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The Adoption of Nuclear Weapons Prohibition Treaty and Future Tasks : “Security” should not be a Sanctuary of Discussions Kazumi Mizumoto

Introduction

By the adoption of the Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons at the UN in July 2017, there is a strong hope in the international community that we have advanced the abolition of nuclear weapons as well as a pessimism based on the reality that all the nations that possess nuclear weapons and that are under a nuclear umbrella are holding their position against the Treaty. In this report, I will examine the prospects of the Treaty by discussing its importance and tasks. Two factors will be discussed: the winning of Nobel Peace Prize by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and the Trump Administration's newly released document on nuclear strategy entitled the “Nuclear Posture Review.”

The Contents and Significance of the Treaty

The significance of the Treaty are as follows. Firstly, it is the first treaty in the history of humankind after World War II (WWII) to legally prohibit nuclear weapons. Secondly, it prohibits almost all the activities related to nuclear weapons comprehensively. To be specific, article 1 prohibits each state party, under any circumstances, to develop, test, produce, manufacture, acquire, possess, stockpile, transfer, receive, use, and threaten to use nuclear weapons. It also prohibits deployment of nuclear weapons in a signatory's territory and to assist, encourage or induce anyone to engage in prohibited activities, and to seek or receive any assistance from anyone to engage in prohibited activities.

Thirdly, it shows historically, humanely, and from different angles, deep consideration and profoundly peaceful reasoning on the issue of “why humankind should prohibit nuclear weapons” in the preamble. Specifically, it says that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons is “the only way” to avoid the catastrophic humanitarian consequences that result from the use of nuclear weapons, and that the achievement of a “nuclear-weapon-free world” would serve global security interests, as a clear goal of the Treaty. It further refers to the *hibakusha* for the first time in an international treaty as such. “Mindful of the unacceptable suffering of and harm” caused to the victims of the use and testing of nuclear weapons.

It also points out that while the diversion of the world's human and economic resources to armaments should be minimized for the maintenance of international peace, the production, maintenance and modernization of nuclear weapons waste those resources.

It shows commitment to the support and strengthening of “the effective participation of women in nuclear disarmament”. Finally, it evaluates the role of the UN, the International Red Cross and Red

Crescent Movement, other international and regional organizations, NGOs, religious leaders, parliamentarians, academics and the *hibakusha*.

Regarding the possible criticism that the Treaty denies the existing framework of non-proliferation including the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), the preamble emphasizes that it strengthens the existing international framework.

In sum, the preamble straightforwardly expresses the history and hardships for the conclusion of the Treaty after more than seventy years since the end of World War II, and wisdom and thoughts to overcome them.

The Entry into Force of the Treaty and Effectiveness

However, the prospects of the Treaty are not rosy. It is decided in article 15 that the “Treaty shall enter into force 90 days after the fiftieth instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession has been deposited.” The Treaty was opened for signature at the UN on September 20, 2017, and a total of 56 parties have signed and 4 parties, Guiana, Vatican, Thailand, and Mexico, have ratified it as of January 17, 2018. It is expected that the Treaty will enter into force if all the 56 signatories ratify it. But all the parties mentioned above do not possess nuclear weapons.

The Treaty will not be effective even if it enters into force without the ratification of nations possessing nuclear weapons and nations under nuclear umbrellas, and therefore how to secure the effectiveness is the biggest task of the Treaty. The nuclear weapon states strongly oppose the Treaty. The US, the UK and France made public a joint statement on July 7, 2017, when the Treaty was adopted at the UN, saying that the “purported ban” will not result in “the elimination of a single nuclear weapon” since it does not address the security concerns “that continue to make nuclear deterrence necessary.”

The statement by France at the UN General Assembly First Committee in October 2016 expresses more straightforwardly the position of nuclear weapon states. According to the statement, the nuclear status quo is normal, legitimate, stable and safe and the “step-by-step” process of disarmament is “effective, realistic and to the benefit of the security of all.” On the other hand, the Treaty is radical, illegitimate, dangerous, ineffective, destabilizing and not “adapted to the real world and disconnected from the security context.”

Japan is also objecting to the Treaty, claiming that “we need the US nuclear deterrence against North Korea that continues development of nuclear weapons” and “the effect of the Treaty

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is contrary to nuclear disarmament because it enlarges the gap between states which possess nuclear weapons and states which do not possess nuclear weapons.” The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) opposes the treaty, asserting that banning by the Treaty without the involvement of nuclear weapon states cannot reduce nuclear weapons.”

Conflict Brought by the Treaty

The argument of the Japanese government that the Treaty expands the rivalry between states which possess nuclear weapons and states which do not possess nuclear weapons is correct. The only justification of states possessing nuclear weapons to accept the existence of nuclear weapons is “security”: they have been rejecting deep cuts of their weapons, justifying that they have to prepare for their “security concerns.”

At the NPT Review Conferences, “security” has been repeatedly mentioned as an excuse for restraining nuclear disarmament. In the previous final documents, “security” has been referred to in many parts, and the member states have given special consideration for “security” with regard to the control of nuclear weapons. In other words, the position that nuclear weapons are not generally “bad” but sometimes “good” has been tolerated.

However, the Treaty is to prohibit nuclear weapons “under any circumstances” for “humanitarian reasons” and there is no room for justifying the weapons because of “security concerns.” All nuclear weapons are defined as “bad” by the Treaty. If future discussions of nuclear weapons based on the Treaty will be judged by the dichotomy of “good” or “bad” weapons, nations possessing nuclear weapons and nations under nuclear umbrellas will unite together to oppose the treaty, and even after the entry into force of the Treaty, the rivalry of the two camps will be hardened and nothing will be changed. In order to avoid this ossification, we need to have a measure to advance nuclear disarmament.

