

New Wine in a New Wineskin?: Obama and the Framing of North Korea's Denuclearization

Sung Chull Kim

As the Six-Party Talks held in December 2008 ended without any progress on the issue of the verification of North Korea's nuclear program, skepticism prevailed again over whether the clandestine country is really interested in negotiation to resolve the nuclear crisis and bring about eventual denuclearization. North Korea refused to follow the U.S. demand to record the protocol for the verification of its declared nuclear program. North Korea was probably intending to start new negotiations with the newly inaugurated Obama administration. It has been difficult to identify North Korea's real intent, and the identification of this intent will remain a thorny question for the foreseeable future.

What should be noted is that the denuclearization of North Korea has already entered a series of negotiations, albeit painstaking in nature, aimed at exchanging political and economic incentives. In such *quid pro quo* negotiations, a cumulative leveling-up process is expected as the participating parties implement fully what they have agreed upon. In reality, however, these *quid pro quo* negotiations have undergone ups-and-downs due to continued distrust and hostility between the parties, particularly between North Korea and the United States. Controversy has continued over the sequence of exchanges between North Korea and the five other parties, even though the Six-Party Talks of 2007 produced main agreements on the actual exchanges: fuel aid, U.S. delisting of North Korea as a terror sponsoring state and lifting the application of the Trading with the Enemy Act, in compensation for the North's disablement of its nuclear facilities at Yongbyon and the declaration of its nuclear program.

Attention is now focused on the Obama administration. In view of the fact that during his presidential election campaign Obama expressed his willingness to talk with leaders of "rogue states" like Iran and North Korea, it is assumed that the Obama administration will take a different approach with regard to the North Korean issue. The Obama administration's approach, if it is taken, could be likened to a "new wineskin." The remaining question is what the content of negotiations, as the "new wine," regarding North Korea's denuclearization will be. New wine and a new wineskin should go together. New incentives may work better in a new frame rather than in an old frame; the new frame may effectively work with new incentives.

The Obama administration's stance on the nuclear issue in general and on the North Korean issue in particular will depend on its overall views regarding U.S. security and foreign policy. Following the election, Obama

announced the "Obama-Biden Plan" on the website of the transition team. With regard to U.S. security and foreign policy, the plan notes the following points: defeating terrorism worldwide, preventing nuclear terrorism, protecting information networks, improving intelligence capacities, strengthening the NPT, moving toward a nuclear-free world, and lastly but not least, renewing American diplomacy.

With regard to nuclear policy, it appears that the Obama administration is concerned more about nuclear proliferation than a nuclear-free world, at least in the short term. Under the condition that the administration will have to deal with the two ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States will need to make efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation beyond borders by such states as Iran and North Korea, and also non-state actors such as terrorist groups. The Obama administration's commitment to both nuclear weapons reduction in the nuclear states and an eventual nuclear-free world will be tested at the NPT Review Conference in 2010.

As to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in particular, it seems that there are both similarities and differences between the Bush administration and the Obama administration. On the one hand, the U.S. objective under the Obama administration remains the same as the policy of nonproliferation, the policy pursued actively by the Bush administration in the Six-Party Talks during the past two years; indeed, Obama has acknowledged Bush's efforts in this respect. On the other hand, the Obama administration will likely adopt a new approach in dealing with North Korea. While taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the Six-Party Talks to induce the support of regional actors, it is highly probable that the Obama administration will take a bold step to initiate a deal with North Korea through high level talks.

Under this new approach, however, a substantial change is needed in terms of the incentives that are on the table. Above all, it is necessary to set an eventual goal, and a timetable if possible, for negotiations between the United States and North Korea and at the Six-Party Talks as a whole. The dismantling of North Korea's nuclear program should be in exchange for the normalization of U.S.-DPRK relations. The Bush administration reiterated an optimistic picture about a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula, but it did not clearly project this specific point as the ultimate goal. Due to deep-rooted distrust, both countries interpreted the agreed points in their own ways. The United States took North Korea's denuclearization for granted whereas North Korea tried simply to maximize its economic and political gains during the process. Thus, controversy between both parties was centered around the condition that "you must keep your promise before requesting my obligation." The controversy in the *quid pro quo* process has reinforced skepticism on both sides about the other's real intent. Now it is high time for the United States to present a big deal, while adopting *quid pro quo* as the intermediary means to facilitate progress. Here Japan should be prepared, in one way or another, for any abrupt change in U.S.-DPRK relations, a change that could be likened to the "Asakai nightmare" of the 1972 U.S.-China rapprochement.

Kim is professor at HPI

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War and Nuclear Weapons of the United States

When discussing contemporary issues of war and nuclear weapons, the crucial factor is the actions of the United States, the country which since 9/11 has pursued the War on Terrorism and which still possesses a hugely powerful nuclear arsenal. By embarking on war in Iraq in 2003, in addition to launching the development of new nuclear weapons, re-starting nuclear tests and implying the possible use of nuclear weapons, the Bush administration considerably changed the course of international cooperation-based nuclear disarmament. In spite of this, in the presidential election of November 4th, 2008, the U.S. witnessed the historic victory of the African American candidate Barack Obama who has stated his determination to abolish nuclear weapons.

The last HPI Lecture Series which was held in November 2008 addressed U.S. policy relating to war and nuclear issues. Each of the five lectures sought to analyze U.S. policy from a variety of viewpoints ranging from politics, military, diplomacy, to culture and the media. The analyses examined historical development before discussing the prospects for the new Obama administration.

