

The Iraq War and Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution

By Takeshi Ishida

The occupation of Iraq by U.S. forces is often compared with the occupation of Japan immediately after World War II. Whenever I come across such comparisons, I remember my interview with Prof. William Macmahon Ball in his office at Melbourne University in the summer of 1964. During the postwar occupation of Japan, Prof. Ball served as the representative of the British Commonwealth on the Allied Council for Japan, an advisory body to the Allied forces concerned with the occupation and governance of Japan. The Council comprised representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and the British Commonwealth. During the interview, he said something like the following:

“During the Council meetings, General MacArthur became irritated whenever he heard remarks of which he did not approve. On such occasions, he would walk around the room with his pipe still lit in his mouth, scattering ash all over the carpet. I would then follow him in silence, trampling the ash to keep the carpet from burning, waiting for him to calm down.”

Some people say that Japan was effectively occupied by the United States alone, but in actuality, there were institutionalized policy-making bodies, the Allied Council for Japan and, above it, the Far Eastern Commission based in Washington D.C. (comprising representatives of, initially, 11 and, later, 13 Allied nations). In this sense, the arrangement was very different from the current occupation of Iraq by U.S. forces alone.

Today, many Japanese argue that the Constitution of Japan, with its war-renouncing Article 9, was imposed on the country by the occupation authorities. Some then go on to suggest that the Constitution must therefore be revised. But it was only on the Japanese government at the time, which insisted on adopting an anachronistic draft constitution, such as the one prepared by the Matsumoto Committee, that the Constitution of Japan was imposed. Moreover, those who imposed the document on the Japanese government included not only the Allied Powers but also the Japanese people who demanded a democratic constitution like the private draft prepared by a former University of Tokyo professor, Iwasaburo Takano.

The Constitution of Japan reflected the strongly pacifistic international and domestic public opinion of the early postwar period. Its Preamble states: “We, the Japanese people, . . . resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government.” Renunciation of war in Article 9 embodied the same aspiration for peace.

If the foregoing interpretation is correct, the current U.S. occupation of Iraq should be compared, not to the occupation of Japan after World War II, but to Japan’s rule of the “State of Manchuria” or its subsequent occupation of several parts of China.

In this connection, I would like to relate a personal wartime experience. In the late autumn of 1943, just before I left home to join the army as a student draftee, my father took me to the office of his close friend, Shumei Okawa, who was director of a research institute located in Osaki, Tokyo, and attached to the Manchurian Railways Department

of East-Asian Economic Research. At the office, which was believed to be a training school for special intelligence operatives, Okawa, allegedly a spiritual leader of right-wingers, said, “Tojo is such a jackass. In Nanjing, the Japanese army occupies all the best-equipped buildings, forcing the Wang government to use quarters in the quarantine hospital for patients with infectious diseases. If Tojo believes he can gain support from the Chinese public in that way, he is absolutely wrong.” I was horrified by Okawa’s remarks, no doubt overheard by a man who appeared like a high-ranking army officer and who sat right behind us waiting for his turn to meet Okawa. Whether Okawa’s remarks were based on correct information or not, the point to be made here is that the occupation of China by the Japanese army relied wholly on military power, which helped only to spur anti-occupation nationalism among the Chinese people.

During the Vietnam War, Japanese anti-war activists ran full-page ads in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. One of their major points was that the United States was making the same mistake that Japan had made in Asia. Exactly the same thing can be said now about the Iraq War.

Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan, based on repentance for the wars of aggression the nation had waged in the past and supported by international public opinion for peace, faced a series of challenges during the Cold War, particularly after Japan began to rearm itself following the outbreak of the Korean War. Ever since, we have seen continuous conflict between two groups: one arguing that Japan should augment the Japan-U.S. military alliance, even revising the Constitution if need be; the other trying to block military expansion by invoking Article 9.

Following the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, an Anti-terrorism Special Measures Bill and a Special Measures Bill for Iraq were passed by the Japanese National Diet, further facilitating military cooperation with the United States and effectively gutting Article 9 of the Constitution. To argue under these circumstances that the Constitution should be revised because it does not “reflect reality” is to try to force the Japanese people to accept the *fait accompli*. I do not believe that the United States has explicitly asked Japan to revise its Constitution, but I do believe that the assumption that it is imperative for Japan to cooperate in the use of force unilaterally decided by the United States implicitly forces us to agree to the alleged need to revise the Constitution. To undertake constitutional revision under these circumstances, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, is to let an endless chain of violence set in, provoked by the war cry “Never Surrender to Terrorists!”

Poised against both external and internal pressures to revise the Constitution of Japan, however, is a counter-force of a global scale. The world-wide public opposition to the war against Iraq represented by demonstrations around the world staged on February 15, 2003, was named by *The New York Times* a superpower equal to the United States.

On that day, representatives of a group of families who had lost their members in 9/11, Peaceful Tomorrows, spoke at a rally held in New York under the slogan “The World Says No to War.” The group had been campaigning to prevent additional lives from getting lost as a result of use of force by a state or states in retaliation for 9/11, which would only foster more inhumanity. Its members visited Afghanistan as a second Ground Zero and forged solidarity with victims of the Afghan War. They then came to Hiroshima, the original Ground Zero.

The members of the 9/11 families group no doubt wished that the ideal of peace embodied in Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan to be revitalized and spread around the world. I sincerely hope that the Hiroshima Peace Institute, located in the cradle of the postwar Japanese peace movement, will make steady progress in its research activity and meet the expectations of people around the world who aspire to permanent world peace.

