

# HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

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## HPI Co-hosted International Symposium with Nagasaki University and Chugoku Shimbun

“Promoting a Nuclear-Free Northeast Asia:

The Pursuit of a Nuclear-Free World from Hiroshima and Nagasaki”

Kazumi Mizumoto

On July 28 the Hiroshima Peace Institute held an international symposium entitled “Promoting a Nuclear-Free Northeast Asia: The Pursuit of a Nuclear-Free World from Hiroshima and Nagasaki.” Co-hosted with the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) of Nagasaki University, and the Chugoku Shimbun, the symposium was aimed at examining the feasibility of denuclearizing Northeast Asia, a region in which deep-rooted diplomatic tensions remain. The event opened with keynote speeches and then moved on to presentations by panelists, panel discussions, and a report from a citizen. The symposium was held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima and was attended by approximately 200 citizens.

### Keynote Speeches

#### A Northeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone: A Comprehensive Approach Is Required

**Hiromichi Umebayashi** Director of RECNA, Nagasaki University



Recent discussions about a Northeast Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone (hereafter NWFZ) seem more focused on practical approaches to this issue, as seen at a workshop organized by the US Nautilus Institute held in Tokyo in November last year. This is a marked difference from previous discussions. For example, in the early 1990s Dr. John E. Endicott, who was then a professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology, the US, and others proposed a NWFZ with a radius of 2,000 kilometers with the Korean Peninsula as its center. However, a drawback of this proposal was that it only addressed non-strategic nuclear weapons.

As a consequence, in 1996 I developed a “Three-Plus-Three Arrangement” which proposed that the three countries of Japan, South and North Korea constitute a NWFZ, and the three nuclear-weapon states (hereafter NWSs) of the US, Russia and China pledge not to attack or threaten this zone with nuclear weapons. I further developed a model treaty in which the Preamble clearly states that Northeast Asia is the only region in the world where nuclear weapons have been used in war and where there are a great number of *hibakusha* even today. It also stipulates that the state parties to the treaty shall undertake to eliminate all dependence on nuclear weapons in all aspects of their security policy, and to diffuse education on nuclear disarmament. The treaty has three objectives: i) the eradication of causes of competition in nuclear development between Japan and South and North Korea; ii) the development of a cooperative security framework for the region;

and iii) a contribution towards global nuclear abolition.

Following the creation of this model treaty, there have been both positive and negative developments: positively, the start of the Six-Party Talks, and negatively, two nuclear tests carried out by North Korea. Regarding the former, although in practice the Talks have been suspended, this international framework still exists to provide the states involved with a forum to discuss future denuclearization of the region. Regarding the latter, on the other hand, North Korea has justified its nuclear tests as they were for the purpose of “retaining nuclear deterrence as a means of self-defense.” This claim needs to be analyzed carefully.

At the aforementioned workshop, former US government official Morton H. Halperin presented a proposal for a comprehensive agreement on peace and security in Northeast Asia which includes the establishment of a NWFZ in the region, in addition to bringing the state of belligerency from the Korean War to an end and establishing a permanent council on security issues for the region. The time is now to push forward the plan for a Northeast Asian NWFZ. At present, the Japanese government is still occupied with the notion that North Korea’s abandonment of nuclear weapons should come before everything. However, pushing this plan forward could lead North Korea to abandon its dependence on nuclear weapons. In the meantime, there has been another positive change which is that support for this alternative approach has been spreading among some Japanese law-makers and policy-makers both within and outside Japan.