Lecture 1 (November 7) U.S. Global Strategy: America's War and the Making of a Liberal World Order

Hideki Kan, Professor at Seinan Jo Gakuin University

Hideki Kan has recently published a book which has the same title as that of the first lecture of the Series (Chuo Koron-sha, 2008). He argues that the U.S. has shown two faces throughout the history of its diplomacy: one that regards itself as a state which has a mission to spread freedom, democracy, and capitalism around the world; and another that emphasizes moral behavior where there is no need to resort to arms in order to promote a system of the U.S. type, if the country continues to be a model state. The former can be illustrated by the Bush Doctrine which adhered to military intervention worldwide, whereas the latter can be represented by the human rights diplomacy of Jimmy Carter in the post-Vietnam War era. A Pentagon paper "Defense Strategy for the 1990s" was issued in the autumn of 1991 during the Bush (Sr.) administration and excerpts from it were disclosed under the name of the then Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney in January, 1993. When one analyzes the Bush (Sr.) administration, it is important to consider the preceding U.S. policy: the Pentagon paper discusses possible preemptive attacks in the case of attacks against the U.S. with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons; it indicates the strategic importance of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf in respect of oil; and it affirms a prospect for the U.S. to achieve hegemony in Europe and East Asia through gaining control over oil reserves. In the lecture, Kan argued that the war in Iraq which started in March 2003 under the Bush (Sr.) administration needs to be understood as a manifestation of the preceding Pentagon paper.

Lecture 2 (November 14) War and Nuclear Weapons in the U.S. History

Hiroko Takahashi, Assistant Professor at HPI

When one visits the National Museum of American History in Washington D.C., one sees how the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and nuclear weapons are depicted as symbols of the end of WWII and of victory in the Cold War respectively. In a similar manner, the World War II Memorial commemorates the war dead of WWII as representing the "price for freedom." At the same time, however, there is no mention in the museum of the actual effects of the bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki or that of nuclear tests. The second lecture of the Series looked at how nuclear weapons has been placed as a symbols of victory in U.S. history in which war has been understood positively as the "price for freedom."

Lecture 3 (November 21) U.S. Nuclear Policy and Tasks for the New Obama Administration

Masakatsu Ota, correspondent of Kyodo News

Masakatsu Ota is a correspondent of Kyodo News who was awarded the

2007 Vaughn-Ueda International Journalist Prize for his detailed reporting of the nuclear policy of the Bush administration. The third lecture delivered by Ota discussed problems in the nuclear policy of the Bush administration and the outlook for the Obama administration. The Bush administration sought the development of usable nuclear weapons such as Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrators (RNEPs) and mini-nukes of smaller than a third of a Hiroshima-sized bomb. Nevertheless, this plan had to be withdrawn after strong resistance from Congress on the basis of the mounting cost of the ever more complicated war in Iraq and the War on Terrorism. One interesting observation made in the lecture related to Dianne Feinstein, a senior Democratic Senator, who kept in her drawer a photo of Hiroshima taken immediately after the bombing and who was strongly opposed to the aforementioned nuclear development plan. Ota, whose life as a journalist started in Hiroshima, concluded the lecture by emphasizing the importance of tirelessly delivering the message of the A-bombed city.

Lecture 4 (November 28) The U.S. Presidential Election and Nuclear Policy in Historical Perspective

Robert Jacobs, Assistant Professor at HPI

The fourth lecture was delivered by Robert Jacobs from HPI. Jacobs, who was in his hometown of Chicago at the time of the 2008 presidential election, examined what the new Obama administration may be able to offer to U.S. nuclear policy. He predicts that, amid the recent economic turmoil, during the first term the new administration will focus on domestic issues, particularly reform of the health care system. A second term, on the other hand, is more likely to be spent leaving the administration's stamp on U.S. history, hence there is a greater likelihood of specific actions being taken towards nuclear abolition. Jacobs observed that a call for nuclear abolition voiced by Henry Kissinger and three other former foreign policy hawks provided little aspiration nor inspiration because such calls can be interpreted merely as a means for these figures to recover their own honors; more important is to examine what they actually did during their incumbencies. This reveals that the sluggish progress of nuclear abolition is in large part due to the existence of the military-industrial complex which benefits from nuclear development. To conclude the lecture, Jacobs stressed that a vital step towards achieving nuclear abolition will be to unveil and break up this obstructive mechanism.

Lecture 5 (December 5) Politics and War of America: Prospects After the 2008 Presidential Election

Chieko Kitagawa Otsuru, Professor at Kansai University

Chieko Kitagawa Otsuru viewed the 2008 U.S. presidential election as centering on the supreme commander who could guarantee U.S. national security: in the general election, Barack Obama, who once opposed the war in Iraq, not only avoided repudiating the War on Terrorism but also pledged to dispatch more of the U.S. military to Afghanistan. Otsuru argued that, with the public attention shifting away from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. has missed an opportunity to learn from the situation in Iraq and to question the fundamentals of U.S. society which has both significant military influence in international society and major military industry within. While the War on Terrorism continues to be justified and the country glorified by its own people, Otsuru holds hopes of grass-root activities possessing the power to make the public perspective on the country more relative and well-balanced.

Nuclear abolition requires the world to discard the idea of nuclear deterrence. Nevertheless, the closer one examines the U.S., the more difficult one realizes this is. The author hopes that the five lectures provided the participants with a good opportunity to examine both the prospects and potential limits of the new denuclearization-championing Obama administration.

Hiroko Takahashi, assistant professor at HPI

A Black Hole: North Korea's Place in East Asian Energy Debates

Mikyong Kim

North Korea occupies a dark place in Northeast Asia in a literal as well as a figurative sense. A reliable energy supply is a prerequisite for a nation's economic growth and North Korea cannot be an exception, despite Pyongyang's *juche* ideology of self-sufficiency. In order for North Korea to develop, it needs the three primary elements of energy supply, environmental preservation and a sustainable economy. Since the official dissolution of the Korea Energy Development Organization (KEDO) in May 2006, the country's future energy prospects look as bleak as ever. The DPRK, with its chronic shortage of energy, is also the major stumbling block for constructive energy flow within the region. North Korea's multifaceted "darkness" qualifies it to be seen as the vibrant region's "black hole." The region's energy challenges regarding North Korea need to be addressed by means of a holistic approach. This is an economic as well as a highly political issue.