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Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Bikini H-bomb Test “Bravo-shot” : Questions Raised by the Nuclear Test Site, the Marshall Islands

By Seiichiro Takemine

Introduction

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Bikini hydrogen bomb test “Bravo” (“Bikini Incident”) that took place on March 1, 1954. A Japanese tuna boat named the Fifth Lucky-Dragon (*Daigo Fukuryūmaru*) was exposed to the fallout and, as a result, the crew subsequently fell ill, one man died, and a nationwide movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs arose in Japan. The nuclear test site was the Marshall Islands located in the Middle Western Pacific. In the Republic of the Marshall Islands, March 1 has been named the “Nuclear Survivors Remembrance Day” and celebrated as a national holiday; a ceremony and related events are held in the capital city, Majuro. This article surveys the situation in the Marshall Islands 50 years after the nuclear test and considers some questions raised by the “Bikini Incident.”

Nuclear Testing in the Marshall Islands

A- and H-bomb tests were conducted 67 times on Bikini and Enewetak atolls between July 1946, or less than a year after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and August 1958. In February 1946, Navy Commodore Ben H. Wyatt visited Bikini to survey the test site and ask the local population to leave their home island “for the good of mankind and to end all world wars.” Ultimately, the residents were forced to evacuate, and the first nuclear test after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings was conducted on Bikini in July 1946. In November 1952, the first H-bomb test took place on Enewetak while the residents were also evacuated. The U.S. ambassador to the Marshall Islands, Greta N. Morris, remarked at the local ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the “Bikini Incident” on March 1, 2004: “On behalf of the U.S. government and the American people, I want to express my most sincere appreciation to the people of the Marshall Islands for their contribution to the protection of the Free World during the Cold War era through the nuclear testing program.”

On March 1, 1954, fallout fell on the indigenous people of the Marshall Islands, as it did on the crew of the Fifth Lucky-Dragon. As a consequence, 86 people on Rongelap Atoll, 180 km east of Ground Zero, and 157 people on Utrik Atoll, 500 km away in the same direction, were directly exposed to radioactive fallout. With the change of their policy in 1994, the U.S. Department of Energy allowed easier access to their official documents. As a result, it has gradually become known that residents in a much broader area were exposed. For instance, 401 Ailuk people, who were 525 km away to the southeast of the test site, were directly exposed to as much external radiation as Hiroshima survivors at 2 km from Ground Zero.

Victims of the Process of Nuclear Development:

“No War Use of Nuclear Weapons” Does not Mean “No Nuclear Victims”

The nuclear victims in the Marshall Islands suffered damage caused by events that occurred in the process of nuclear development. They differ from the victims of nuclear weapons used in war as in Hiroshima’s case, but they are living evidence that the assumption that “no war use of nuclear weapons equals no nuclear damage” is wrong. Nuclear weapons are inherently detrimental not only in their use but also during their development and in storage. Understanding this fact, it is clear that the strategy of nuclear deterrence has been continued at the expense of the peaceful lives of the people forced to the periphery of nuclear power politics.

Comprehensive Picture of Damage:

Multiple Problems Caused by Radioactive Material

The day-to-day lives of many survivors in the Marshall Islands are threatened by radioactive materials. Some Marshallese are still unable to live on their beloved home islands. They have been compelled to relocate to places quite different from the original habitat of home atolls and, as a result, experienced a decline in their traditional culture and their ability to sustain an independent way of life. The radioactive materials spread over the islands by the nuclear testing have damaged their health as well. Dealing with the health problems never seen before the tests, the people live in continual psychological anxiety surrounded by what they call “poison.” Many of these nuclear survivors live with unhealed injuries in their minds. As in Hiroshima, the effects of the bombs were wide-ranging, extending far beyond specific harm done to human bodies or nature in a narrow sense. In the Marshall Islands, the impact on culture has been enormous. The present state of the Marshall Islands warns us of the total destruction radioactive materials can cause.



Participants from Ailuk Atoll at ceremony on Bikini Atoll on March 1, 2004. Photo by Miyuki Ito.

Local Movement to Confront the Nuclear Issue

The situation in the Marshall Islands appears to be one of stagnation. In some communities, the people are utterly dependent on payments and aid provided by the U.S. A closer look, however, reveals indigenous efforts to confront the problems and find solutions. For three days prior to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the “Bikini Incident,” survivors organized their first independent workshop on their own. The sponsor was ERUB, a survivors’ organization established in 2003, with participation of church leaders from Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. On March 1, a ceremony was conducted and the whole communities of Ailuk and Likiep atolls, which had never been officially acknowledged as an area damaged by the nuclear program and therefore never received any compensation from the U.S., attended for the first time. Senators from the two atolls attended the ceremony and declared: “Today, the commemoration of the 50th anniversary marks a new start.” About 100 Rongelap people also took part in the ceremony wearing uniform shirts printed “Project 4.1,” a logo symbolizing

More Engagement for the Opening of North Korea

By Sung Chull Kim

In the midst of talks searching for a solution to North Korea's crisis, two events took place that demand our attention. One was Kim Jong-il's visit to China, the other was the Ryongchon explosion. Common to both of these events is secrecy. We have heard speculation regarding a talk between Chinese and North Korean leaders, but the only official news was that North Korea would continue to participate in the six-party talks. Likewise, the cause of the explosion in Ryongchon remains a mystery. All we can see from outside is that elementary school children appear to have been the main victims of the incident. Observers and media criticized this secrecy saying that it interferes with international aid and reduces trust in North Korea.

This secrecy is a means by which the government seeks to maintain order in a society ruled by monolithic power. Secrecy is an essential tool not only for dividing the people but also for disrupting the flow of information between domestic and international arenas.

The question is how to change this practice of manipulating the citizenry through secrecy. While attributing the problem to the regime centered on Kim Jong-il, many observers criticizing the secrecy tend to cautiously present a wishful scenario of regime change that will ensure increased political freedom. However, such wishful thinking is based on a false presumption about political change: that toppling the leader would lead to a significant shift in regime structure.