#### Challenges of Achieving a Northeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone: Latin America’s Experience

**Sergio Duarte** Former UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs (Brazil)



The history of the idea of a NWFZ dates back to 1958 when, out of concern for the possible nuclear armament of West Germany, the then Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki proposed the creation of one in Eastern Europe. This proposal was not realized due to antagonism between the US and the USSR. Nevertheless, a NWFZ was first realized in Antarctica in 1959, and then later in outer space, on the moon, on the seabed, and also in Latin America. At the same time, in 1975 the UN General Assembly defined the concept of a NWFZ, and in 1999 the UN Disarmament Commission presented recommendations on a set of principles and guidelines for the establishment of NWFZs in other parts of the world. Although by this time, treaties for NWFZs had already been concluded in the South Pacific, Southeast Asia and Africa, the definition and the principles and guidelines set down by the UN can still exert a significant influence on the future creation of NWFZs.

The establishment of a NWFZ in Northeast Asia is of great importance, along with another in the Middle East. A plan for holding a Middle East Conference in 2012 to pursue such a vision was agreed during the 2010 NPT Review Conference. An equivalent conference for Northeast Asia should be convened by the UN General Assembly. In both regions, nuclear weapons exist and the countries are suspicious of each other in the respective regions. This suspicion is the greatest hindrance to the realization of NWFZs which could otherwise contribute significantly to

nurturing mutual trust and easing regional tension.

In Latin America, in 1963 the Presidents of Brazil, Mexico and several other countries presented a joint declaration regarding the creation of a NWFZ in the region. It was followed by negotiations and four years later, the Treaty of Tlatelolco was signed. One of the catalysts behind this process was the fact that Latin American countries share the heritage of Iberian culture, and they had long been cooperating on social and economic issues.

In the West, in the 1960s the frightening concept of “mutual assured destruction” emerged which held that security could be guaranteed based on a balance of nuclear terror. In contrast, Latin American countries relied on the rule of law to reconcile their respective interests, including those related to nuclear issues. The Treaty of Tlatelolco became a model for four other NWFZ treaties that followed. The creation of NWFZs in the Middle East and Northeast Asia will make half of the globe denuclearized, which is a significant step forward towards nuclear abolition. What will be required next is to demand all the NWSs to ratify all of the existing NWFZ treaties, and to oblige them not to use nuclear weapons in those regions.

I sincerely hope that Northeast Asian countries will create a NWFZ with patience, realism and a constructive spirit in the not too distant future.

## Regional Efforts for Reducing Nuclear Danger and the Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul

**Cheon Seongwhun** Senior Research Fellow, the Korea Institute for National Unification (South Korea)



In 2003, Dr. Tatsujiro Suzuki (currently Vice-Chairman of the Japan Atomic Energy Commission) and I developed a vision of a Trilateral NWFZ in Northeast Asia. There were nine objectives behind this vision. The first was to promote a vision of a Northeast Asian NWFZ in a realistic way, that is involving North and South Korea and Japan since the two Koreas have concluded a joint declaration on denuclearization in 1991, and Japan has the Three Non-Nuclear Principles. Second, to give legally binding power to these declaration and Principles. Third, to move forward to the realization of the inter-Korean declaration. Fourth, to prevent further nuclear development by North Korea. Fifth, to remove international suspicion of nuclear developments by South Korea and Japan. Sixth, to promote cooperation between South Korea and Japan in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Seventh, to contribute to international efforts towards nuclear non-proliferation. Eighth, to promote peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia. And ninth, ultimately to develop a security framework in the region.

However, this vision faces two serious impediments. The first is the suspected nuclear development of North Korea which

has quadrupled its plutonium production capacity, pushed forward a plan for nuclear weapon development, conducted two nuclear tests, and instigated uranium enrichment. The Kim Jong Un regime which came to power in April has made amendments to the DPRK Constitution to the effect that its Preamble stipulates that the DPRK is now a “nuclear-armed state.” The second impediment is Japan. Several laws such as the Atomic Energy Basic Law stipulate that the use of nuclear energy should “contribute to Japan’s national security.” Similarly, the Basic Space Law stipulates that space development and its utilization should “contribute to Japan’s national security.” These statements are causing skepticism in international society regarding Japan’s real intentions.