Northeast Asia is a dynamic region cohabited by producers and consumers of energy. With China's dramatic turnaround as a net energy importer amid its phenomenal economic growth, its thirst for energy has had spill-over effects to the resource-rich neighboring countries of Russia and Mongolia. Chinese energy demands have been growing by an annual average of 16% in recent years. Despite the declining demand for energy in Japan, rising consumption in Korea implies a substantial net increase in the overall energy demand of Northeast Asia. For instance, Japan's demand for heavy fuel oil is declining faster than for middle distillates (The Japanese Institute of Energy Economics, 2006), whereas primary energy consumption in South Korea has increased at an average rate of 6.2% for the past 25 years from 1981 until 2005 (The Korea Energy Economics Institute, 2006). Considering the compatibility of the resource endowments among the countries, regional cooperation for energy security has become a matter of multilateral cooperation.

In recent years, the region's heavy dependence on Middle Eastern oil has become a serious concern. Three quarters of the oil consumed in Northeast Asia is currently imported from the Middle East. South Korea and Japan imported 78.1% and 90.2% of their oil from the Middle East in 2005 respectively. China, Korea, and Japan have been increasing their investments in energy exploration in Russia and Mongolia, while these cash-strapped economies have become active in attracting foreign direct investment (FDI). The Chinese government emphasizes the potential benefits from comparative advantage in Sino-Russia energy trade. The Institute for International Economic Research in Beijing asserts that "energy cooperation between China and Russia is a win-win deal not only important to their trade relations, but also critical to their strategic partnership." By 2020 Russia will supply more than 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas to Asia and Pacific countries, including China. The Chinese government states that "importing Russian oil by land is economically efficient and politically safe, and it should be a strategic priority for China's long term energy solution" (Institute

for International Economic Research, NDRC, China, 2006). Russia and China have completed a feasibility study for a Yakut-Sakha Republic to China gas project. In addition, other multilateral projects such as Russia-China pipeline construction and gas transfer from Irkutsk's Kovyktinskoye gas field to China and ROK have been under positive reviews. The caveat is that laws relating to FDI enacted by the Khabarovsk Krai government, the central area of the Russian Far East, for instance, have been revised in order to tighten the rules and regulations in recent years. The energy sector is not an exception. The slogan of "Russian Energy for Russia First" has gained more domestic currency now than in the 1980s when the USSR was disintegrating. The region, therefore, has a great potential for the creation of mutually beneficial relations through the linking of energy transportation and distribution systems (see Figure 1).

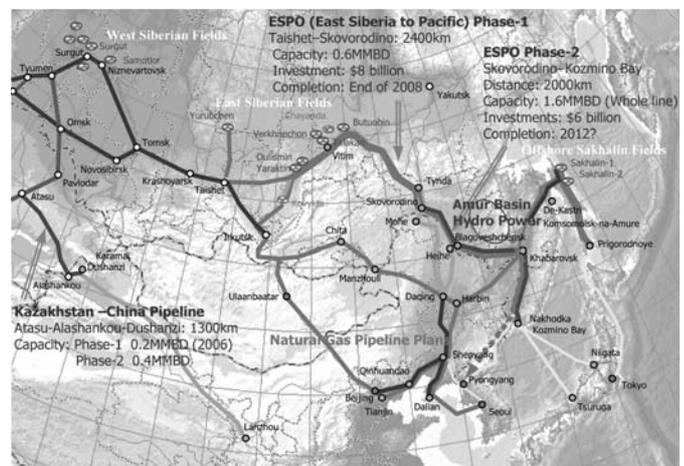


Figure 1: Potential Energy Flow from Eastern Russia
Source: The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan, 2005

However, the rosy scenario of such symbiotic relationship actually faces a sour reality. Despite its desperate need for energy, North Korea has been playing volatile political games. For example, in 2006 the Pyongyang regime shook up the regional security system by successfully launching missiles over the Sea of Japan and conducting a nuclear test. The country is also occupying a strategic location for transportation interconnectivity within the region. The geographical vacuum created by North Korea's isolation is clogging up this transportation artery and it is estimated that this will add billions of dollars to the construction and operation costs of the transportation system. The possibility of detours that avoid the northern part of the Korean Peninsula is under serious consideration, against everybody's rational calculations. A multilateral approach to engage with North Korea in order to open up its territory for an optimal energy flow is urgently needed to promote regional prosperity.

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Hiroshi Maruya Poet Hiromi Misho and Physician Hiroshi Maruya

By **Motofumi Asai**

Interviewed on November 21, 2008



Hiroshi Maruya

I interviewed Dr. Hiroshi Maruya, the honorary director of Hiroshima Kyoritsu Hospital and the famous poet Hiromi Misho. Misho was born in Iwakuni in 1925. (Misho is the name of the birthplace of his mother, who passed away early in his boyhood.) There are two early motivational experiences in his life: the first is the sense of atonement he felt which was derived from his experience of having been engaged in the reclamation of paddy fields,

when, as a middle school pupil, he was mobilized as forced labor for the construction of the base of the Iwakuni Naval Air Force, the predecessor of the present U.S. Iwakuni Base. The other is his experience in A-bombed Hiroshima. He took an irregularly running train from Iwakuni to Koi (Nishi-Hiroshima) on August 8, 1945, two days after the A-bombing, to look for his girlfriend, classmates and respected teachers. He wandered around within the city area for some time, naturally without the slightest knowledge that he was being exposed to radiation because the whole city was contaminated by residual radioactivity. Having not found any acquaintances after a full-day's search, he returned to Koi in the evening to find a young, half-naked and dying man who had a gash on his chest. He looked at the gash that was still oozing fresh blood and suddenly noticed a bloodstained fly crawling out of the gash. The fly shuddered two or three times and was swallowed back into the chest together with the blood. Completely exhausted from fatigue as a result of his vain efforts to find his acquaintances among hundreds of doomed *hibakusha* and shocked by the traumatic scene, Maruya lost his memory and could not recall how he got home to Iwakuni.

Poet Misho is to be publicly honored in 2009 by the Japan Poets Association, the most prestigious association of Japanese poets. In his response to the notification of this public honor, Misho wrote that he was "willingly accepting" the honor as "an encouragement for my sincere devotion to Korean *hibakusha* and Iraqi sufferers from depleted uranium (DU) weapons, as a physician resident in Hiroshima, and also as a poet who has had the above-mentioned early experiences."