In reality, true regime change normally takes a long time, and

a democratic government can be established only after numerous trials and errors. In Asia in the 1970s and 80s, political disturbances — for example, the assassination of Park Chung-Hee in South Korea, the ousting of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines — failed to bring about a speedy democratic transition. Furthermore, as seen in Russia and Eastern Europe, regime breakdown was accompanied by socio-economic disruptions and increased economic disparities among the people. Iraq after Saddam Hussein is another example. The legacies of the previous political leader remain in the nation's political culture and institutions. Not only old political practices but also norms and values can survive the leader and authority structure.

Leading North Korea to open to the international community will require more engagement, particularly by the United States and Japan. Increased fear of the outside world will simply close the country even more tightly and drive it toward greater secrecy. The secrecy is attributable to regime characteristics, but the solution can only be active engagement. Nonpolitical exchange and humanitarian aid could serve as first steps toward the gradual dissolution of secrets. In particular, humanitarian assistance at the *nongovernmental* level could bring close contact with people at various levels in the isolated society. This engagement approach would soften the hard shell of the regime and contribute to a verifiable solution of the nuclear issue as well.

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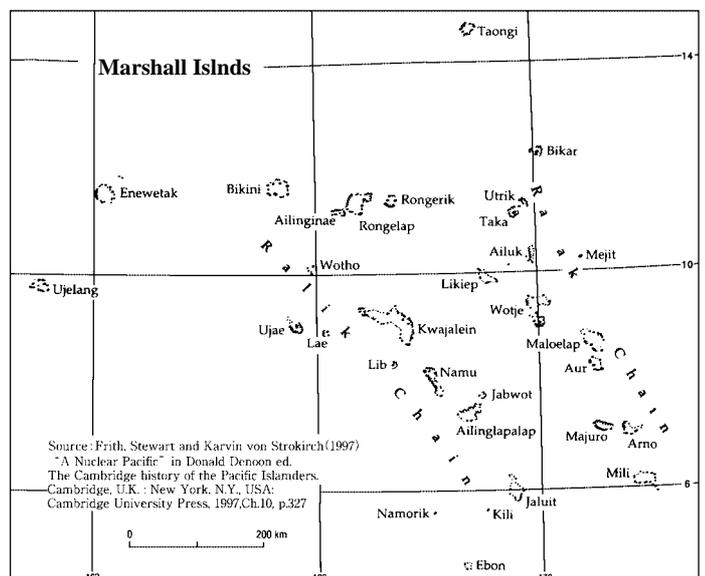
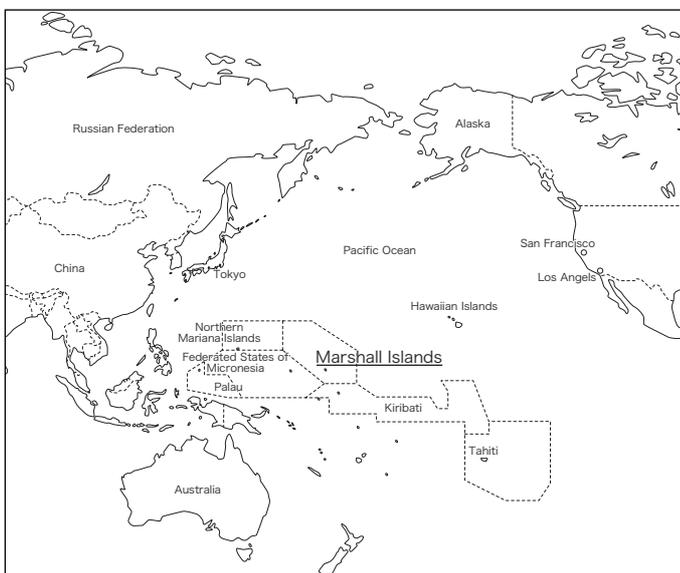
the suspicion that the nuclear tests had in fact been experiments of the effects of radiation on human beings. Many survivors are convinced that "they used us as guinea pigs," based on the treatment they have received from the U.S. for the last half century. The Rongelap mayor spoke of his hope to pursue this suspicion and demand a full explanation from the U.S.

Conclusion

Half a century has passed since the "Bikini Incident." But the Marshall Islands, like Hiroshima, continue to struggle with the effects of the nuclear tests. Their situation today provides us a spur

to work anew toward the elimination of nuclear weapons as well as suggesting how to build peace to bombed and contaminated areas. We cannot be satisfied with stopping nuclear tests. The declaration of The First World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Hiroshima in 1955 noted "Relief [for survivors of A- and H- bombs] must be hastened through a worldwide movement. This is the true foundation of any movement against A- and H-bombs."

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A Role for Hiroshima in the Rehabilitation of Cambodia

By Kazumi Mizumoto

For several years I have been working with a study group organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and composed of scholars in Hiroshima and Tokyo which seeks to develop international peace-building programs on the initiative of the Hiroshima community. The shared interest of the members is in building peace rather than simply praying for it. Numerous peace activities are already being undertaken by citizens in Hiroshima, especially in fields related to the atomic bomb and nuclear disarmament. However, we believe there are other fields not yet fully addressed.

The study group has concluded that the biggest challenges the world will face in the 21st century are not caused by nuclear weapons but by civil wars, violent conflicts, and terrorism originating in frictions between ethnic groups, religions, and cultures. The group also believes that one of the most important tasks in building peace is reconstruction and rehabilitation after violence and destruction and reconciliation between the parties to the conflict.

When we talk about peace in Hiroshima, we tend to focus on the atomic-bomb experience. However, reconstruction after the destruction by the atomic bomb is also an important issue, which interests especially visitors from developing countries. Can the lessons of reconstruction and rehabilitation in Hiroshima be applied to reconstruction and rehabilitation in other nations in the 21st century? After many discussions of this question at our group's meetings, Hiroshima Prefecture published a report entitled "Plans for Peace from Hiroshima" in 2003. In this report, several measures were proposed that are designed to help the whole Hiroshima community — from local government to ordinary citizens, NGOs, universities, research institutes, and medical and educational organizations — contribute to international peace-building. As the first step toward implementing this proposal, we intend to launch an aid project in Cambodia.

