testimonies about the first nuclear destruction in human history – the most tragic event of the 20th century – to later generations both in and outside Hiroshima.

The first idea we came up with for this was to organize phonograph record concerts and public lectures, but we had to start with absolutely nothing – no electricity, no radio, nothing at all. Therefore we collected phonographs from all over the city and repaired them to start a series of concerts in January 1946. We also organized public lectures, inviting such big names as the philosopher Masakazu Nakai, the writer Tomoe Yamashiro, the historian Gorō Hani and the physicist Yoshio Nishina. Some league members even formed a theater society with external supporters and gave public performances. All of the expenses for these activities were covered by money collected by the members

themselves. Looking back, I wonder how on earth it was possible to collect all the money.

At the time, there were also other projects initiated by the members. One example was of a motivated primary school teacher Tsuyoshi Nakamoto whose attempt to have his students write down their experiences of “that day” led to the widely known book *Genbaku no Ko* (Children of Hiroshima), a collection of memoirs of local children, which was edited by Arata Osada and published in October 1951. Another was the publication of our own periodical *Tankyū* (Quest) which, along with discussion meetings, functioned as a forum for exchanging opinions and experiences on the day of the atomic bombing.

I joined the Communist Party in November 1945. It was popular among university students to join the party, but I was also strongly encouraged to join by the party members themselves because of my active involvement in the Youth League. I remember one student of Waseda University who recommended me to join the party was a so-called “Marx boy,” which meant someone who was merely a doctrinaire. Within the party, I was appointed the editor of its newspaper *The Hiroshima Minpō*.

One of the major events in which I participated while I was a party member was the Congress of Partisans for Peace held in Hiroshima on October 2, 1949, which was characterized by the first declaration on nuclear abolition in Japan that was proclaimed during the event. The congress took place at Hiroshima Jogakuin Junior High School as part of the International Day of Struggle for Peace called by the World Federation of Trade Unions. The declaration was drafted by the poet Sankichi Toge, discussed as an “urgent issue,” and approved unanimously. It declared that “We as citizens of Hiroshima, the first city to experience the disaster caused by the Atomic Bomb, shall stand up for the abolishment of atomic bombs.” The aforementioned *Hiroshima Minpō* reported it on its first page with the title “Ban atomic bombs: A message from Hiroshima citizens to the world.” Nevertheless, there was no chance of the event becoming widely known across Japanese society due to the censorship imposed by the US occupation forces.

On April 6, 1950, we formed the first cross-party peace movement group in Hiroshima, the Society to Facilitate the Hiroshima Committee of Partisans for Peace. On June 9 of the same year, another “first” attempt was made: publishing a special issue featuring photos of the post-bombing disaster. It was printed as the seventh issue of the weekly journal of the local branch of the Communist Party, *Heiwa Sensen* (Peace Front Line), and the core message of the issue was “No more A-bombs: All patriots, come to the peace front line.” The chief editor was me, the photos were provided by a photographer at the Chugoku Shimbun, Mr. Matsushige, and a poem entitled *August 6* was contributed by Toge. Forty thousand copies were distributed across the country. I remember Toge and I prepared ourselves for probable censorship, especially when the publication represented the first reporting of the atomic bombing ever made in Japan.

As a result of the publication, I got arrested, despite my careful wording in the journal to avoid censorship. The actual charge that the police brought against me was that I had printed the issue in question at an “underground printing house.” The charge was soon dropped and I was released after 22 days of detention. Nevertheless, both *Heiwa Sensen* and *Hiroshima Minpō* were banned on June 29.

I stayed at my friend’s house for a few days after my release. Everyone should have known about my release, but nobody visited me. This made me decide to leave the party.

However, this wasn’t the first time that a division appeared

between the local party leadership and me: basically we had irreconcilable perspectives. I, as well as Tomoe Yamashiro, had always thought that it was indispensable to live together with the masses in order to acquire perspectives from the same standpoint as theirs. However, such an idea was overlooked by the party leadership, so we in turn became disillusioned with the party.

The most crucial matter that led to my decision to leave the party was the fact that at the time when the aforementioned special issue was released, the then party leaders were not negative but rather indifferent about the A-bomb. They did not recognize the importance of the anti-A-bomb movement.

Even after I left the party, I was still tailed by the police. On Christmas Day of 1951, I decided to leave Hiroshima altogether to settle down in Fukuyama.