On the other hand, there are some promising signs. The Nuclear Security Summit which was held in Seoul in March this year was concluded successfully. Representatives of 53 states and four international organizations participated and had lively discussions on various issues such as the prevention of nuclear terrorism and the protection of nuclear materials. I believe that guaranteeing both the safety and security of nuclear energy will lead to safer and more responsible control of nuclear materials.

## China’s Nuclear Policy: The Pursuit of a Unified Nation

**Hisako Iizuka** Researcher on Contemporary Chinese Political Issues



Since conducting its first nuclear test in 1964, China has maintained a double standard in its nuclear policy: while it holds to policies of no first use of nuclear weapons, minimum nuclear deterrence and nuclear abolition, it continues nuclear development and maintains good diplomatic relations with North Korea. This situation is generating international distrust against China.

China’s nuclear development dates back to the Korean War which it entered after abandoning its desire to unite with Taiwan. During this war, China faced a nuclear threat from the US. China decided to instigate nuclear development in 1955, and despite the termination of technical assistance from the USSR, it continued this development by itself and conducted its first nuclear test in 1964. At the same time, China has to this day maintained its opposition to the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which was concluded in 1963, and similarly opposed the NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) until 1992.

The issue of national unification is of primary concern to China. As a consequence, while the enhancement of military capacity was prioritized over economic development during the

Mao Zedong era, following his death equal importance has been given to these two policy priorities. It appears that North Korea is attempting to strengthen its international status through the possession of nuclear weapons. This is the exact same path that China followed. As a result, China has no rationale upon which to oppose North Korea since denying North Korea’s nuclear possession would also deny China’s own nuclear possession. At the same time, however, North Korea’s nuclear possession may create diplomatic instability between the two countries.

For China, whose land area is 25 times that of Japan, the issue of national unification is not confined to diplomatic issues within Northeast Asia. Yet, the stabilization within the region is indeed indispensable for achieving national unification. The denuclearization of North Korea and also of the whole region will benefit China itself. Therefore support should be given to China’s call for nuclear abolition, and the effectiveness of its nuclear deterrence should be weakened. Japan, as an atomic-bombed country, can surely lead this effort.

## Fukushima and Nuclear Abolition: Thoughts from Hiroshima and Nagasaki

**Yumi Kanazaki** Editorial Writer at the Chugoku Shimbun



Since the nuclear disaster at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in March last year, it has been widely discussed how Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two atomic-bombed cities which aspire for nuclear abolition, should address the issue of nuclear power generation. We are also addressing this issue in our newspaper, *The Chugoku Shimbun*. The discussion on nuclear power plants in Japan is inseparable from the call for nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and abolition, and also from the pursuit of a NWFZ in Northeast Asia.

A key factor in this discussion is Japanese policy towards the nuclear fuel cycle. Japan is the only country which is party to the NPT without possessing nuclear weapons, and at the same time carries out the recycling of spent nuclear fuel and the production and recycling of plutonium. In fact, Japan already has 45 tons of plutonium in storage which is the equivalent of 5,000 Nagasaki-type atomic bombs.

The US is alarmed by the current position of South Korea which has stated that if Japan is allowed to carry out nuclear reprocessing, it should also be entitled to do so. At the same time, within Japan there are some people who advocate Japan maintaining the capability to develop nuclear weapons through the retention of its nuclear power plants and reprocessing facilities.

During the NPT Preparatory Committee meeting held in Vienna from April to May this year, the Japanese representative stated that Japan is determined to “share with the international community further knowledge and lessons learned from the Fukushima accident, ... promote the highest levels of nuclear safety worldwide,” and cooperate with the international community “on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.” This statement sounded as if he was saying that the Fukushima disaster was an unexpected natural disaster. In contrast, some countries such as Austria showed a cautious stance towards nuclear power plants which “can never be 100 percent safe.”