The Situation in Cambodia

A nation in Southeast Asia, the Kingdom of Cambodia has a population of 13.8 million, approximately one-tenth that of Japan. Its land area is 181,000 square kilometers, almost half that of Japan. Cambodia was torn by internal conflict for more than 20 years, beginning in the early 1970s. A large percentage of its arable land was devastated during that period. Furthermore, it is estimated that about two million of its people were killed while the Kampuchea Communist Party (Khmer Rouge) led by Pol Pot was in power between 1975 and 1979.

The civil war continued after Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979 to oust the Pol Pot regime and establish a pro-Vietnamese administration led by Heng Samrin. The four factions that had been fighting agreed to a ceasefire based on the Paris Peace Accords signed in 1990. As envisioned in those accords, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) started operations in 1992, and the new Kingdom of Cambodia was born in 1993 after a successful general election supervised by UNTAC. The civil war ended in 1998 when the last of the Pol Pot troops finally surrendered to the government. Since then, general elections were held in 1998 and 2003 with a high voter turnout of more than 90%.

Rehabilitation

These days when we talk about "conflict," the most common countries mentioned are Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, and East Timor. Our memory of Cambodia seems to have faded some ten years after the UNTAC operation. However, Cambodia is still struggling with many problems. With its \$3.7 billion Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita national income of \$280, Cambodia remains one of the poorest nations in Asia.

Agriculture, a key industry in Cambodia, is still crippled by an irrigation system destroyed during the Pol Pot regime. The ratio of national tax revenue to GDP is among the lowest in the world due to delays in institutionalizing tax collection. National finances, on the verge

of bankruptcy, are just barely sustained by aid from donor nations, international organizations, and NGOs.

On the domestic political front, a new cabinet has yet to be formed 10 months after the general election held in July 2003, due to rivalry between the ruling Cambodian People's Party, the royalist FUNCINPEC party, and the main opposition party Sam Rainsy.

Under these conditions, improvement of primary education and medical/health care systems is the most urgent public service tasks. The rate of school attendance at the primary school level is around 60% and the literacy rate is between 60 and 70%. While the birth rate is high, the infant mortality rate is the highest in Southeast Asia.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is an extremely serious issue. Infection of 2.6% of Cambodia's adult population in 2002 was the highest in Southeast Asia. More than 80,000 people have died of the disease, and it is estimated that 160,000 may be infected. The main mechanism of transmission shifted from sexual intercourse between men and "sex workers" in the early 1990s to mother-baby transmission in the late 1990s. The presence of an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 AIDS orphans has emerged as a new and very serious problem for Cambodia. While 70% of the population reputedly know how to avoid infection, the actual rate of condom usage is lower than 20%, according to a recent survey. The low level of basic education may be an important factor.

The issue of landmines, used so commonly during the civil war and once numbering as many as 5 to 10 million, has recently become somewhat less serious with the marking of all the hazardous zones. Complete demining will take half a century or more, but the incidence of annual casualties caused by the landmines is falling significantly.



Cambodian children at an elementary school in a village near Thai border in January 2003. Photo by Kazumi Mizumoto

Hiroshima and Cambodia

There is an old Buddhist temple called Wat Ounalom in downtown Phnom Penh. On the grounds of this temple, a new five-story building named Hiroshima House is under construction. The House, being constructed with donations made by citizens of Hiroshima, who initiated the fundraising drive after the 1994 Asian Games held in their city, will

Southeast Asia's Democratic Moment

By Narayanan Ganesan

The parliamentary election in Indonesia has just ended, and runoffs later this year will directly elect a President — the first since the collapse of the Suharto government in 1998. Just last March, Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi led the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and his ruling National Front coalition to an overwhelming victory, primarily at the expense of the Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). There is little doubt that Badawi, with his clean image and consensual style, will heal some of the political rifts left by his predecessor, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. But the Indonesian and Malaysian elections are only the first two of four to be called in Southeast Asia. Yes, 2004 is indeed the year when four Southeast Asian countries — Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand — have called or will call elections. The sheer number of countries and people involved in the democratic process make it a significant year for Southeast Asian politics. In fact, until the late 1980s, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand were ruled by authoritarian military regimes.

The Indonesian presidential election will be the most interesting to watch. It will be vital to consolidating the fledgling democratic process in that country and will gauge how the parties and public will respond to the change from an electoral college to direct presidential elections. Coalition-building among the various parties has already started. President Megawati Sukarnoputri, who came to power following the impeachment of her predecessor, Abdurrahman Wahid, has recently lost popularity and the polls now indicate a resurgence of support for GOLKAR, the party associated with Suharto. The Indonesian military, with its long history of association with GOLKAR, is being closely watched as the contest unfolds. GOLKAR has just entered Wiranto as its presidential candidate, who will no doubt be plagued by his alleged complicity in the mob violence that preceded the independence of East Timor.

Other important issues that may come to the fore in the course of the Indonesian elections include the haunting specter of ethnic, religious, and sectarian violence that has characterized parts of Java and eastern Indonesia. Expressions of religious extremism and an escalation of the conflict in Aceh are other worrisome possibilities. The mere fact that the country spans 5,000 kilometers from tip to tip with a population of 220 million makes this election important. The outcome will reverberate through maritime Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia and Singapore since Indonesia has traditionally claimed a proprietary right to direct regional order.