I got to know the poet Sankichi Toge when he became a regular participant in meetings of the Youth League. Toge, who was born in February 1917, thus five years my senior, was already in poor health when we first met. From July 1946 he served as the chairman of the Youth League for one year, succeeding me, who had become more occupied with the activities of the Communist Party. While Toge had been baptized because of his Christian elder sister, he had also developed an interest in socialism, influenced by his other elder sister and two elder brothers. His involvement in the Youth League deepened his consciousness of problems in society, and then in April 1949 he joined the Communist Party following recommendation from me. His active involvement in the party was evident in, for example, his serving as one of the chairpersons at the aforementioned Congress of Partisans for Peace and drafting the declaration. He continued composing poems even after my withdrawal from the party. It was a great pity to lose such a highly motivated youth at the age of 36. (He passed away on March 10, 1953.)

<Finale>

On December 20, 1999, the Associated Press announced the 10 biggest events of the 20th century as chosen by 71 world major press companies from 36 countries, and it put the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki first on the list, followed by the Russian Revolution and the German invasion of Poland. Whether the people of Hiroshima believe it or not, the world actually does see the bombings as the biggest event of the 20th century. There is no doubt about it. Therefore, the people of Hiroshima should send stronger messages to the world.

As mentioned earlier, we started our activities with the aim of passing on the most tragic event of the 20th century as Hiroshima citizens. But these days, all sorts of similar activities that are taking place are little more than an extravaganza. Having observed Hiroshima from the outside in Fukuyama since the early 1950s, I can tell that the sphere of thought and speech in Hiroshima is in a dysfunctional state. In fact, it has been like that for many decades — since long before the ideological split during the anti-A and H bomb movement of the early 1960s.

At the same time, there has still been no significant self-reflection or analysis of the Pacific War. As a result, people are forgetting the horror of warfare, the horror of nuclear war and radiation and related diseases that it will cause. I want to strongly emphasize the need to come to some sort of conclusion in relation to the war.

(Interviewed on December 7, 2009)

Rethinking Modern German History: The 20th Anniversary of the Opening of the Berlin Wall

Germany celebrated the 20th anniversary of the opening of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 2009. To mark this occasion, HPI chose modern German history as the theme for the latest Public Lecture Series.

Lecture 1 (October 2) What was Nazism?: From Weimar Democracy to Nazi Dictatorship

Eiko Tamura, former Professor at Saga University

The theme of the first lecture was the Weimar Republic and Nazism. Tamura presented a comprehensive overview of modern German history and detailed examinations of the politics, society and culture of the Weimar Republic. She stated that the collapse of the Weimar Republic, “the most democratic state in the world” at that time, was brought about through “compromise” and “coexistence” between the Nazi movement as a new mass movement of Nazism and the traditional restoration-oriented, authoritarian elites. She also examined the historical meanings of the Nazi regime and anti-Semitism, and some affinities between the political environments of the Weimar era and that of the present time. In this way she emphasized the importance of carrying out investigations into the Weimar Republic and Nazism in our time.

Lecture 2 (October 9) The Peace Movement in West Germany

Makiko Takemoto, Assistant Professor at HPI

The second lecture examined the peace movement in West Germany. During the Cold War period, both East and West Germany sought to prove their own legitimacy as “the” German state based on an anti-fascist ideology. This situation led both sides to promote “peace” and “democracy” respectively. In this context, while the traditional peace movement of the pre-1945 period was inherited in East Germany, it was distanced from that of West Germany and seen as a “Communist movement.” The peace movement in West Germany was thus reborn as an anti-nuclear movement. In the lecture, Takemoto traced the development of the post-1945 peace movement in West Germany: from its birth in the 1950s, the Easter March protest which started in the 1960s to the upsurge in the early 1980s marked by the NATO Double-Track Decision. She then returned to the change which occurred in the character of the peace movement around the time of WWII, before concluding the lecture.

Lecture 3 (October 16) The “Second Birth” of West Germany: A Comparative Study of Japan and Germany in the 1960s

Masaaki Yasuno, Professor at Hiroshima University

The third lecture focused on West Germany in the 1960s when the state experienced its “second birth” when the power transfer to the Social Democratic Party occurred and democracy was finally consolidated to create West Germany’s political identity. Yasuno explained how the 1968 student movement significantly weakened the traditional authoritarian character of German politics and society, strengthened grass-roots political activities and changed people’s lifestyles to a considerable degree. The movement further brought about changes in the political system and people’s mentalities which has left an irreversible influence on West German society. Yasuno stated that these changes represent great contrasts to the situation in Japan and are often perceived as positive developments within Germany; consequently, in contrast to Japan, the 1968 movement is viewed favorably. He also addressed the condition of contemporary Japanese politics and society, and made comparisons with the case of West Germany.