The Winning of the Nobel Peace Prize by ICAN

The Nobel Peace Prize for ICAN gives us a hint of how to avoid the rivalry of the two camps. In the network of ICAN there are 468 partner organizations in 101 countries, covering most of the states which possess nuclear weapons except North Korea and those under nuclear umbrellas. Besides, many important organizations tackling nuclear issues, such as the International Association of Lawyers against Nuclear Arms (IALANA), International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), and Mayors for Peace, are included in the partner organizations.

ICAN truly represents the international civil society which pursues a nuclear-free-world, and the fact that the Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to ICAN means that the importance of the existence of this whole network against nuclear weapons is internationally recognized by the award. It is earnestly expected that through this network we will influence the governments of nations possessing nuclear weapons and those under nuclear umbrellas.

“Security” should not be a Sanctuary

We need to deny the justification of possessing nuclear weapons for “security” reasons. It has been repeatedly pointed out by the civil society that the idea of nuclear deterrence is already delegitimized, but the argument has been ignored by the security specialists. Once you invoke the words “security concern,” it is used as a sanctuary to deny any discussions on nuclear disarmament.

However, in democratic societies, any armament, including nuclear weapons, should be allowed within the limitations of quantitative, capability and budgetary appropriateness even if they are meant to prepare for potential enemies. It is wrong to suppose that the Japanese government’s policy of reliance on the US nuclear umbrella is automatically and limitlessly approved whenever it claims “we need to defend ourselves from the nuclear threat of North Korea.” Instead, we need to ask the government “how many nuclear weapons are needed to counter the North

Korean threat?” It is absurd to imagine that we need the whole arsenal of US strategic nuclear warheads, which are estimated to be around 1,500, to counter the nuclear weapons of North Korea, which are estimated to be between 10 and a few dozen. It is further ridiculous to suppose that we need all the US warheads, which are estimated to be 6,800, including stockpiled and retired weapons for deterring the aggression of North Korea. It is clear that the US nuclear forces are too excessive as a deterrent only against North Korea.

Countering the argument that we need nuclear weapons for security reasons, we need to argue that “excessive nuclear weapons are beyond the limit of deterrence and should be subject to disarmament.” Security reasons should not be a sanctuary of nuclear disarmament. Rather, it is the responsibility of proponents of security to explain how many weapons they need for this purpose, and excessive weapons should be the object of disarmament.

NPR Glorifies Nuclear Weapons

The Trump Administration’s new “Nuclear Posture Review” was published in February 2018. From the document, which is composed of 17 pages of executive summary and 72 pages of main text, we simply observe strong support for nuclear weapons. In section “III. Why U.S. Nuclear Capabilities?” there is a chart entitled “Wartime Fatalities % of World Population (Civilian and Military)” which shows the percentage of wartime fatalities from 17th century until 21st century. According to the figure, the percentage from 1600 to 1700 is 2.27%, from 1700 to 1800 is 1.15%, from 1800 to 1900 is 1.31%, and in the first half of the 20th century, the percentage during the WWI is 1.12% and during the WWII is 1.75%. However, according to the Review, since “the introduction of U.S. nuclear deterrence”, we can see “a dramatic and sustained reduction in the number of lives lost to war globally.” The percentage from the end of WWII to 2000 is “0.4%” and after 2000, it further reduced to less than 0.01. There is no data regarding the world population and fatalities in the chart, and the source is unclear, but simply shown as “Data from the DoD Historical Office.” If we apply the percentage of less than “0.01%” to current world population in 2011, that reached 7 billion on October 31 that year, the number of fatalities is less than 700,000. The number does not make sense as the basis of a judgement about the danger caused by the existence of nuclear weapons.

Besides, the Review rejected adopting important nuclear policies recommended by the specialists in civil society who advocate nuclear disarmament. For example, “the sole purpose” policy to limit the role of nuclear weapons to deter nuclear attack only is clearly denied, and the role is extended to include the following: deterrence of nuclear and non-nuclear attack; security assurance of allies and partners; achievement of U.S. objectives if deterrence fails; and the capacity to hedge against an uncertain future. In addition, the resumption of nuclear weapon testing if necessary, deployment of new low-yield nuclear warheads, rejection of “non-first use,” and the maintenance of a portion of nuclear forces on alert day-to-day are included in the Review, which are all ideas denounced by the proponents of nuclear disarmament in civil society.

The descriptions mentioned above are based on the idea that nuclear weapons are “good” and are strictly tools to provide security. This is a complete denial of the idea that nuclear weapons are “bad” that is being accepted internationally as shown by ICAN’s winning of the Nobel Peace prize. The task of civil society of pursuing a nuclear-weapons-free world based on the Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons is to place the burden of accountability regarding the excessive numbers nuclear weapons on the shoulders of nations possessing nuclear weapons and nations under nuclear umbrellas. “Security” is not a “Sanctuary” against nuclear disarmament.

(Vice-Director at HPI)

Prospects and Challenges of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

Kazumi Mizumoto

The Hiroshima Peace Institute held a public lecture series entitled, "Prospects and Challenges of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons" at the GOJINSHA Wendy Hito-Machi Plaza on Wednesdays from October 11 to November 8, 2017. While the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was adopted at the United Nations in July 2017, the effectiveness of the treaty is questioned due to the fact that the nations that possess nuclear weapons and the nations under the "nuclear umbrellas" have not acceded to the treaty. The lecture series aims at examining measures to link the treaty to the realization of "a world without nuclear weapons."