By comparison, the Philippines abandoned its authoritarian legacy

early, when Ferdinand Marcos fled the country in 1986. However, the Marcos legacy lives on. His wife Imelda is a Congress woman and her son, Bongbong, a provincial governor. Arroyo's initial coyness in running for the presidency stemmed from the fact that she has already held the office for four years since the impeachment of her predecessor, Erap Estrada. The post-Marcos Philippine Constitution stipulates that presidents may serve only a single six-year term. Adding another six to the four already served may not be in the spirit of the post-authoritarian reformist aspirations. Besides, her track record has not been particularly impressive. The economy is faring poorly, the violence in the south has reignited, and she has lost a number of prestigious supporters. Last year, a mutiny led her to declare a state of emergency.

In a sense, Thailand and Malaysia are in similar situations. Incumbent Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra will have little difficulty steering his Thai Rak Thai (Thai Love Thai) Party to victory. He managed to persuade a smaller coalition parties to dissolve and join his own, and he hopes to secure 400 out of the 500 seats available in the Thai Parliament. Notwithstanding the favorable odds, however, he faces a number of nagging political problems. These include a significant escalation of violence in the deep south (home to the Malay-Muslim minority), allegations of cover-ups and incompetence in the handling of the bird flu outbreak, widespread charges of corruption and nepotism involving party members, and Thaksin's perceived authoritarian personality. His foreign policy problems are related to a strengthened security relationship with the United States, including troop deployments in Iraq, and a soft approach in dealing with the military junta in Burma/Myanmar.

Most political analysts regard certain institutions and developments as central to the spirit of democracy. Among these are transparent procedures as well as representative and accountable government. For these requirements to be satisfied, certain "hard" and "soft" aspects of governance must be fulfilled. By "hard aspects" we typically refer to basic institutional structures — legislative, executive, and judiciary. "Soft aspects," on the other hand, refers to the evolution of civic cultural norms conducive to nurturing democratic values. These include high levels of education and awareness that imbue society with tolerance and respect for differences. Given these opportunities to entrench democratic values in the region and create models for other Asian countries, 2004 will be a crucial year for democracy in Asia.

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become the centerpiece of Hiroshima citizens' aid projects. People in Hiroshima, who experienced the mass killing by an atomic bomb, began these activities in order to share the sorrow and hardships of Cambodian people who suffered the genocide of the Pol Pot period. They represent a new extension of peace activities in Hiroshima, which used to focus only on conveying its own citizens' experience to the world without paying much attention to events outside Japan. Early completion of the Hiroshima House and development of a program of additional activities are in urgent need.

As mentioned already, the aid projects for Cambodia fall into two fields: education and health/medical care. In education, training for teachers of primary schools and improvement of literacy in rural villages are the main activities. In health/medical care, the most urgent needs are medical teams' visits to rural villages, public health education, and training for medical professionals. The key is to initiate long-term aid. Though small in scale, the plan is to promote the self-sufficiency of the Cambodian people, rather than simply and temporarily providing money and goods.

Though it has an abundance of human resources specialized in

education and medical science, Hiroshima lacks actual experience in providing long-term international aid, either via local government or NGOs. Thus, the smooth and successful implementation of the aid project for Cambodia will represent a significant departure for the city and its citizens.

First, people in Hiroshima will greatly benefit from their encounter with the reality of a post-conflict society and the actual challenges of peace-building in the 21st century world. Second, many people and organizations in Hiroshima have been eager to participate in aid activities overseas but opportunities have been limited. The network and framework created and coordinated by Hiroshima Prefecture will make it much easier for both organizations and individuals to participate in international aid work. These new experiences will in turn help invigorate civil society and NGO activities in Hiroshima.

With the aid projects in Cambodia expected to begin successfully next year, I hope Hiroshima-based peace activities will gain in both diversity and international influence.

Mizumoto is associate professor at HPI

HPI Research Forum

March 19, 2004



Title: A View on the North Korean Problems

Speaker: Professor Jin Xide (Visiting Professor in the Department of Advanced Social and International Studies, University of Tokyo)

Professor Jin Xide's paper was a unique analysis of the so-called North Korean problem, reflecting his personal background as a Chinese Japanologist.

His basic stance on this subject is that a comprehensive approach is required in analyzing the normalization process of the Japan-North Korean relationship. This is because the negotiations between the two nations have been conducted within a three-part framework, i.e., the domestic concerns of each nation, the bilateral inter-actions, and the structure of international politics.

At the summit talks which took place in Pyongyang in September 2002, North Korea made a considerable concession on the abduction issue, hoping that, in return, Japan would quickly move on to negotiations for the normalization of the bilateral relationship. With this change in attitude, both North Korea and Japan at one stage assumed there would be a great leap of progress in the relationship. Yet, the negotiations stumbled over the abduction issue, and subsequently became further entangled because of the nuclear missile issue. To break this deadlock situation, Professor Jin suggests that Japan should take a more rational approach and deal comprehensively with the issues of war compensation, abduction and security rather than focusing single-mindedly on the abduction problem.

Professor Jin sees the origin of the nuclear missile crisis of the Korean Peninsula in the international isolation of North Korea. It is this isolation, he claims, that led North Korea to take extreme measures for national security, although such a policy is against the international norms and clearly conflicts with the interests and security of neighboring nations. He suggests that the fundamental solution to the problem

requires a positive policy that will enable North Korea to break out of this isolation.

In other words, Professor Jin recommends discarding altogether any containment policy based upon the idea of a "rogue nation" or a "self-destructive nation." Instead, countries such as the U.S., Japan, South Korea, China and Russia should encourage an open-door policy and provide an international environment that would promote the gradual social reformation of North Korea. Professor Jin reminds us that the present openness in China was the result of the favorable international environment that Japan, the U.S. and other countries had created for China. He suggests, therefore, that Japan should be brave enough to persuade the U.S. to provide a similar environment for North Korea.