Lecture 4 (October 23) Politics of Memory: Nazism and War from the Perspective of Overcoming the Past

Yuji Ishida, Professor at Tokyo University

Ishida’s lecture examined public memories of Nazism and WWII and their political background, with a particular focus on the issue of overcoming the past. According to Ishida, public war memories in East Germany mainly centered on the fight against Nazism led by Communists and the Soviet military, whereas in West Germany there have been various twists and turns in the narrative, revealing that the achievement of constructing public memories and overcoming the past has not been as easy a process as is usually claimed in Japan. Ishida also stated that the overcoming of the past in Germany should not always be attributed to support from a majority of the public, but rather to sensible decision-making on the part of politicians, the development of civic movements and the progress of historical scholarship.



The monument in Berlin, usually known as the Holocaust Memorial, represents the complexity of the process of overcoming the past.

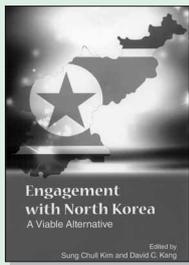
Lecture 5 (October 30) The Unified Germany and “Peace” in Europe

Eiichi Kido, Associate Professor at Osaka University

In the final lecture, Kido examined the issue of “peace” from the perspective of German reunification in 1990 onwards. He focused particularly on the different ways that “peace” has been perceived in the former East and West Germany, the legitimization of the activities of the Bundeswehr (the German armed forces) outside NATO countries, and the aerial attacks carried out in the former Yugoslavia in order to illustrate that the “no more Auschwitz” mentality has tended to overshadow the “no more war” mentality in post-reunification Germany. He also criticized the recent trend that the ideas of “humanitarian activities” and “human rights” have been utilized to justify the dispatch of German troops abroad, and also that more emphasis has recently been put on “national interests” rather than on “humanitarian activities,” thus revealing that “a culture of war” is starting to reassert its influence within the country.

As during the first term, the latest Lecture Series attracted approximately 100 people to each of the five interesting and stimulating lectures, which were further enlivened by many questions from the audience. Requests from audience members for further opportunities to explore German history and also a variety of other topics will be considered as much as possible in the future.

Text and image by Makiko Takemoto, assistant professor at HPI

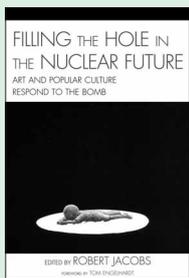


Engagement with North Korea: A Viable Alternative

Edited by Sung Chull Kim and David C. Kang (State University of New York Press, 2009)

How the world deals with North Korea and its nuclear capability will have ramifications for both regional and global stability. *Engagement with North Korea: A viable Alternative*, the culmination of a 2006-2008 research project conducted under the auspices of the Hiroshima Peace Institute, examines the still controversial policy of engagement. Through an examination of the converging and diverging policies of engagement practiced by the United States, China, Russia, Japan and South Korea, the contributors to this volume explore how and to what extent engagement has achieved some measure of progress, and under what conditions this policy is likely to achieve complete success.

The findings of this volume are as follows: (1) In order to achieve success of engagement in the multilateral context of the Six-Party Talks, the relevant actors have to increase the level of coordination among their diverse strategies. Engagement with North Korea represents a *triple-edged* phenomenon that encompasses domestic politics concerning North Korea, bilateral relations with North Korea, and multilateral relations within the Six-Party Talks. There always exists tension between the three levels; the key point is how to prevent this complexity from undercutting the positive effect of engagement. (2) The existing logic of *quid pro quo* will not be sufficient to convince North Korea that full cooperation for denuclearization will best serve its national interest. In view of that there is a close linkage between North Korea's nuclear diplomacy and its national identity, particularly with respect to anti-Americanism, the United States needs to construct foundations of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula and to facilitate the normalization of relations between the two countries.



Filling the Hole in the Nuclear Future: Art and Popular Culture Respond to the Bomb

Edited by Robert Jacobs (Lexington Books, 2010)

Art and popular culture have played an essential role interpreting nuclear issues to the public and investigating the implications of nuclear weapons to the future of human civilization. While political and social forces often seemed paralyzed in thinking beyond the dilemma posed by this apocalyptic technology, art and popular culture were uniquely suited to grapple with the implications of the bomb and the disruptions in the continuity of traditional narratives about the human future endemic to the atomic age.