Lecture 1 The Treaty and North Korean Nuclear & Missile Issues

October 11, 2017

By Hyun Jin Son, Associate Professor at HPI

North Korea conducted its sixth nuclear test in September 2017 while repeating launch tests of ballistic missiles, and it is believed to have constructed an ICBM which can reach the mainland of the US. In spite of severe sanctions by the UN Security Council, according to the Research Institute for National Security Strategy in South Korea, the Kim Jong-Un Administration spent about 300 million US dollars for three nuclear tests and more than 30 missile tests, and from 110 to 150 million US dollars for the development of nuclear weapons. These expenses are covered by income from arms exports, the dispatch of laborers to foreign countries, and cyber crimes, according to the Institute. Even though the Treaty was adopted, it does not guarantee the denuclearization of North Korea, and we may have to rely on the framework of six-party talks. In addition, the agreement by Japan, the US, and South Korea on "complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization of North Korea" at the G20 Hamburg Summit in July 2017, is also expected to play an important role.

Lecture 2 The Treaty under International Law

October 18

By Yasuhito Fukui, Associate Professor at HPI

It should be noted that the Treaty clearly shows that any use of nuclear weapons is against international law, it refers to the *hibakusha* for the first time in an international treaty, and it clearly strengthens the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and other existing treaties for nuclear disarmament. From the viewpoint of international disarmament law, article 1 refers to Prohibitions, article 2 refers to Declarations, article 3 refers to Safeguards, and article 4 refers to measures "Towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons." Also, the Treaty is a complex treaty which has the characteristics of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, international environmental law, and the international liability act.

The biggest challenge for the Treaty regards how to make the nations that possess nuclear weapons sign and ratify it, but it is more important to pursue an early entry into force. It is also expected to aim for the goal of realization of a world without nuclear weapons with the linkage to the treaties of nuclear weapons free zone, the NPT and other treaties for nuclear disarmament.

Lecture 3 The Treaty and the Role of Civil Society

October 25

By Akira Kawasaki, Co-Director, Peace Boat/ International Steering Group member, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)

Before the Treaty was concluded, the series of actions taken in the international society, from the statement of the International Committee of the Red Cross in April 2010 to the Humanitarian Pledge by the government of Austria in January 2015 to seek the legal prohibition of nuclear weapons, led to the completion of negotiation of the Treaty at the UN. The role of ICAN, which represents civil society and works together with likeminded governments, and the role of *hibakusha* who support the movement are very important.

There are many tasks lying ahead. First, we have to encourage governments to sign and ratify the Treaty for its early entry into force. Second, activities for public relations and education are important to spread an understanding of the Treaty among international society. Third, to change the nuclear

policies of nations under nuclear umbrellas by appealing to them that their policies "assist and encourage" the use and the threat to use nuclear weapons. Fourth, to complete the arrangement of verification measures for the future affiliation of nations possessing nuclear weapons. Fifth, to influence and stop the activities of companies and financial organizations that support the production of nuclear weapons.

Lecture 4 Prospects for the Treaty and the Proposals of Mayors for Peace

November 1

By Yasuyoshi Komizo, Chairperson, Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation/Secretary General, Mayors for Peace

There are four different ideas of legal prohibition of nuclear weapons. ICAN supported the idea of completing the Treaty without the participation of nations that possess nuclear weapons and exerting the pressure of international public opinion on those nations. On the other hand, the Mayors for Peace asserted that we should open the door to nations possessing nuclear weapons by crafting articles which allow those nations to join the Treaty, and we played a complementary role for ICAN in establishing the Treaty. The future tasks are as follows. First, to invite leaders of all the nations to visit atomic bombed cities to understand the catastrophic result of the use of nuclear weapons. Second, we want nations under nuclear umbrellas, including Japan, to encourage the nations they are tending towards nuclear disarmament, to participate in Treaty conferences as an audience, and finally to sign and ratify the Treaty. Third, for the nations that possess nuclear weapons, we want the implementation of concrete measures for nuclear disarmament including the reduction of nuclear arms by the US and Russia, strengthening of confidence building measures among nations with nuclear weapons, dialogue with nations and citizens supporting the Treaty, participation in Treaty conferences as observer, and finally joining the Treaty.

Lecture 5 The Treaty and the Role of Japan

November 8

By Kazumi Mizumoto, Vice-Director and Professor at HPI

The biggest challenge in the present state of nuclear weapons is to avoid the use of nuclear weapons either by the US or North Korea. For this purpose, what we need is a direct dialogue between the two nations aiming at the completion of a peace agreement to formally end the Korean War. The two nations should stop all provocations and sit at a table for negotiations with the support of international society. Based on my impressions during my short visit to North Korea as a member of delegation for an activity of international cultural exchange, there are some similarities between current North Korean society, which prioritizes the military, and Japanese society before the war. In my visit, I was allowed to bring the catalogues of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, which convey the atrocities of nuclear weapons, into North Korea. When I donated the catalogues to the Department of Japanese Language at the Pyongyang University of Foreign Languages, teachers and students showed serious interest and I felt that they understood the inhumanity of nuclear weapons. Both the Trump administration that claims "America First" and the Kim Jong-Un administration that continues nuclear and missile tests are, from the eyes of calm citizens, "parties to the conflict." Therefore, Japan should be expected to behave wisely in the field of nuclear disarmament without preference towards one "party to the conflict" by respecting the US-Japan alliance too much.