Professor Jin also points out that Japan should realize that its exclusive military alliance with the U.S. is a crucial hindrance to the normalization of the Japan-North Korea relationship. Most necessary in Northeast Asia at present is, he claims, innovative ideas on how to change the traditional concept of "security through military deterrent" to that of "security through regional cooperation." He suggests that, in order to project such new ideas, Japan should utilize its strengths in peace policies and economic power to their full extent. At the same time, Professor Jin calls on Japan to overcome such weaknesses as perennial diplomatic dependency on the U.S. and denial of its own history of wrongdoing in neighboring Asian nations.

China maintains independent relationships with North Korea on the one hand and with the U.S., Japan, and South Korea on the other. By actively taking advantage of this position, China has been playing an important role as mediator. It is expected that China will make further contributions to solving the North Korean crisis. On the contrary, Japan has a habit of following U.S. policies not only on North Korea but also on China. If Japan does not change its current foreign policies, which reflect a severely constricted vision, to independent policies based upon pacifism, as Professor Jin suggests, we will soon fall far behind China as builders of peace in Northeast Asia.

By Yuki Tanaka, professor at HPI

April 14, 2004



Title: Forgetting a Past: Hiroshima and Canadian Memory

Speaker: Dr. John Price, Associate Professor of History, University of Victoria, Canada

Canada's roles in atomic bomb development and decision-making in regard to the atomic bombing of Japan have been little studied. Likewise, analyses of Canadian historians' views of the atomic bombing in 1945 and the fact that many indigenous Canadians were exposed to uranium radiation during the development process are rare. On April 14, 2004, Dr. John Price, Associate Professor of the University of Victoria, Canada, gave a presentation titled "Forgetting a Past: Hiroshima and Canadian Memory," spotlighting the "forgotten" involvement of Canada in the atomic bomb project.

As evidenced in the historic controversy over the Enola Gay exhibition at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum in 1995, many Americans tend to justify the use of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In contrast, Dr. Price suggested that "the preponderant view among (U.S.) scholars is a critical assessment of the use of the bomb." In Canada, however, according to Dr. Price, the majority of historians ignored the controversy triggered by the Smithsonian exhibition, though a few former Canadian diplomats had previously questioned the morality of the bombing. Dr. Price stated that many Canadian historians support the view that the atomic bomb was effective in ending the war. He also pointed out that few academic papers discuss Canadian involvement in atomic bomb development and decision-making in regard to the use of the bombs.

Based on his research in the National Archives of Canada and diplomatic papers published in the series *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, Dr. Price confirmed that in 1942 Canada's National Research Council established the Montreal Laboratory for nuclear testing as a joint project of Canada and Great Britain. This, according to Dr. Price, attests to the significant role played by Canada in developing atomic bombs. "One key aspect of Canadian involvement in the atomic bomb development was its role in providing uranium," Dr. Price said,

explaining that in 1944, the Canadian government nationalized the uranium mining corporation to supply uranium ore. The first victims of the atomic program were people of the "First Nation" (indigenous Canadians), who were mobilized to carry the heavy sacks of ore. Many of these ore carriers died of cancer caused by exposure to uranium.

To demonstrate Canadian involvement in the decision to drop atomic bombs, Dr. Price stated that on July 4, 1945, C.D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Munitions and Supply, officially participated in the Combined Policy Committee meeting at which use of the atomic bomb was discussed. Dr. Price also noted that prior to the bombing, Canada's Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King was well aware that the bomb would kill many innocent civilians. Yet, in his recollections, referring to the bombing as "the greatest achievement in science," Mackenzie King wrote, "It is fortunate that the use of the bomb should have been upon the Japanese rather than upon the white races of Europe."

Dr. Price emphasized that such evidence demonstrates that, though atomic bomb development was led by the United States, both Great Britain and Canada played active roles. In other words, "The atomic project was from its beginning a transnational project, one of the first of what today is often called a *coalition of the willing*." Dr. Price explained, "This was, to be sure, a U.S.-led coalition, but the values expressed in it, that is, the willingness to use total war, to obliterate cities and civilian populations, was shared by many in positions of power." According to Dr. Price, to thus show that U.S. decision-making was not unilateral does not dilute U.S. responsibility, but rather helps us to "understand the politico-cultural dimension of Empire." Dr. Price concluded his presentation with the following statement: "Such an emphasis (on a coalition of the willing) helps us to explore the seams along the border of the Empire, and in particular, to explore and ultimately to defeat the ideological underpinnings of hegemony."

Dr. Price's presentation did indeed raise significant questions about Canadian views of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He led the audience to explore the factors that drove atomic development, the bombing, and the use of a weapon capable of slaughtering countless civilians. Thus, he encouraged the audience to build and maintain a "coalition of the unwilling" to stand in opposition to those factors.

By Hiroko Takahashi, research associate at HPI

Prospects for East Asian Nuclear Disarmament

The first workshop for the HPI project, “Prospects for East Asian Nuclear Disarmament” was convened on March 11-12, 2004. The project goal is to answer the question: “How have developments in East Asia eroded current efforts toward global nuclear disarmament, and what actions in the region could effectively promote this goal?” The project research program consists of four components: 1) an assessment of existing nuclear policies for all East Asian states (especially the United States), 2) a close look at the implications of North Korean nuclear ambitions, 3) an examination of short-term ways to improve regional security relationships, and 4) an exploration of longer-term ideas for building cooperation to progress toward regional nuclear disarmament.

To undertake project research, the project coordinators identified one or more persons with expertise in each of these component research areas from each of the four countries: Japan, China, South Korea, and the United States. Each participant worked from a detailed research topic designed both to provide self-contained research objectives and to incorporate numerous points of linkage with the work of other project participants.

The functions of the first workshop were:

- Presentation of the research results of each participant, with follow-up discussion.
- Shared analyses of recent developments and current policy issues.
- International engagement and dialogue to foster better cross-national and cross-cultural understanding in more general terms.
- Participant review and discussion of project goals, methods and planned activities.