I interviewed Maruya regarding these three points: being a physician and a poet, the Korean *hibakusha* and the Iraqi sufferers from DU.

1. As both physician and poet

The professional obligation of a physician is to face up to life. I, as a poet, would like to write poems in praise of the warmth of life. It is fundamentally the same thing to care for people's lives as a physician and to convey the warmth of people's lives as a poet. What is the warmth of life? It is, for instance, the warmth of life or hope everybody feels when one sees a newly born baby. As a physician and as a poet, my starting and guiding point has always been human life, and I have consistently faced it squarely. From the specific viewpoint of writing poetry, it can be said that life is composed of imagination and a critical spirit. These two elements should also be regarded as the very fundamentals of civilization because, without them, no civilization can exist.

I graduated from Hiroshima Higher School under the prewar education system. As my elder brother (by two years) had been killed in the war, my father pleaded with me not to go to war. I respected his wishes and entered Okayama Medical College in 1945, thereby escaping military service. I suffered from tuberculosis in April 1947 and spent four years under medical treatment at National Iwakuni Hospital. While I was confined to my bed, from where I had a panoramic view of the Seto Inland Sea but with the U.S. Iwakuni Base in the immediate vicinity, I

contemplated the idea of poems and the fear of death.

The time of convalescence there marked the beginning of my poetic wanderings. One day by chance I found a poetry magazine at a coffee shop near the Atago railroad crossing, east of Hiroshima Station, and became acquainted with Sankichi Toge who, with some others, soon after organized the Society of Our Poems, and started a periodical *Our Poems* to which I started to contribute from the third issue. I also organized a poetry circle, an Iwakuni Hospital branch of the Society, putting myself in the maelstrom of poetry movements in post-war Hiroshima.

The Korean War started in 1950, and I was forced to witness at the Iwakuni Base, the only U.S. Marine Base on the Japanese mainland, the repeated take-offs and landings of American fighters that were going on bombing missions on the Korean Peninsula. I was so infuriated to idly watch them that I could hardly sleep at night and began to write *Iwakuni Suite*, which was to be my maiden collection of poems. One of my anti-war poems, *To a Lost Arm, from the Memo of a Wounded Soldier*, was regarded by the authorities as violating U.S. Ordinance No. 325 (Ordinance on Obstructive Deeds against the Occupation Army), and I was arrested in March 1951. In that poem I described U.S. jet fighters as "aircraft bugs" to be "knocked down by my iron arms," and I was persecuted for writing "an anti-American Military poem." The case against me was finally dropped as I insisted that there did really exist a bug called an "aircraft bug." Toge and my poetry comrades supported and encouraged my fight most earnestly. Among them, I felt the strongest sympathy with Toge who suffered from the same illness as I did.

My poem collections that have been published include the maiden *Iwakuni Suite* (January 1952), *Blind Autumn* (January 1953), *The Poem Collection by Hiromi Misho* (July 1987), *The Second Poem Collection by Hiromi Misho* (June 1999), *As I Became Little Atomic Dust* (March 2004, co-authored with Itsuko Ishikawa), *Genkyo* (Places Dear to My Heart) (October 2006), and *My Native Place, Iwakuni* (September 2008). I had no publications between 1953 and 1977 because I completely devoted myself to my work as a physician and so did not write any poems during that time. After I returned to Hiroshima and became the director of Hiroshima Kyoritsu Hospital in August 1977, I resumed writing poems at the earnest request of Munetoshi Fukagawa, a poet friend since the publication of *Our Poems*, who passed away in April 2008 at the age of 87. This return to poetry writing led to the publication of *The Poem Collection by Hiromi Misho*.

In contrast to this period, there were only two years between *Genkyo* and *My Native Place, Iwakuni*. When I published *Genkyo*, I never imagined that I would follow up with *My Native Place, Iwakuni* so soon. However, I was so angered by the so-called realignment of U.S. Forces in Japan in general, and particularly by the transformation of the base in Iwakuni, a city adjacent to Hiroshima, into a monster base 1.4 times bigger than the Kadena Base in Okinawa (which has so far been the largest in the Far East), that I began to wonder seriously if any message would be sent out by someone in Hiroshima; people who, in my opinion, as Hiroshima residents, should bear the heaviest responsibility to speak out for peace in Japan. I myself felt obliged to speak out when the time was right. As I wrote in the postscript of *My Native Place, Iwakuni*, I took up the task out of a sense of mission as a poet, thinking about "What kind of words I, a poet born in Iwakuni, could deliver to the 250,000 souls of the victims enshrined in the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims." Fortunately the work has been so warmly received that I now have a great sense of achievement.

2. Korean *hibakusha*

Munetoshi Fukagawa also played an important role in my getting



involved with Korean *hibakusha*. On August 6, 1945, Fukagawa endured the A-bomb attack at a Hiroshima machine manufacturing factory of Mitsubishi Heavy-Industries Ltd. where he worked as an instructor for Korean drafted workers. Although many Korean A-bomb sufferers went back to Korea after the war, some of them disappeared on their way home when their ship was wrecked in a typhoon. Fukagawa investigated the case and found out that the cesium-containing remains unearthed on Okinoshima Island in Fukuoka Prefecture since 1976 were actually those of more than 200 Korean workers. (According to the website of the Association to Support the Court Struggle for Korean Ex-Forced Laborers and A-Bomb Victims of Mitsubishi Hiroshima (ASK), the exact number of the human remains was 241.) He also supported a consequential lawsuit as one of the representatives of the Association that demanded that indemnity be paid by the government and the company. (The Supreme Court ruled on November 11, 2007 that Circular No. 402 issued by the Ministry of Welfare (now the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare) was illegal as it excluded foreign *hibakusha* from legal protection, and ordered the government, which was the defendant, to compensate them.) His words and deeds gradually aroused my interest and concerns about Korean *hibakusha*. In the meantime, the Japanese government's scheme to provide Korean *hibakusha* with medical treatment in Japan was put into effect in 1981, following an agreement between the governments of Japan and South Korea, but this was cut short abruptly after only five years. My concern about Korean *hibakusha* was only to grow as a result of these events, and in 1990 Hiroshima Kyoritsu Hospital decided, under my guidance, to join the private organization, the Hiroshima Committee for South Korean-Resident Hibakusha Receiving Medical Treatment in Japan (established in 1984 under the initiative of Kawamura Hospital). Kyoritsu Hospital has accepted *hibakusha* not only from Korea but also, since 2002, those from Brazil, the U.S., the United Kingdom and Mexico.