The NPT has the three pillars of nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and the guarantee of the right to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Prior to the Fukushima disaster, the focus of our discussions was largely placed on the first pillar of nuclear disarmament. Now, however, we must make comprehensive efforts, including advocating the expansion of NWFZs and the negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention. At the same time, problems pertaining to the “peaceful uses of nuclear energy” should also be thoroughly addressed and the policies of the Japanese government carefully monitored. This stance is also required for the media.

HPI Co-hosted International Symposium with Nagasaki University and Chugoku Shimbun	Kazumi Mizumoto	1-3
The Opening of RECNA: To Become a New Hub for the Realization of a World without Nuclear Weapons	Satoshi Hirose	4
HPI Lecture Series for Citizens of Hiroshima (First Term 2012) “The Present Trend of the Democratization in the World”		5
My Approach to Peace Studies Vol. 3 “Peace Studies for Me Means Peace Psychology and Peace Education”	Takehiko Ito	6-7
Diary		8



## Panel Discussion I A Vision of a Northeast Asian NWFZ

**Moderator (hereafter Mizumoto):** Are there any comments on the speech delivered by Dr. Umebayashi?

**Cheon:** In the present environment, I doubt the feasibility of including North Korea in a proposal for a Northeast Asian NWFZ.

**Umebayashi:** There seem to be some misunderstandings about this proposal. For example, the Nautilus Institute developed its own idea which proposes that Japan and South Korea first create a NWFZ, which North Korea would join at a later date. I am opposed to this idea. North Korea should be included from the very beginning, and therefore the creation of a NWFZ and the denuclearization of North Korea should be implemented in parallel.

**Iizuka:** North Korea under the Kim Jong Un regime seems to be

presenting a “soft” image of itself. This must be a good opportunity to encourage North Korea to denuclearize itself.

**Umebayashi:** We don't have access to enough information at the moment, so it is too early to speculate about the prospect. North Korea's intentions should be viewed with an objective attitude. The priority for North Korea is likely to be maintaining the current regime. In any case, it is important to acknowledge North Korea as a partner and to continue negotiations.

**Duarte:** The ongoing developments in the Middle East and the past experiences of Latin America may lead to the realization of a Northeast Asian NWFZ. One way towards this realization may be for the UN Secretary-General to create a special committee to push forward this vision.

## Report from a Citizen

**Keisaburo Toyonaga** Director of the Hiroshima Branch, the Association of Citizens for the Support of South Korean Atomic Bomb Victims

For the past 40 years, I have been involved in activities to support foreign and Japanese *hibakusha* who experienced the atomic bombings in Hiroshima or Nagasaki, and who subsequently returned to their home countries such as South and North Korea, China and Taiwan, or in the case of Japanese *hibakusha*, moved abroad. For the benefit of South Korean *hibakusha*, we established the Hiroshima branch of the Association of Citizens to support them in 1973, and since 1989 I visit South Korea every year to maintain ties and to continue record-taking. Our comprehensive support includes providing assistance when they apply for an A-bomb Health Book, the procedure for which

previously required witnesses and could only be carried out in Japan, and also when they decide to instigate lawsuits if their applications for an A-bomb Health Book are declined. Our greatest concern has been *hibakusha* in North Korea with which Japan does not have diplomatic relations. These North Korean *hibakusha* are definitely in need of humanitarian support. For the past two years, we have been organizing A-bomb exhibitions in Daegu, South Korea. We hope that our activities as a whole will be of some help in the efforts to achieve the denuclearization of Asia.



## Panel Discussion II Discussion on Panelists' Speeches

**Mizumoto:** Dr. Cheon, what do you think about the feasibility of a Northeast Asian NWFZ and Japan's nuclear policy?

**Cheon:** The possibility for the realization of a NWFZ between South and North Korea and Japan which I proposed 10 years ago is, at present, “zero percent.” The proposal is based on the premise that North Korea abandons nuclear weapons, but the country has been the largest obstacle. The amendments to the Atomic Energy Basic Law of Japan are causing international concern that Japan will discard its Three Non-Nuclear Principles.