What Godzilla carried with him out of Tokyo Bay, and what the giant ants in *Them!* brought up out of the sewers of Los Angeles was a message, a message about the future. With human technological abilities far outpacing human social abilities, if society didn't change quickly, atomic weapons would fuel a war to end civilization. Human society was at a fork in the road: one path led to atomic holocaust; the other led to a future of peace and plenty. This was the nuclear dilemma, navigating past the danger and accomplishing the transformation to a new Eden.

This unique book presents a collaboration of artists and scholars exploring the issue of the response of art and popular culture to the bomb, especially in the United States and Japan. Manga, photos, poems and scholarship are woven together to present a holistic vision of the cultural and artistic impact of nuclear weapons. This book is the outcome of an HPI Research Project funded by and conducted at HPI from 2006 to 2008.

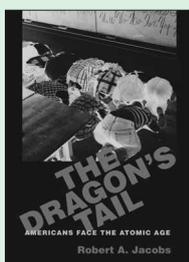


Can Nuclear Abolition be Achieved?:

The course and discourse of the past decade of nuclear proliferation

By Kazumi Mizumoto (Horitsubunka-sha, 2009)

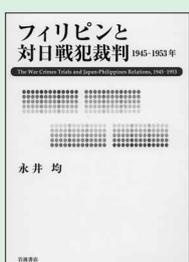
This single-authored volume is the compilation of the reports that Mizumoto contributed for the past decade to the Advisory Research Committee launched at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in 1998. In chronological order it examines the nuclear issues from various regions around the world, the reactions and initiatives undertaken by the United States and international organs, and the position and role of Hiroshima. This comprehensive analysis offers an insightful overview of the "lost decade" of nuclear disarmament and challenges its readers to consider whether nuclear abolition can really be achieved.



The Dragon's Tail: Americans Face the Atomic Age

By Robert Jacobs (University of Massachusetts Press, 2009)

This book explores American nuclear discourse in the first half of the Cold War. It explores the "alchemical narrative" in which nuclear weapons are seen as signifiers of impending social transformation, either the end of the world or a world of peace and plenty. Through examinations of discourse about the nature of nuclear weapons, radiation and survival of nuclear war, this narrative is seen to have a primary influence on American perceptions of the bomb.



The War Crimes Trials and Japan-Philippines Relations, 1945-1953

By Hitoshi Nagai (Iwanami Shoten, 2010)

During the Second World War, some of the fiercest fighting took place in the Philippines and the atrocities committed there by the Japanese military severely shocked the people of the country. After the war, the newly-independent Philippines assumed a strongly anti-Japanese stance and became actively involved in issues concerning Japanese war criminals through participating in the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal and, among other measures, holding its own trials against war criminals. In the book *The War Crimes Trials and Japan-Philippines Relations, 1945-1953*, Nagai examines extensive primary sources and interviews to reveal how the Philippines has dealt with issues relating to war crimes, the commitment to which has until now remained largely unknown to the public. This unprecedented volume sheds light on the initial phase of postwar Japanese-Philippine relations.