Among the many Korean *hibakusha* I have become acquainted with, I felt the deepest affection for Sun-gi Lee as he, like me, took Hiroshima as his second home. The title of my work *Genkyo* was partly inspired by this common feeling. I first came to know him when he was hospitalized at Kyoritsu Hospital as one of those who came to Japan from South Korea for treatment in 1998. Two years later he visited Hiroshima again, accompanying his niece who was A-bombed at the age of seven and who came to Hiroshima this time to apply for the issuance of an A-bomb health book. At that time, a laryngeal cancer was found in his throat and he underwent an operation at Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital. When I visited him at the hospital, he was so pleased after enduring loneliness during the operation and radiation treatment in a foreign country. After his return to Hapcheon, South Korea, he frequently sent me letters. He came to Hiroshima half a year later for a medical examination and took back to Korea acorns that he found in the Peace Park. He planted them in Hapcheon and they sprouted in 1999. He was hospitalized at Kyoritsu Hospital again in January 2000 and in January 2001. In 2000, a stomach cancer was found and he underwent another operation. In 2001, a metastasis to the liver was found and he was told that it would be hard to completely cure it. He went back to Hapcheon the next day without telling me beforehand. Several days later he sent me a letter in which he wrote, "For what crime should I be punished so harshly?" In my reply I stated that a strong will was indispensable in his fight against the cancer, and strongly recommended that he, as a means to encourage himself, should write an autobiography from the time of the A-bomb. He did so, giving it the title "Acorns from Hiroshima sprouted on the soil of Hapcheon," before his death in November of that year. (His autobiography is compiled into *We Wrote Torn Apart: Memoirs of*

Korean Hibakusha co-edited by Hiroshi Maruya and Itsuko Ishikawa.) Sun-gi Lee mediated the twinning between the Hapcheon branch of the Korean Atomic Bomb Casualties Association in the Republic of Korea and the A-Bomb Sufferers Association of Hiroshima Kyoritsu Hospital. The agreement was concluded in April 2001, since when mutual visits have been taking place.

3. Iraqi victims of depleted uranium

The first occasion in which I encountered Iraqi sufferers of depleted uranium (DU) was in December 2002 when two professors, one from the University of Baghdad (Pediatrics) and the other from the University of Basrah (Oncology), visited Hiroshima at the invitation of NGOs and had a meeting with me. They hoped to learn from Hiroshima's experiences in order to find out the causes for frequently occurring cancers in Iraq. At their request, I expressed my opinion that a possible cause was duplicated contamination by radiation and heavy metals. But I was shocked to hear their explanation that it was actually alpha rays that were responsible for cancers caused by DU. It is an established theory that the case of Hiroshima was that of external exposure to gamma rays which have a rather long wavelength. In the case of DU, however, the radioactive rays emitted from DU are alpha rays, which have very destructive energy (1,000 times stronger than gamma rays), although their effective distance is extremely short (comparable to the thickness of a piece of paper, or 40 microns). A radiation dose in a tissue of a radius of 40 microns or less is said to amount to as high as 100 sieverts per annum, reaching 100,000 times the permitted level. The DU was used in anti-tank shells during the Persian Gulf War in 1991. It was dispersed into the air as metal vapor caused by heat at temperatures higher than 1,000 degrees Celsius. Iraqi people were then exposed to internal radiation by inhaling the DU metal vapor. "In Iraq, the rate of increase in the number of patients suffering from leukemia did not slow down, even ten years after the war. The development of lung and breast cancers began after a latency period of five years, while it was 20 years in Hiroshima. These facts are very different from the cases of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I was really struck with horror by the fact of internal radiation caused by alpha rays." (Hiroshi Maruya, "Crime of using DU shells in Iraq" in *World Affairs Weekly*, October 21, 2003.) It is really incredible and outrageous to see that the American and British governments, while having used DU shells, flatly deny the possibility of internal radiation by emphasizing the little degree of external radiation that the weapons convey. The United States again resorted to war against Iraq in 2003 and used many DU shells. With Itsuko Ishikawa, I published a poem collection *As I Became Little Atomic Dust* in 2004 in order to lodge an accusation against the use of DU shells in Iraq.

Let me add one more thing. In the case of the Hiroshima A-bombing, only a small percentage of the bomb's uranium exploded, leaving a massive amount of unexploded uranium to be scattered into the air emitting radioactive alpha rays. It was therefore highly likely that many people in Hiroshima were exposed to internal radiation from alpha rays. The so-called black rain may be one result of this fact.