**Mizumoto:** Is it possible to expect that China will cooperate in efforts towards the realization of a Northeast Asian NWFZ?

**Iizuka:** The major obstacle is the emotional mutual distrust which exists between China and Japan. China suspects that Japan has the ability to develop nuclear warheads and missiles, and can possess nuclear weapons whenever it wishes. At the same time, Japan actually relies on its own nuclear deterrence. The

issue of the Atomic Energy Basic Law itself has not been criticized very much in China, but the South Korean reaction to it has appeared in media reports in China. Therefore it can be said that this issue has deepened the rift between Japan and China.

**Umebayashi:** China's possession of nuclear weapons needs to be analyzed within a global framework which considers the five NWSs. Solely a local perspective will not lead to China's nuclear disarmament.

**Mizumoto:** Ms. Kanazaki, what do you think about the danger of Japan's nuclear fuel cycle and the role of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

**Kanazaki:** The world is concerned about the possible nuclear armament of Japan which, despite having been atomic-bombed, continues to produce plutonium and has plans to build high-speed nuclear reactors. When they raise their voices, the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki need to relate the issue of nuclear abolition to that of nuclear power plants and the nuclear fuel cycle.

## Question and Answer Session with the Audience (excerpt)

—What attitudes are the NWSs taking towards NWFZs?

**Duarte:** All NWFZ treaties demand that the NWSs sign protocols in which they pledge not to launch nuclear attacks against the NWFZs. However, the NWSs make reservations and interpret these treaties as they see fit. Therefore it is necessary to tighten the obligations on the part of the NWSs.

—What is required for a normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and North Korea? And what implications can such a normalization have for the vision of denuclearization of Northeast Asia, and on the Japan-US and US-South Korea security alliances?

**Umebayashi:** A key to normalization is attributing real importance to the dialogue with North Korea, instead of recognizing only the South as a legitimate state. The nuclear deterrence of the Japan-US and US-South Korea security alliances relies not on short-range nuclear missiles deployed within the region, but on submarines and long-range missiles which the US deploys globally. In other words, the denuclearization of Northeast Asia will not necessarily affect the nuclear deterrence of those security frameworks. The realization of a Northeast Asian NWFZ should be pursued in parallel with diminishing the role of the security alliances.

—Is there an anti-nuclear power plant movement in China? China used to rely on its nuclear weapons. However, having experienced economic development, isn't it possible for China to strengthen its military power by other means?

**Iizuka:** Although there is no large-scale movement, some opposition movements are taking place in inland areas. Chinese political leaders assume that China can maintain its political influence through its possession of nuclear weapons. Therefore China will not abandon its weapons unless the US does the same.

—To what extent has North Korea opened up its uranium enrichment facility?

**Cheon:** When a group of American scientists visited North Korea in 2010, they were amazed by a state-of-the-art facility. When they visited the site a year earlier, there had been nothing there. However, after only one year, such an advanced facility had been constructed. It is highly likely that North Korea is still producing plutonium from enriched uranium.

—What are the commonalities and differences between the issues of nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons?

**Kanazaki:** The two issues cannot easily be separated from each other. When discussing the abolition of nuclear power plants, some people starts from the point of view of concern about nuclear armament, while others from the danger of nuclear power plants. Each case needs to be addressed with flexible approach. At the same time, Japan is still highly interested in exporting nuclear power technology. This may reveal that the Japanese government has little, if any, intention of abolishing its domestic nuclear power plants. The export of nuclear power technology should also be carefully monitored.