(Vice-Director at HPI)

Telling the World about Hiroshima

– Kaoru Ogura's Letters to Robert Jungk

Makiko Takemoto

Information on Hiroshima and its spread to the world

The Nuclear Ban Treaty in July 2017, the Nobel Peace Prize for the International Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) in October of the same year and all the reactions to these anti-nuclear movements show how important the roles of Hibakusha still are. Their activities of talking about Hiroshima and Nagasaki are very significant as well as the works of anti-nuclear NGOs because many people in the world don't really recognize the danger of nuclear disasters. With the increased danger of nuclear proliferation, the story of Hiroshima still carries an important resonance.

Many researchers, journalists, peace activists, politicians and other organizations have made efforts to talk about Hiroshima to the world for many years. The American journalist John Hersey's *Hiroshima* is one of these examples and Kiyoshi Tanimoto, who was a Reverend at Hiroshima Nagarekawa Church and one of the main figures in this book, traveled in the US to talk about Hiroshima. Also, Floyd Schmoe, who was a forestry researcher, built housing for Hibakusha with the help of young people in Hiroshima. Schmoe's efforts spread to the US and this story can be understood from the exhibition "Schmoe House," which is shown in the annex building of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

Hiroshima in Europe: Robert Jungk's *Children of the Ashes*

Compared to the US, the spread of information about Hiroshima to Europe is still not extensive. But, if we only look at the case of West Germany, we can find some examples of the interest of Europeans about Hiroshima. In the 1950s a research delegation working to understand the influence of the A-bomb on mankind visited Hiroshima from Frankfurt am Main. Many things, such as a pipe organ, were donated to the Memorial Cathedral for World Peace in Noboricho from several West German cities. It showed the interest of European people in Hiroshima.

The man who brought Hiroshima to the attention of most people in Europe in the 1950s was Robert Jungk (1913-1994). He was a German-Jewish journalist born in Berlin. In the Nazi period, he was exiled to Czechoslovakia, France and Switzerland. After WWII he went to the US, where he eventually became an internationally famous journalist. After publishing his second book *Brighter than a Thousand Suns*, which focused on the role of the scientists in the Manhattan Project and their consciousness and guilt, he came to Hiroshima in 1957. Jungk stayed in Hiroshima for about two weeks, interviewed Hibakusha and published a book *Children of the Ashes* in 1958. In the last part of this book, Jungk mentioned the story of Sadako Sasaki, her thousand cranes and the Children's Peace Monument in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. It was the first time that Sadako's story had been told outside of Japan.

Jungk, who was a newcomer to Japan and did not speak Japanese, needed help in Hiroshima. Kaoru Ogura (1920-1974) supported him. He was born in the US and spoke fluent English. Ogura helped Jungk not only to interview the Hibakusha, but also to locate them. Jungk visited Hiroshima again in 1960 and made a TV documentary film with the same title as his book *Children of the Ashes*. It was broadcast by the Bavarian Broadcasting Company and was viewed in many European countries. (See *Hiroshima Research News*, Vol.15, March 2013).

Kaoru Ogura's Letters to Jungk

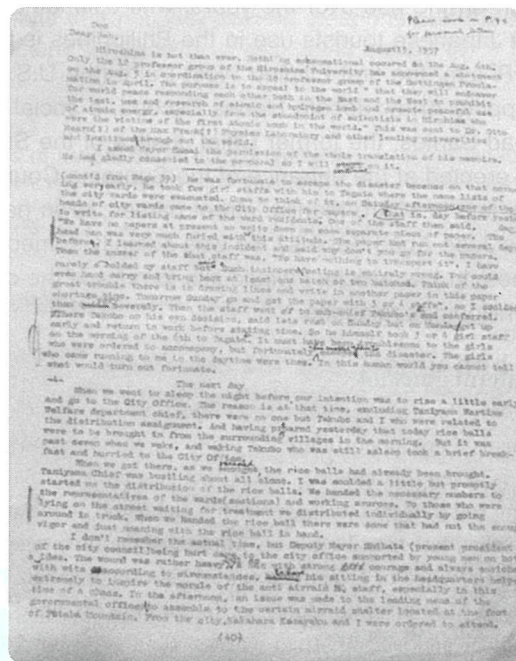
When Jungk left Hiroshima for Europe, he entered into a contract with Ogura to be sent material on Hibakusha.



The Children's Peace Monument

Ogura sent him about 800 pages of English correspondence in two and half years. Among these 800 pages, 720 have survived: they are carbon copies of Ogura's typing. He carefully kept and numbered them. Ogura's letters consisted of translations of Japanese newspapers and journal articles such as the *Chugoku Shimbun* and *Shukan Shincho*. They also have memoirs and interviews of Hibakusha and other people in Hiroshima. They contain information on the reconstruction and politics of the City of Hiroshima, the peace festival, and Hibakushas' daily lives and medical problems. They also took up issues such as the peaceful use of atomic energy, the legal system of medical support for Hibakusha and also the history and underground culture of Hiroshima—such as the red-light district and gangs.

In Ogura's letters we can find the names of many famous people from Hiroshima: Shinzo Hamai (Mayor of Hiroshima), Shogo Nagaoka (the first Director of the Peace Memorial Museum), Ichiro Kawamoto and Kiyoshi Kikkawa (peace activists) as well as medical doctors such as Michihiko Hachiya, Gensaku Oho and Tomin Harada. The letters also contains interviews with civil servants and describes the atmosphere of Hiroshima as lively. As Jungk wrote in the *Children of the Ashes*, Ogura's letters played a very important role for his book. In the Robert Jungk Futures Library in Salzburg, we found some of the original letters from Ogura. Many of them were cut into small pieces and it is possible to imagine that Jungk integrated these parts into his book. Unfortunately, we have been unable to find Jungk's responses to Ogura's letters until now. Many parts of Ogura's letters were not used in Jungk's book; therefore we can know the background of Jungk's writing from these letters. In this sense, Ogura's letters are very important material to study Jungk and Hiroshima.