Asai is president of HPI

The Origins of the Image of the Whole Earth in the Hiroshima Bombing

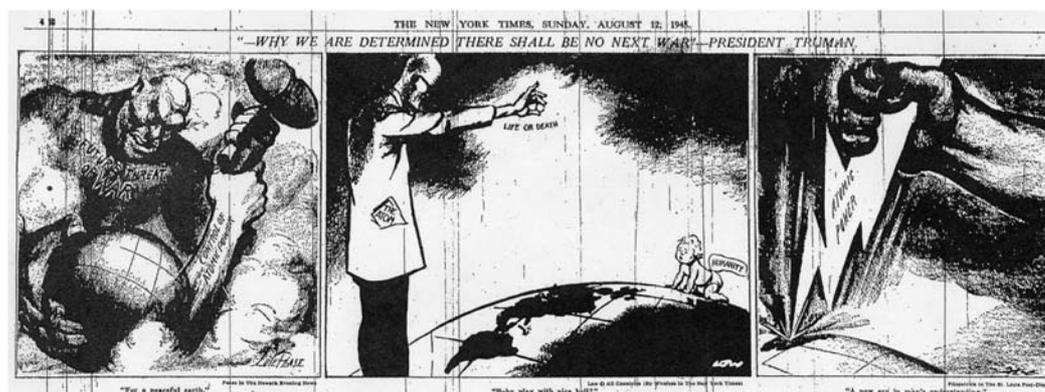
Robert Jacobs

The image of the Whole Earth is one of the most ubiquitous visual icons of the late twentieth century. Much as our ability to see deeply into space has revised our ideas about the nature of the universe around us, our ability to see our home planet from space has fundamentally revised our concept of the Earth. Photographs of the Whole Earth entered culture in the late 1960s as a result of the development of satellites and manned space travel. But before there were color photographs of the Earth from space, the visual image of the Earth as *whole* was first expressed by political cartoonists in direct and immediate response to the use of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. These cartoonists grasped that the threat posed to human civilization by nuclear weapons threatened the people of the Earth in a holistic way: threatening the very existence of life on Earth. I believe that the first articulation of this idea as a visual icon did not have to wait for photographs of the Earth from space; they were already present in the work of editorial cartoonists by the end of the first week of the Atomic Age.

As a visual icon, the image of the Whole Earth as seen from space communicates a very complicated set of ideas in a very simple image. This iconology centers on the way in which the image unifies many of the complexities of human society through a depiction of wholeness. Hence the name, the *Whole Earth*. In this image there are no visible borders on the landmasses, the only real division visible on the Earth's surface is between land and sea. It emphasizes that the borders between our nations are of human construction. It tells a story about us all being from one place, Earth.

The other border that comes into sharp relief is the separation between the beautiful blue planet and the cold darkness of space. This emphasizes the fragility of life on Earth. The Earth is seen as a delicate planet enveloped by a thin atmosphere in which all of life exists, cast against the immensity and emptiness of space. The Earth seems vulnerable. Thus the core meaning of the Whole Earth icon is that all of the creatures alive on Earth share a single common destiny. If a nuclear war were to break out, the borders that are so important to humans—those between the two sides in a conflict—are seen to be illusory. The planet as a whole would be affected—the victims of a nuclear war would be all of the inhabitants on Earth. In this sense, the *victim* of a nuclear war would be the Earth itself.

On Sunday August 12, 1945, *The New York Times* published the following three editorial cartoons just as they are reprinted below.



Source: *The New York Times*, August 12, 1945, Sec. 4, p. 4E.

(They are reprinted from three different newspapers, the first from *Newark Evening News*, the second from *The New York Times* itself, and the third from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.)

All three cartoons, by three different cartoonists, offer visions of the impact of the new atomic bomb on human civilization. The first one shows a devilish character named "Future Threat of War" being restrained from hammering the Earth by a hand named "Control of Atomic Power"; the caption reads, "For a perfect earth." The statement here is that the future of war threatens the Earth as a whole, and that only the control of atomic power can keep that threat in check. The second shows a man dressed as a scientist standing astride the Earth who has a paper in his pocket titled "The Atom." He is addressing a baby named "Humanity," offering the baby a ball named "Life or Death," and asking, "Baby play with nice ball?" The implication of this cartoon is clear: playing with "the atom" is a life or death game for immature humanity. In the third cartoon a heavenly hand is striking the Earth with a lightning bolt named "Atomic Power." Here, the caption reads, "A new era in man's understanding."

Two pages further into the paper, the first Sunday issue following the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we see in another cartoon a giant hand named "Science" holding the Earth, which is named "The Future of Civilization." The caption tells us, "In the palm of his hand." Much like in the iconography of the Whole Earth, the fate of human civilization appears to be a collective one.

While the specific focus of the cartoons differs, a striking continuity is their depiction of the Earth. All of the cartoons show the Earth exhibiting visual content that perfectly foreshadows the later icon of the Whole Earth. The emphasis on the Earth as a place of separate nations is gone; the Earth is present as a single entity that is being forced to deal with the advent of atomic weapons. It is clear that the destiny of those on the Earth is a common destiny.

What we see in these political cartoons is the Earth as the target of nuclear war. I would argue that this is the true origin of the icon we have come to know as the Whole Earth—as the feared victim of nuclear weapons. The threat of nuclear war created a narrative of global death, of a collective death ignorant of the political borders we humans have fought and died for.



Source: *The New York Times*, August 12, 1945, Sec. 4, p. 6E.

Albert Einstein advised in 1945 that, "The situation calls for a courageous effort, for a radical change in our whole attitude, in the entire political concept.... Otherwise human civilization will be doomed."¹ At first that vision seemed dark and apocalyptic,

but once the idea entered into our collective consciousness it started to grow: we began to see that this vision of the Earth as *one*, as *whole*, carried with it some deep and ultimately empowering perspectives. The political cartoons above answered this call even as it was being made; they carried the first faint blue glow of the vision of the Whole Earth forward into human culture.

Jacobs is assistant professor at HPI

HPI
Research
Project

Bilateralism versus Multilateralism in Southeast Asia

The second workshop of the research project entitled “Bilateralism versus Multilateralism in Southeast Asia” was held from 3rd to 5th October 2008 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. A total of 11 papers were presented at the workshop which were revised drafts of papers previously presented in Hiroshima in 2007. Among the senior academics at the workshop were Professor Etel Solingen from the University of California at Irvine and Professor Sheldon Simon from the Arizona State University. A conscious attempt was made to utilize indigenous scholars for the country studies without compromising the quality of the papers. The fact that the workshop was held in Malaysia greatly reduced travel costs for many of the participants.