Project researchers provided their research papers early to be distributed to the other participants by e-mail for their review prior to the workshop. The agenda for the workshop was organized according to the four project components. A total of 21 presentations were made in the workshop’s four sessions. Each session also included at least one hour for questions and comments on the presentations, and for broader discussions of the issues.

Due to the variety of participants and topics, the workshop presentations were highly informative and the discussions vibrant. On the first day, particular attention was paid to the broader regional consequences of U.S.-North Korea confrontation over nuclear issues and the prospects for the current “six-party talks” being coordinated by China. On the second day, wide-ranging discussions of possible positive steps generated a consensus that the time is right for renewed attention to proposals for developing an East Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone. Participants reaffirmed their enthusiasm for the core project goals and for the next phase of research, which will focus on methods of promoting global nuclear disarmament through practical progress at the regional level.

For more information on the project and the workshop, including links to the research papers, visit:

<http://serv.peace.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp/eproject/project7.htm> (Japanese)

<http://serv.peace.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp/English/eproject/project7.htm> (English).

By Wade Huntley, associate professor at HPI

Comparative Research into Genocide and Mass Violence

The second workshop of the genocide project was held at HPI from 22-26 March, 2004. The participants, chosen from among the most prominent scholars in the field, discussed a number of case studies and issues relating to genocide and mass murder.

- Israel Charny (Israel), editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia of Genocide*, spoke on “The Holocaust and Other Genocides by the Nazis Revisited through the Prisms of a Genocide Early Warning System and a Classification of Multiple Types of Genocide.”
- Paul R. Brass (U.S.) presented a sharply critical paper “On the Study of Riots, Pogroms, and Genocide in Contemporary India: From Partition to the Present,” with general remarks on the study of various forms of mass collective violence.
- Robert Cribb (Australia) elaborated on “The 1965-66 Massacres in Indonesia,” sharing insights into the study of genocide in a broader perspective; he pointed out that the distinction between ethnic and political killings may be fuzzier than generally assumed.
- Adam Jones (Canada, Mexico), Executive Director, Gendercide Watch, contributed a wide comparative account of “Gendercide: The State of Study,” spelling out key research questions he intends to study in the field of gender-specific mass killing.
- Geoffrey Gunn (Australia, Japan) focused on “International Accomplices in Genocide: Case of East Timor” as an angle for studying East Timor-Indonesia relations, including a comparativist way of re-examining and going beyond the Indonesia case.

- Yuki Tanaka (Japan) presented the latest research findings based on archival work on the history of indiscriminate bombing since the year 1914 and a debate on genocidal state terrorism and the crime of terror bombing.
- Christian Scherrer (Switzerland, Japan) spoke on “Comparing the Four Total Genocides in the 20th Century,” pointing out numerous similarities identified by a 22-point comparison of key issues and contexts/circumstances.

The discussion at the workshop focused on the interface between genocide, mass murder, and war crimes. Scherrer’s compilation of “Genocide and Mass Murder 1945-2003: Genocides, Politicides, Terror Bombing, Aggression, Wars, Other Mass Murder in 11 Stages,” which has been widely discussed ahead of the workshop by e-mail, was further debated.

Based on each participant’s presentation on the salient features and issues in his/her respective study area, the debate sought to synthesize common elements, patterns and indicators, generating important ideas for preventing and eliminating genocide. The contemporary relevance of this project cannot be overstated. Unfortunately, genocide is not a thing of the past. Gross human rights violations, atrocities, and even outright genocides continue to cause havoc in different parts of the world, forcing whole populations to live in fear and trauma. Violence not only kills but also limits life’s possibilities for those who survive.

By Christian Scherrer, professor at HPI

International Symposium

Reflections of the Enola Gay:

Symbolic Representations of War and Destruction, 1945 - 2004

The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki typifies two kinds of crime against humanity — indiscriminate bombing and mass killing — which are common to many modern and contemporary wars and ethnic conflicts as well as such terrorist acts as the September 11 attack. The *Enola Gay*, the plane that carried the atomic bomb dropped on civilians in Hiroshima, is among the most powerful symbols of indiscriminate bombing and mass killing, practices that have been repeated over and over again since World War I.

The exhibition of the *Enola Gay* with no reference to this historical context appears to justify these crimes against humanity that have been repeatedly committed for more than a century in various parts of the world. It also appears to condone such attacks that may be committed in future, whether committed by military forces or by some other violent organizations. Instead, the *Enola Gay* should be viewed as a reminder of our commitment to strive for universal peace and human fulfillment.

This symposium will examine from various perspectives the symbolic meanings of the *Enola Gay*, which has been on permanent display in the United States since December 2003.

Panelists:

Tony Coady Professor, University of Melbourne
Lawrence Wittner Professor, State University of New York
Laura Hein Professor, Northwestern University
Takashi Kawamoto Professor, University of Tokyo
Yuki Tanaka (moderator) Professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University

Date and Time: July 31 (Sat.), 2004 1:30 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

Venue: Himawari Room, second basement (B2)
International Conference Center (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park)
1-5 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima

Host: Hiroshima Peace Institute

Collaboration: Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation

How to Attend: Send a postcard to reach Hiroshima Peace Institute by July 28. Write your name, address, and telephone and fax numbers. Reservations can be made also by phone, fax or email. Up to 200 people can be accommodated on a first-come, first-served basis.

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DIARY

March 1, 2004 - June 30, 2004

◆**Feb. 26-Mar. 12** Hiroko Takahashi conducts research on the 1954 Bikini nuclear test in the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

◆**Mar. 1** Takahashi attends the ceremony for the "50th Commemoration of the Nuclear Survivors Remembrance Day."