- ◆Nov. 6 Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture “The Recovery of Hiroshima from the A-bombing and Peace” to a group of teachers from the Takéo Provincial Teachers Training College as part of the Cambodia Reconstruction Support Project, co-organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA, held at Hiroshima International Plaza in Higashi-Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture.
- ◆Nov. 11-12 Narayanan Ganesan presents paper “Myanmar-China Relations: Interlocking Interests but Independent Output” at the annual congress of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA), held in Manila, the Philippines.
- ◆Nov. 20 Mizumoto gives lecture “To Always Have a Future Vision” at Hiroshima Jogakuin Senior High School.
- ◆Nov. 28 HPI President Motofumi Asai participates as a panelist at the 37th annual meeting of the Chugoku-Shikoku Association for American Studies, held at Yasuda Women’s University, Hiroshima.
- ◆Nov. 29 Akihiro Kawakami presents paper “Key Issues of a Locality-Oriented Peace Guarantee” at a conference of the Peace Studies Association of Japan, held in Kyoto.
- ◆Nov. 30-Dec. 1 Ganesan presents paper “Comprehensive Security and Civil-Military Relations in Southeast Asia: A Comparative Survey” at the international conference “Comprehensive Security in the Asia-Pacific Region” held at Keio University, Tokyo.
- ◆Dec. 2 Kawakami gives lecture “Local Assemblies and the Basic Ordinances of Local Assemblies” at a public meeting of the Coalition of Jichiro Local Assembly Members, held in Hiroshima.
- ◆Dec. 8 Asai gives lecture “The Situation on the Korean Peninsula and Japan-DPRK Relations” at a public meeting, held in Kyoto.
- ◆Dec. 9-11 Ganesan and Sung Chull Kim organize an HPI workshop “State Violence and Political Transition in East Asia” at the Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong.
- ◆Dec. 11 Mikyoung Kim presents paper “North Korean Human Rights Policies of China and Japan: Supremacy of Domestic Priorities over International Norms” at the annual meeting of the Korean International Political Science Association, held in Seoul, South Korea.
- ◆Dec. 12 Mizumoto gives report “An Analysis of Recent Trends and Debates on Nuclear Weapons” at a workshop organized by the Advisory Research Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. ▽Kawakami gives lecture “Regime Change and the Pacifist Constitution” at a meeting of the National Forestry and Allied Workers Union of Japan, held in Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture.
- ◆Dec. 15-19 Ganesan takes part in the organization of a training and capacity-building workshop for young academics, funded by APISA and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- ◆Dec. 16 Motofumi Asai, Sung Chull Kim, Kazumi Mizumoto and Makiko Takemoto hold a discussion on the current political situation in East Asia with Dr. Young Kyong Kwon and five other members from the Education Center for Unification of the South Korean Ministry of Unification, held at HPI.
- ◆Dec. 17 Hitoshi Nagai gives lecture “The Institute for American Studies of Rikkyo University during the Second World War” at Rikkyo University, Tokyo.
- ◆Jan. 1 Robert Jacobs is promoted to Associate Professor.
- ◆Jan. 5-14 Ganesan conducts a field research trip to Myanmar.
- ◆Jan. 16 Kawakami gives lecture “The Pacifist and Welfare Constitution and Regime Change” at a meeting of the Okayama branch of the Co-op Labor Union, held in Okayama.
- ◆Jan. 21 Mizumoto gives lecture “How to Live in the International Age: Pursuing Nuclear Abolition and International Contribution from an A-bombed City” at a seminar “Learning for Interaction with the World” held at Hatsukaichi-Nishi High School, Hiroshima Prefecture.
- ◆Jan. 27 Mikyoung Kim participates in a seminar “Northeast Asia and North Korea” organized by the Korea Future Foundation, held in Seoul, South Korea.
- ◆Jan. 30 Mizumoto gives lecture “Japan’s Security and the US Bases in Japan” at a New Year’s meeting of the Social Democratic Party, Hiroshima, held at WorkPier Hiroshima.
- ◆Jan. 31 Mizumoto gives lecture “Cambodia: History, Civil War and Rehabilitation” at a preparatory training course for the Study Tour to Cambodia organized by Hiroshima International Center (HIC) and JICA Chugoku, held at HIC.
- ◆Feb. 11 Asai gives lecture “The DPJ Government, the Japanese Constitution and the Japan-US Security Alliance” at the 2010 Peace Festa organized by the Kurashiki Medical Co-op, held in Kurashiki, Okayama Prefecture.
- ◆Feb. 13 Asai gives lecture “Japanese Diplomacy on the US Military Bases in Japan” at a public meeting, held in Kudamatsu, Yamaguchi Prefecture.
- ◆Feb. 13-14 Mikyoung Kim organizes an HPI workshop “Culture and Collective Memory in Northeast Asia” in Athens, Georgia, US.
- ◆Feb. 13-20 Mizumoto conducts visits to Phnom Penh and Takéo in Cambodia as a member of the Cambodia Reconstruction Support Project, co-organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.
- ◆Feb. 16-20 Mikyoung Kim participates in a working group on human rights “The Real Cost of Recession: Human Rights and the Economic Downturn,” and another on feminist theory and gender studies “Gender and Security: Theory and Practice” and presents paper “South Korean Construction of North Korean Identity: Victimization, Romanticization and Vilification” during the annual convention of the International Studies Association, held in New Orleans, Louisiana, US.

—Visitors—

- ◆Nov. 10 Thirty-one students from Itsukaichi-Kannon Junior High School, Hiroshima.
- ◆Nov. 13 Eight students from the Lower Secondary School affiliated with the School of Education, Nagoya University.
- ◆Dec. 16 Dr. Young Kyong Kwon and five other members from the Education Center for Unification of the Ministry of Unification, South Korea.
- ◆Dec. 21 Six students from Waseda Jitsugyo High School.

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