Ogura's letter (courtesy of Keiko Ogura)

Telling the World about Hiroshima

After his first visit to Hiroshima, Jungk began to be seriously involved in the anti-nuclear movement in Europe. He became one of the leaders of the Easter March, which is a well-known anti-nuclear demonstration in Europe. At first, he criticized only nuclear weapons but in the 1970s he recognized the dangers of nuclear energy and wrote the book *Atomic State*.

His work telling the world about Hiroshima awakened Ogura. Later he served as a director of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, hosted many foreign guests and explained to them about Hiroshima. In his first and last book *Hiroshima ni naze* (*Why in Hiroshima?*, Hiroshima: Keisuishu 1979), he wrote about his meetings with people who helped Hiroshima such as Jungk, Schmoie, Norman Cousins, Barbara Reynolds and Robert Lifton. He also mentioned some world politicians such as West German President Gustav Heinemann. Ogura died from a subarachnoid hemorrhage on July 13th, 1979 just after completing his first book. He was preparing a draft of the peace declaration.

Recently, interest in Jungk and Ogura is growing. Currently, a research project to translate Ogura's letters into Japanese is ongoing. His letters will be published in the fiscal year 2018. Today, people in the world are more conscious of Hiroshima and it is a good opportunity to disseminate the legacy of Hiroshima to the world again. In this situation it will be more important not only to tell the experiences of August 6th but also to discover the lives of people in Hiroshima after August 7th, in order to think again about the meaning of Hiroshima in the world 72 years after the atomic bombing.

Note: This article is a result of the research project "Basic Research on the Spread of Information about Hiroshima to Western Countries" which is supported by a Peace-related Grant (Special Grant) at Hiroshima City University (in the fiscal year 2017, project leader: Makiko Takemoto, Associate Professor at Hiroshima Peace Institute).

(Associate Professor at HPI)

The Philippines is a neighboring country, only a 4.5-hour flight from Japan. About 250,000 Filipinos reside in Japan, the third largest number of foreign residents by nationality. The number of Japanese tourists visiting the Philippines has also been on the rise over the years, with estimates of about 500,000 traveling there annually. The largest denomination currency Japanese tourists use in the Philippines is the 1,000 peso note. This note features portraits of Brigadier General Vicente P. Lim, the first Filipino West Point (the U.S. Military Academy) graduate and the former Deputy Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army; Josefa Llanes Escoda, a social welfare activist and founder of the girl scouts in the Philippines; and Jose Abad Santos, the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. Of the three, Jose Abad Santos has a statue erected at the entrance of the Supreme Court, and his name is used in various forms such as the station name on a railway line in Metro Manila, street names, town names and names of educational institutions elsewhere in the country. Who was Jose Abad Santos? He was actually someone who was closely associated with Japan, and called a “hero” in the Philippines. In this article, I would like to retrace the checkered lives that he and his family led, and consider its meaning in Japan-Philippines relations.

1. The fateful gunshot

“Do not cry, Pepito, you must show these people that you are brave. This is a rare opportunity for me to die for our country. Not everyone is given that chance” said Chief Justice Abad Santos to his sobbing son (referred to as Pepito, his nickname, in this article). This was when father and son were allowed some time together in Malabang, Province of Lanao, on the island of Mindanao, on the afternoon of May 2, 1942. Upon parting, he put his hand on his son’s shoulder and said his final words, “Be a good boy.” Pepito broke down crying as his father headed to his death, and left the place carried by interpreter Keiji Fukui. Abad Santos was then blindfolded with a white handkerchief, headed to the execution site flanked by Japanese soldiers who held each of his arms, and was executed by firing squad. He lived for 56 years.

Jose Abad Santos was born in San Fernando, Province of Pampanga, on the island of Luzon, on February 19, 1886. He spent his childhood there, then studied in the U.S. as a *pensionado* (Filipino students who went to America to acquire college degrees at government expense) in 1904, and earned his bachelor’s degree at Northwestern University and Master of Laws at George Washington University. He started his legal career after returning home, and served as the Secretary of Justice and Supreme Court Justice several times between the 1920s and early 1940s.

December 1941 marked the start of the Pacific War, with Japanese troops also invading the Philippines, an American territory. To avoid being captured by Japanese troops, President Manuel L. Quezon and other government leaders escaped from Manila to Corregidor, and Abad Santos (a Supreme Court Justice at the time) accompanied them with his son Pepito (an aide to the president) who was 22 years old then. On December 24, Abad Santos was appointed by the president as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Later, President Quezon decided to go to the U.S. via Australia, and tried to have Abad Santos accompany him. Abad Santos, however, decided to remain in the Philippines as the responsible government official, and parted ways with the president. On March 17, 1942, the day before the president and his team departed, he was appointed by Quezon as the proxy for the president. After bidding the president and his team farewell on Negros Island, he and his son moved to Cebu Island, but were detained by Japanese troops on April 10. Abad Santos refused the request from the Japanese army to cooperate, and this was one of the reasons for his execution. Major General Kiyotake Kawaguchi,

head of the local unit (Kawaguchi Unit), was impressed by the noble character of Abad Santos and tried to spare his life, but was unable to keep refusing execution orders from the HQ of the 14th Army in Manila. In the end, Kawaguchi ordered his execution by shooting.