◆**Mar. 6-12** Ikuko Togo conducts research and interviews with NGOs and government-related institutions in Republic of Korea for "Theoretical Investigation of Conflict Resolution/Prevention and Process of Civil Society Formation: Examples from Asian Nations" project.

◆**Mar. 11-12** First workshop of HPI Research Project "Prospects for East Asian Nuclear Disarmament" is held.

◆**Mar. 19** Jin Xide, visiting professor in Department of Advanced Social and International Studies, University of Tokyo, gives lecture on "A View on the North Korean Problems" at HPI Research Forum.

◆**Mar. 20** Takahashi reports on "The U.S. government's control of the A-bomb information and the Lucky Dragon Incident" at Student/Young Pugwash Japan at Meiji Gakuin University.

◆**Mar. 21-27** Kazumi Mizumoto visits Phnom Penh, Sisophon, Poi Pet, Siem Reap in Cambodia as a member of the Consulting Team for Reconstruction Support Project in Cambodia, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Mar. 22-26** Second workshop of HPI Research Project "Comparative Research into Genocide and Mass Violence" is held at HPI.

◆**Mar. 22-Apr. 9** Wade Huntley conducts research on nuclear disarmament and the U.S.-North Korea security conflict, Berkeley, California.

◆**Mar. 27** Yuki Tanaka presents paper entitled "How to confront with the NPT, the treaty that has been transforming itself from a double-edged to single-edged sword" at the Conference on Proposals for the 2005 NPT Review Conference, organized by Hiroshima Association for Nuclear Weapons Abolition and held at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

◆**Apr. 2-May 5** Christian Scherrer conducts research in Rwanda on the contemporary functions of the traditional court of justice known as gachacha and interviews the chief justice, officials of the Gachacha Department and the Rwandan Supreme Court, and local scholars and NGO leaders.

◆**Apr. 4-6** Scherrer attends the International Conference on Genocide held in Kigali in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, discusses the responsibilities of international accomplices in genocide, and participates in the formulation of recommendations to the Rwandan government.

◆**Apr. 8** Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Importance of Having a Dream" at "Spring Breeze" Camp, held in Chiyoda Town, Hiroshima, for freshmen of Hiroshima Kokutaiji High School.

◆**Apr. 14** John Price, associate professor of history at the University of Victoria, Canada, gives lecture on "Forgetting a Past: Hiroshima and Canadian Memory" at HPI Research Forum.

◆**Apr. 20** Takahashi gives lecture on "50th Commemoration of the Lucky Dragon Incident" at the 18th general meeting of the Kyoto Association for Pursuing the Non-nuclear Government at Hartpia Kyoto.

◆**Apr. 25** Takahashi reports on "The reaction of the U.S. government to the Lucky Dragon Incident" at the Society for the Study of American History in the Kansai region at Kyoto Campus Plaza.

◆**Apr. 29** Huntley conducts interviews related to the U.S. -North Korea security conflict and recent developments in Seoul, South Korea.

◆**Apr. 30** Takahashi gives lecture on "The control of the A-bomb information by U.S. government" at seminar organized by Meiji Gakuin University and the University of California at Hiroshima Aster Plaza.

◆**May 6** Midori Iijima, associate professor of Latin American Studies, Rikkyo University, and Daniel Hernández-Salazar, photographer, give lecture on "What Does 'Peace' Mean in a Post-Civil War Society?: The Case of Guatemala" at HPI Research Forum.

◆**May 14-16** Scherrer participates in the Rome Meeting for the International Coordination of the World Tribunal on Iraq held at the Lelio Basso Foundation and presents paper on "Unresolved WTI Issues and Procedures."

◆**Jun. 5** Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Current State and Tasks of Peace Research" at a training session for Level III registered nursing care managers held by the Hiroshima Prefectural Nursing Association.

◆**Jun. 12** Tanaka gives lecture on "Japan's Comfort Women: Militarism and the Control of Sex" at International Symposium "Gender and Nation: Historical Perspectives on Japan" organized by German Institute for Japanese Studies and Hiroshima City University, held at Tokyo Womens Plaza.

◆**Jun. 19** Mizumoto gives lecture on "The A-bomb Experience of Hiroshima and the Issues of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the 21st Century" in Hiroshima/Nagasaki joint course entitled "What Does Peace Mean in the World of the 21st Century?" offered by the Open Education Center of Waseda University.

◆**Jun. 29** Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Meaning of the A-bomb Experience for Peace in the 21st Century" in a peace study course on Hiroshima and Nagasaki at Kwansai Gakuin University.

- Visitors to HPI -

◆**Mar. 17** Maria Wagrowska, research fellow, Center for International Relations, Poland.

◆**Mar. 18** Dr. Lamberto Zannier, director, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Conflict Prevention Centre.

◆**Mar. 26** Paul Chandler, researcher for Advocates for Survivors of Torture & Trauma (ASTT), graduate student at University of Baltimore.

◆**May 13** Dr. Elspeth Jones, dean, Leslie Silver International Faculty, Leeds Metropolitan University. Dr. Koichi Maekawa, executive vice president (Finance), Hiroshima University.

◆**May 21** Dr. Jerry C.L. Chang, founder and president, Humanity United Globally.

◆**May 24** Dr. Andrew J. Rotter, professor and chair, Department of History, Colgate University. Dr. Osamu Yoshida, professor, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hiroshima University.

Notice of Change of Address

HIROSHIMA PEACE INSTITUTE HAS MOVED TO A NEW ADDRESS

Old Address

Hiroshima Mitsui Bldg. 12th Floor,
2-7-10 Ote-machi, Naka-ku, Hiroshima
730-0051, Japan

New Address

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(Opposite Hiroshima City Hall).

* Telephone and fax numbers unchanged.



Please take No.1 street car to Hiroshima Port from Hiroshima station and get off at Shiyakusho-mae.

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