The paper presenters were primarily academics, with the exception of Dr. Nguyen Vu Tung who was from the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of the papers presented, one was a theoretical overview of International Relations while another was on regionalism in Southeast Asia. The remaining nine papers essentially examined bilateral relations between geographically proximate states. Some of the smallest countries in the region like Brunei, Laos and Cambodia were not included in the project; nevertheless, both mainland and maritime regions were well represented in the countries chosen. The central question that the project aims to answer is whether bilateralism and multilateralism represent congruent processes or are fundamentally at odds with each other, and if there is a preference among states for one forum over the other. The responses to this question may provide clues for future research.

In order to address the central question comprehensively, the paper writers were asked to identify the most important issues with respect to the bilateral relations of the countries chosen. From amongst these issues, they were then asked to identify those which had the propensity to lead to tensions. Finally, the paper writers were asked to identify how such tensions were routinely solved. The manner and location through which these issues are resolved would also provide preliminary ideas for conflict resolution and containment in the future.

The preliminary evidence appears to indicate that countries in Southeast Asia have a marked preference for bilateral over

ⁱ Albert Einstein, “The War Is Won But Peace Is Not,” *Essays in Humanism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 65-8. This is reprinted from an address originally presented at the Fifth Nobel Anniversary Dinner at the Astor Hotel, New York City, December 10, 1945.

multilateral fora in the resolution of difficult and disputed issues. This choice seems to be embedded in historical patterns of interaction which may well have preceded modern statehood. Geographical proximity and the existence of regular channels for dispute resolution also seem to favor bilateralism. Furthermore, it would appear that bilateralism has been an established practice even prior to the onset of multilateral initiatives in the region. Bilateral venues also offer the possibility for the discrete resolution of tensions, without political posturing in the public domain. In cases where a difficult situation is not contained quickly, it has the tendency to spiral out of control and create added complications. In this regard, quiet and contained bilateral mechanisms appear to offer clear advantages in reducing tensions and resolving conflicts. In fact, it is rarely the case that disputants do not want a difficult outstanding matter resolved. Nonetheless, it also became clear that the countries often make use of more than a single venue for dispute resolution. Hence, there is also an element of conscious choice involved during the decision making process.

This workshop benefited from generous financial and secretarial support provided by the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) in Malaysia. Two senior regional scholars were also funded by APISA to serve as commentators and lead discussions. They were Professor Johan Saravanamuttu from University of Science, Malaysia, in Penang and Dr. Lam Peng Er, Senior Research Fellow from the East Asian Institute in Singapore. APISA also hosted both the welcoming and closing dinners for the workshop.

At the conclusion of the workshop it was decided that the revised papers would be compiled into a volume for publication. The author and Professor Ramses Amer from Stockholm University who led the project will jointly edit the publication. The preliminary venue of choice among the paper writers is the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore. After all the papers are edited and compiled by March 2009, it is expected that the edited volume will be refereed and published by the end of 2009.

Narayanan Ganesan, professor at HPI

DIARY

October 19, 2008 – February 28, 2009

◆**Oct. 19-27** Kazumi Mizumoto visits Cambodia as member of Reconstruction Aid Project in Cambodia organized jointly by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.

◆**Oct. 25** Hiroko Takahashi gives lecture “Public Documents for Citizens: Documents on Atomic Bombs and Nuclear Weapons at the U.S. National Archives” at the Kanto bloc research forum for the 2nd Peace Award and Peace Studies Encouragement Award organized by the Peace Studies Association of Japan held in Tokyo.

◆**Oct. 29-30** Mikyoung Kim presents paper “Japanese Human Rights Policy towards North Korea” at Annual International Symposium held in Seoul, Korea.

◆**Nov. 1** Robert Jacobs presents paper “Alone in the Flash: *Duck and Cover* and *Atomic Alert*” to the Film and History Conference in Chicago, U.S.

◆**Nov. 4** Jacobs attends Obama election night victory celebration in Grant Park, Chicago, U.S.

◆**Nov. 7** HPI President Motofumi Asai, Kazumi Mizumoto and Hiroko Takahashi attend 3rd meeting of the Basic Planning Committee for Renewal of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. ▽ Mizumoto gives lecture “Reconstruction and Future of Hiroshima: Nuclear Abolition and International Contribution” at HPI to students from the Lower Secondary School attached to Department of Education, Nagoya University.

◆**Nov. 10-12** Yuki Tanaka presents two papers “Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal: Retrospective” and “The Atomic-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki” at the International Symposium “The 60th Anniversary of the Judgment in the Tokyo War Crimes Trial: Lessons for the Future of International Law” held at the Asia Pacific Center for Military Law, University of Melbourne, Australia.

◆**Nov. 10-18** Narayanan Ganesan attends a South-South training workshop for young Asian scholars, delivers two lectures on Asian Studies and research directions, and attends the Executive Committee Meeting of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

◆**Nov. 17** Mizumoto attends 2nd study meeting of Hiroshima Prefecture-JICA Cambodia Project held at Hiroshima Prefecture Hall.

◆**Nov. 17-28** Tanaka gives public lecture “Japanese Atrocities during the Asia Pacific War: Causes of Their Brutality” in Sydney, Canberra and Hobart as the 2008 Sir Ninian Stephen Visiting Professor at University of Melbourne, Australia.

◆**Nov. 22** Akihiro Kawakami gives lecture “The present situation of the Constitution in Japan and our choices” at symposium organized by the Tokai bloc of Peace Forum held in Gifu.

◆**Nov. 25** Asai gives lecture “Japan-DPRK Relations” at forum organized by Hiroshima Citizens’ Group for Japan-DPRK Friendship.

◆**Nov. 27-29** Ganesan attends the conference “Prospects of Democracy in East Asia for the 21st Century: Issues, Threats and Challenges” and presents paper “Appraising Democracy in Malaysia” in Jakarta, Indonesia.

◆**Nov. 29** Asai gives lecture “Nuclear Abolition and Hiroshima” at 23rd general assembly of Tokyo Association for a Non-Nuclear Government.

◆**Dec. 3** Jacobs presents paper “Reconstructing the Perpetrator’s Soul by Reconstructing the Victim’s Body: The Hiroshima Maidens in the American Mind” to the Interrogating Trauma Conference held at Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.