2. “Confinement” of the bereaved son in Japan

After the execution of Justice Abad Santos, dealing with the bereaved son became a pressing issue for the local unit. The Manila HQ provided no guidance regarding the son, and Major General Kawaguchi, who promised Abad Santos he would spare Pepito’s life. Afterwards, Kawaguchi consulted with Shozo Murata, Supreme Advisor of the 14th Army, and together decided to send him to Japan to study. But for Pepito, this meant a life in captivity in a foreign country, without any freedom. In mid-May 1942, Pepito was accompanied by interpreter Fukui to move from Mindanao to Manila, was under house arrest for a few days at the Manila Hotel, then traveled to Japan via Taiwan later that month.

In Japan, Pepito was forced to use the alias “Jose Francisco,” and attended the Japanese language course at Kokusai Gakuyukai in Meguro Ward, Tokyo. He stayed at the Gakuyukai dormitory, but knew no one, and surely spent lonely, painful days there. For homesick Pepito, Japan’s cold winter must have felt especially harsh. However, in July 1943 Filipino students arrived as *nampo tokubetsu ryugakusei* (foreign students from Southeast Asia), perhaps providing him some relief and joy. In October of that year, Japan granted the Philippines “independence” and when the Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines was established in Tokyo after a few months in February 1944, Pepito began working there. In May of the same year, he was permitted to return home temporarily, but came back to Japan one month later, and remained in Japan until the end of the war.

3. The construction of public memory

After the war, the execution of Justice Abad Santos was discussed by the parties involved in the Japanese war crimes trials held in Manila. Pepito testified regarding the end of his father’s life at an American tribunal (in 1946) that tried Lieutenant General Masaharu Homma who commanded the 14th Army, and also at a Philippines tribunal (in 1949) that tried Major General Kawaguchi and Major General Yoshihide Hayashi, former chief of the Military Administration of the 14th Army. The Philippine

government made efforts to keep the memory of Abad Santos, a sitting Supreme Court Chief Justice who was executed by Japanese troops, alive in the minds of the public. For example, in 1949 President Elpidio Quirino designated May 15th as “Jose Abad Santos Day” to celebrate Abad Santos as “an example of personal integrity and rectitude, patriotism and self-sacrifice, and loyalty to the cause of human dignity and freedom.” Presidents that followed (including current President Rodrigo R. Duterte) also regard Abad Santos as a “hero” of the Philippines, and pay him respects.

On the other hand, Abad Santos’ wife Amanda never got over losing her husband. It is said that she clad herself in black (mourning attire) every day, and lived with sadness. After the war, his bereaved family requested to exhume and rebury Abad Santos’ remains. However his remains have not been found even 76 years after his death.

Conclusion

In 2016, on the 60th anniversary of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Philippines, the Emperor, accompanied by the Empress, visited the Philippines, and said the following at the dinner party (on January 27th) hosted

by President Benigno Aquino III: “Last year Japan marked the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II. During this war, fierce battles between Japan and the United States took place on Philippine soil, resulting in the loss of many Filipino lives and leaving many Filipinos injured. This is something we Japanese must never forget and we intend to keep this engraved in our hearts throughout our visit.” The Emperor repeatedly mentioned the hardships endured by the people of the Philippines under the Japanese occupation even before visiting the country. Just as the experience of *hibakusha* (A-bomb survivors) of Hiroshima and Nagasaki may not be well known in other countries, the voices of war victims in the Philippines do not often reach the ears of the Japanese public. The Japan-Philippines relationship in recent years seems good, but the perception gap between the two countries about the war remains wide. In the Pacific War, it is said that 1.1 million Filipinos lost their lives. The story of the Abad Santos family is reminiscent of the suffering brought on by the war with Japan, and a reminder that the current Japan-Philippines friendship is a fabric woven with numerous strands of pain for many Filipinos.

(Professor at HPI)

DIARY

May 1 — November 30, 2017

- ◆ **May 13** Akiko Naono gives lecture on how to pass on the memories of the atomic bombing to the coming generations at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **May 23** Robert Jacobs presents lecture to students from Southern Illinois University at HPI.
- ◆ **May 23 and 24** Narayanan Ganesan delivers lectures on Principles of Public Administration for faculty at Yangon University, Myanmar.
- ◆ **May 25** Ganesan delivers public lecture on Recent Developments in Southeast Asian International Relations, Mandalay University, Myanmar.
- ◆ **May 26** Ganesan delivers public lecture on Recent Developments in Southeast Asian International Relations, Yadanabon University, Myanmar. ▽ Jacobs presents lecture to graduate students from Georgetown University, Qatar at HPI.
- ◆ **May 27** Xianfen Xu delivers presentation on, “Argument against Hegemony in 1970s” at a symposium held in Jiangsu province by Suzhou University of Science and Technology.
- ◆ **May 28** Jacobs presents lecture to members of the Royal College of Defense Studies at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jun. 1** Yasuhito Fukui exchanges opinions with the Congressional Member Study Tour to Japan at Naka Ward, Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Jun. 11** Kazumi Mizumoto attends the 3rd meeting on Peace Declaration organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Jun. 12** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Children and Peace Education: The Experience of Atomic Bombing in Hiroshima and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” at Hijiya University, Faculty of Contemporary Culture, in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **Jun. 16** Mizumoto attends as member the 1st meeting of advisory committee to promote Peace Tourism, organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
- ◆ **Jun. 16–17** Hyun Jin Son attends NAPCI (North Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative) meeting held in Seoul.
- ◆ **Jun. 17** Makiko Takemoto presents paper, “Peace Movements in the Twentieth Century: on the Case of Germany” at the Annual Meeting of Historical Studies of Senshu University in Kawasaki.
- ◆ **Jun. 19** Gen Kikkawa attends an event celebrating ABCC-RERF’s 70th anniversary at Hiroshima Prefectural Medical Association Hall.
- ◆ **Jun. 29** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Current World Situation of Nuclear Weapons” at the training course for recounters of atomic bomb experiences, organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 9** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Inhumanity of Nuclear Weapons and Inhumanity of War” at the 3rd training meeting of “International Youth Conference for Peace in the Future (IYCFR) Hiroshima 2017” organized by the Hiroshima Municipal Board of Education, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **Jul. 10** Mizumoto gives lectures on, “Inhumanity of Nuclear Weapons and Inhumanity of the War” and “the Experience of the Atomic Bombing and Japan’s Nuclear Policies” at the lecture series “An Interdisciplinary Survey on War and Peace” at Hiroshima University, Higashi-Hiroshima Campus.
- ◆ **Jul. 12** Mizumoto attends as discussant the 2nd Expert Workshop on Nuclear Security “A Way to Promote Multilateral Cooperation in Northeast Asia”, Session II “Regional Cooperation on the Issues of Nuclear Damage Liability and its Compensation” organized by the Sejong Institute, held in Tokyo.
- ◆ **Jul. 13–14** Xu gives lecture, “Documents on Japanese Foreign Relations and Interpretation of China-Japan Relations” at the Summer Institute of “Contemporary History: Literature and Measure” organized by Guangdong Eastern History Foundation.
- ◆ **Jul. 14** Mizumoto attends the 4th meeting on Peace Declaration organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
- ◆ **Jul. 16** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Nuclear Arms Race and Nuclear Disarmament” for the Peace Club of Junior and Senior High School Students organized by and held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 22** Akihiro Kawakami gives report titled, “The Matsushita Theory and Constitutional Law Theory – On the concepts of the Constitution, local autonomy, and peace” at the lecture titled “Is Japan currently democratic? – Verifying the Keiichi Matsushita Theory,” hosted by the Hokkaido Jichitai Academic Association Saturday Lecture Executive Committee at Hokkai-Gakuen University.
- ◆ **Jul. 24–25** Son gives lecture, “Nuclear, Human Rights in North Korea and Unification of the Korean Peninsula” at Gakushuin University, in Tokyo.
- ◆ **Jul. 26** Mizumoto serves as vice-chair at the 21st meeting of the of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 27** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Hiroshima and Peace: the Danger of Nuclear Weapons and the Atomic-Bombing Experience” at the lecture series “War and Peace seen from the Medical Studies” at Hiroshima University, Kasumi Campus in Hiroshima City. ▽ Jacobs presents plenary talk at the Twelfth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Jul. 28** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Hiroshima and Peace” at training course for domestic journalists organized by the City of

- Hiroshima, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆**Jul. 31** Mizumoto attends as member the 2nd meeting of advisory committee to promote Peace Tourism, organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
 - ◆**Aug. 5** Takemoto gives lecture, “What is peace? Reflections from Hiroshima” at the Hiroshima Peace Camp held at Hiroshima City University.
 - ◆**Aug. 7-9** Ganesan trains the Myanmar civil service at Bamaw, Kachin state, Myanmar.
 - ◆**Aug. 11** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Understanding the Different Cultures: Ethnicity, Culture and Religion” and, “the Inhumanity of War and the Inhumanity of Nuclear Weapons” at the training program of “Global Future *Juku* in Hiroshima” organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held in Higashihiroshima City.
 - ◆**Aug. 16** Mizumoto gives special lecture, “The Current State and Tasks of Peace Research” at a training program for Level II Certified Nursing Administrators organized by and held at the Hiroshima Nursing Association.
 - ◆**Sep. 4** Kawakami gives report titled, “Learning from the idea and movement of outlawry of war” at a seminar hosted by Article 9 Society for Global Peace Charter in Tokyo.
 - ◆**Sep. 4-6** Ganesan trains the Myanmar civil service in Lashio, Northern Shan State, Myanmar.
 - ◆**Sep. 11** Mizumoto attends as member the 3rd meeting of advisory committee to promote Peace Tourism, organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
 - ◆**Sep. 26** Jacobs presents invited lecture in the Physics Colloquia at the University of Chicago commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Chicago Pile-1 experiment. ▽ Son participates in workshop, “The present situation of North Korean workers abroad and the actual condition of human rights and improvements,” and debate on, “The present situation of North Korean workers’ actual conditions of human rights and improvements in Poland.”
 - ◆**Sep. 27** Jacobs presents lecture to students at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois USA.
 - ◆**Sep. 29** Jacobs participates in a panel discussion at the Atomic Age IV Symposium at the University of Chicago in the USA.
 - ◆**Oct. 3** Kikkawa attends the UNIDIR Fellows Welcome Reception at Rihga Royal Hotel Hiroshima.
 - ◆**Oct. 4** Kikkawa attends the 3rd Board of Directors Meeting in FY 2017 of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation in Hiroshima. ▽ Ganesan delivers public lecture on Myanmar’s Ethnic Peace Process, CASA Asia, Madrid, Spain. ▽ Takemoto gives lecture, “Regional Peace and International Community – the Case of Cambodia”, Casa Asia, Madrid, Spain.
 - ◆**Oct. 12-14** Son attends NAPCI Network and presentation on “Role of Japan in NAPCI Network” at a workshop held in Seoul by the Sejong Institute.
 - ◆**Oct. 19** Naono gives keynote speech on the history of the atomic bomb survivors’ movements at the 50th anniversary gathering of Hiroshima Consumers’ Cooperative Union.
 - ◆**Oct. 20** Xu delivers a presentation on “The Study on the Chinese Communist Party by Japanese Academic Circles” at a symposium held in Shanghai City by the World Institute of Chinese Studies, Shanghai Academy of Social Science.
 - ◆**Oct. 21** Xu delivers a presentation on, “Empirical Study on the Diplomatic Negotiations of the Normalization of Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations” at the Zhongshan Forum held in Nanjing City by Centre for Asia-Pacific Development Studies, Nanjing University.
 - ◆**Oct. 27** Fukui delivers a presentation “The Treaty of prohibition of nuclear weapons under international law” at Nuclear Forum, held at Meiji University.
 - ◆**Oct. 31** Mizumoto attends as member the 4th meeting of advisory committee to promote Peace Tourism, organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the City Hall.
 - ◆**Nov. 2** Ganesan delivers a public lecture on History, Politics and the Ethnic Peace Process in Myanmar, Freiburg University, Germany.
 - ◆**Nov. 3** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Contributions for International