◆**Dec. 4-16** Ganesan conducts a field research trip to Mandalay, Monywa and Naypyidaw in Myanmar.

◆**Dec. 5** Tanaka attends the Japanese NGO Representative Liaison Conference for the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament held in Tokyo.

◆**Dec. 6** Jacobs presents paper “Atomic Familiars: Animal Guides to the Radioactive Landscape in Early Cold War America” to the Annual Conference of the Cultural Studies Association of Australia held at the Western Australia School of Mines, Kalgoorlie, Australia.

◆**Dec. 7** Mizumoto gives presentation “Analysis of Recent Trends and Debates on Nuclear Weapons” at public lecture meeting organized by Advisory Research Group of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

◆**Dec. 8** Asai gives lecture “Today’s International Affairs and Our Tasks” at “12/8 No Road to War” Assembly in Kochi.

◆**Dec. 9** Asai gives lecture “Prospects for Northeast Asia and Japan-DPRK Relations” to Korean Students Society at University of Kyoto.

◆**Dec. 18** Hitoshi Nagai gives lecture “Institute for American Studies of Rikkyo University during World War II” at Rikkyo University, Tokyo. ▽ Mizumoto attends 3rd meeting of Sub-Committee for Building and Exhibition under the Basic Planning Committee for Renewal of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

◆**Dec. 20** Asai gives lecture “Handicaps and the Basics of the Peace Constitution: Human Dignity” at Forum on Retention of Peace and the Japanese

Constitution, organized by a branch of Kyoto Senior High School Teachers Union at Yosanoumi School for Handicapped Children.

◆**Dec. 21** Asai gives lecture “Hope for Hiroshima” at 11th general assembly of Hiroshima branch of Peace Constitution League.

◆**Dec. 22** Takahashi presents paper “Documents on the Victims of the Nuclear Bombs in the U.S.” at 5th War and Peace workshop organized by the Graduate University for Advanced Studies held in Tokyo.

◆**Dec. 23** Mizumoto gives keynote speech “Viewpoints on Nuclear Issues: To Avoid Fruitless Discussion” at conference “Youth Insights Toward Hiroshima” organized by Japan-America Student Conference (JASC) held at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

◆**Jan. 8-10** Mikyoung Kim chairs session “Reconstruction and Reconciliation” and presents paper “Memory War, History Textbooks and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia” during International Conference on Heritage in Asia: Converging Forces and Conflicting Values held at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.

◆**Jan. 14** Asai gives lecture “Wavering International Affairs and the Direction That Japan Should Take” at 29th seminar organized by Study Group for Private Nurseries Management held in Kanagawa.

◆**Jan. 16** Takahashi gives lecture “War and Nuclear Weapons in the Context of U.S. History” at public assembly held in Hiroshima.

◆**Jan. 17** Asai gives lecture “Article 9 and the Direction That Japan Should Take” at 2nd anniversary assembly of Okayama branch of Article 9 Association of Journalists and Mass Media Workers.

◆**Jan. 23** Mizumoto gives lecture “How to live in the international age: Pursuing nuclear abolition and international contribution from an A-bombed city, Hiroshima” at “Learning for Interaction with the World” held at Hatsukaichi-Nishi High School, Hiroshima.

◆**Jan. 24** Asai gives lecture “The Future of U.S.-Japan Relations and U.S. Military Restructuring in Japan” at 2nd general assembly of Setouchi Net for a Peaceful Environment, held in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi.

◆**Jan. 29** Tanaka gives lectures “British ‘Humane Bombing’ in Iraq during the Interwar Era” and “Crime and Responsibility: War, Indiscriminate Bombing and Mass Killing” at the History Department of Vanderbilt University, U.S.

◆**Jan. 29-Feb. 8** Takahashi conducts research at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology in Washington D.C., U.S.

◆**Feb. 1** Asai gives lecture “The Korean Peninsula and Peace Making in Northeast Asia” at seminar organized by Kanagawa Chamber of Commerce and Industry under the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan. ▽ Mizumoto gives lecture “Cambodia: History, Civil War and Rehabilitation” at preparatory training course for Study Tour to Cambodia organized by Hiroshima International Center (HIC) and JICA Chugoku, held at HIC.

◆**Feb. 2** Tanaka gives lecture “Japanese Atrocities during the Asia Pacific War: Causes of Their Brutality” at the History Department of DePaul University, U.S.

◆**Feb. 3** Tanaka gives lecture “Crime and Responsibility: War, Indiscriminate Bombing and Mass Killing” in the Japanese Studies Program at University of Chicago, U.S.

◆**Feb. 5** Tanaka gives lecture “Crime and Responsibility: War, Indiscriminate Bombing and Mass Killing” in the East Asian Studies Program at Cornell University, U.S.

◆**Feb. 7** Asai gives lecture “Future of U.S. and Japan: A Perspective from A-Bombed Cities” at 2009 general assembly of Nagasaki Peace Institute. ▽ Kawakami gives lecture “The present situation of peace and democracy in Japan” at symposium organized by National Forestry and Allied Workers Union of Japan (FAW) held in Nagoya.

◆**Feb. 14** Asai gives lecture “Situation on the Korean Peninsula and the Future of Japan-DPRK Relations” at forum organized by Peace Movement Forum of Yamaguchi Prefecture held in Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi.

◆**Feb. 15-21** Mizumoto visits Cambodia as member of Reconstruction Aid Project in Cambodia organized jointly by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.

◆**Feb. 26** Asai gives lecture “Protection of the Constitution and Peace” at forum organized by Hiroshima Chuo Health Coop.

—Visitors to HPI—

◆**Nov. 7** 13 students from the Lower Secondary School attached to Department of Education, Nagoya University.

◆**Feb. 16** Noriko Koide of the Nassau County Board of Cooperative Educational Services and 3 students from Valley Stream Central High School, N.Y., U.S.

HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

Vol. 11, No. 3 (March 26, 2009)
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Published by Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University (Editor: Yuko Takahashi)
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Printed by Takatoo Print Media Co., Ltd.