- Peace” at a training program for Level III Certified Nursing Administrators organized by and held at the Hiroshima Nursing Association. ▽ Ganesan delivers a public lecture on Myanmar’s Ethnic Peace Process, Stiftung Asienhaus, Cologne, Germany. ▽ Takemoto gives lecture, “Pacifism and Peace Movements in Germany and Japan” held by the German-Japanese Society at the Catholic Family Education Centre in Bonn, Germany.
- ◆**Nov. 6** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Moral Education in Hiroshima: Hiroshima & Peace—the Experience of Atomic Bombing and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” at Hijiya University, Faculty of Contemporary Culture, in Hiroshima City.
- ◆**Nov. 7** Mizumoto serves as vice-chair at the 22nd meeting of the of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima. ▽ Hitoshi Nagai gives lecture, “When We Say ‘Hiroshima’: Rethinking through the History on the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines” for the students of Hiroshima Jogakuin Senior High School, held at Hiroshima Jogakuin Junior & Senior High School.
- ◆**Nov. 9** Kawakami gives lecture on “What is the Constitution?” at the Christian Aishin High School in Gotsu City, Shimane Prefecture.
- ◆**Nov. 10** Mizumoto gives lecture, “Moral Education in Hiroshima: Hiroshima & Peace—the Experience of Atomic Bombing and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” at Hijiya University, Faculty of Contemporary Culture, in Hiroshima City.
- ◆**Nov. 11** Mizumoto gives lecture on the reality of atomic bombing in Hiroshima for Cambodian experts on education at the training program organized as one of the Cambodia Support Project sponsored by the Hiroshima Peace Contribution Network Committee, held in Hiroshima Prefecture. ▽ Son gives lecture, “Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, its present situation and prospects” at PCU-Nagasaki Council, in Nagasaki.
- ◆**Nov. 13-18** Fukui attends the meeting of a Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) held at the United Nations Office at Geneva.
- ◆**Nov. 15-19** Son attends NAPCI Forum 2017 meeting held in Seoul.
- ◆**Nov. 16-17** Mizumoto attends the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Forum 2017 organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea, the Sejong Institute and others, held in Seoul. Mizumoto gives report on, “Nuclear Threat in Northeast Asia: from the Viewpoint of Civil Society in Hiroshima” at the Regional Security Session Breakout A.
- ◆**Nov. 18** Takemoto presents paper on, “Anti-nuclear Movement and Consciousness of Nuclear Power in West Germany” at a monthly meeting of the World Political Research Group held at Tokyo University.
- ◆**Nov. 22** Son gives lecture, “Korean Peninsula Situation: Status and Prospect of North Korean Nuclear Issue” at Kinki University Program in “Asia Community Formation: Politics, Economics, Management”
- ◆**Nov. 23** Son attends as co-researcher the Open Symposium, “How to Confront the Nuclear Threat” at Tokyo University.
- ◆**Nov. 25** Mizumoto gives report, “An Analysis of Recent Trends and Debates on Nuclear Weapons” at a public lecture meeting organized by the Advisory Research Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the Museum. ▽ Takemoto presents paper on, “Linkage between anti-nuclear weapons and anti-nuclear energy movement in Germany” at the Autumn Conferences of the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) at Kagawa University. ▽ Kawakami gives report titled, “The Constitution and Nuclear Power” at the Global Hibakusha Workshop of the PSAJ Autumn Conference at Kagawa University.
- ◆**Nov. 26** Mizumoto attends as discussant Session 5, “The Tasks for Peace in Korean Peninsula and Japan—Recent Trends and Prospects” at the Autumn Conference of PSAJ, held at Kagawa University.
- ◆**Nov. 29-30** Fukui attends and exchanges opinions at the 27th UN Conference on Disarmament Issues at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.

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- Published by Editorial Committee (Akihiro KAWAKAMI, Kazumi MIZUMOTO, Robert JACOBS, Xianfen XU), Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University 3-4-1, Ozuka-higashi, Asaminami-ku, Hiroshima, 731-3194 Japan
Phone: +81 (0)82 830 1811 Fax: +81 (0)82 830 1812 E-mail: office-peace@peace.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp
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