Pages 1-3 summarized by Kazumi Mizumoto

# The Opening of RECNA: To Become a New Hub for the Realization of a World without Nuclear Weapons

Satoshi Hirose

In April 2012, the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) was established at Nagasaki University. This research center is presumably the first and only public research institute in Japan, or even in the world, which is devoted to the clear and specific goal of the abolition of nuclear weapons. It can well be imagined that the establishment of such an institute has long been a hope of many Nagasaki citizens. That hope has finally come true, partly pushed forward by US President Obama's speech in Prague in 2009, and also by the yearning voices of aging *hibakusha*. With fewer than ten researchers altogether, including part-time members, it could be argued that the center may not necessarily be of significant size. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this small size will instead work for keeping our team well-focused and functional, and thus able to make an effective contribution towards the abolition of nuclear weapons.

There are three main aims behind the establishment of RECNA: i) to make relevant information available and develop proposals regarding the abolition of nuclear weapons at various levels based on academic research; ii) to engage in education which can induce self-motivated dedication among students through utilizing research activities and their outcomes; and iii) to become a think tank which is open to global as well as local citizens who are eager for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

RECNA's specific research activities which are aimed at the future abolition of nuclear weapons can largely be categorized into three types: i) research and analysis on specific themes such as the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Northeast Asia; ii) continuous monitoring of international negotiations on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, such as those held at the NPT Review Conferences, the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva, and the First Committee of the UN General Assembly; and iii) collection and management of information and data relating to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. At the same time, we are attempting to establish links both within Japan and abroad with research institutions such as HPI, as well as international organizations and NGOs that are devoted to working towards nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

The outcomes of our research and analysis will be disseminated as widely as possible in both Japanese and English through various means such as a regularly published newsletter, annual reports, and also through digital media. However, we should always keep in mind that research activities aimed at the ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons must be oriented to practical solutions instead of being confined to purely academic, theoretical discussions. In this respect, we are taking the position that solely publishing academic papers will not be sufficient, and therefore we must make efforts to generate popular support for the abolition of nuclear weapons. For this purpose, we plan to provide citizens with opportunities to learn more about these issues through such means as organizing public lectures and seminars, and creating

webpages where visitors can obtain basic knowledge relating to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation or read columns on related current situations and problems. We are also seeking various other means to utilize our work effectively, including developing research outcomes into specific policy proposals which can be passed on to governments and related international organizations.

In terms of continuous monitoring of international negotiations on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, we are already sharing our opinions concerning the NPT and CD on blogs within RECNA's website. There is also a database within the same website where citizens can access previously collated information and materials related to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. This database is open to all citizens and is expected to become richer in content as we are planning to include Japanese translations of important treaties, reports and declarations which have not been easily obtainable or not yet available in Japanese. We are further endeavoring to develop a list of references which will facilitate a better use of the resources in the database.

Additionally, as a part of a university, we bear the responsibility of utilizing specific research outcomes for the benefit of education. At present, we are not taking in students, since RECNA is not an academic department as such. Instead, we are offering a module entitled "Towards a World without Nuclear Weapons" as part of the university's liberal arts program. Other educational endeavors include the establishment of a group named "RECNA supporters," consisting of university and high school students, including Nagasaki University students, who are interested in the activities of RECNA, so that members may participate in volunteer work for the center or organize study sessions. Supporting the activities of the younger generation is clearly one of RECNA's important missions in its efforts to realize the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The former President of Nagasaki University, Dr. Hideo Tsuchiyama, who has made a significant contribution to the establishment of RECNA and who is now an advisor, once stated that in order to realize the abolition of nuclear weapons, both a rational mind and sensibility are indispensable. At the same time, however, the world-renowned Norwegian scholar of peace studies, Dr. Johan Galtung, has criticized the lack of thorough analysis and realistic proposals in calls for nuclear abolition from Japan. With these words in mind, we are determined to strive to develop RECNA with a clear understanding that it is RECNA's responsibility and *raison d'être* to become a solid foothold for raising voices for the abolition of nuclear weapons in a logical and convincing manner.

Vice-Director of RECNA

RECNA's website <http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en-top/>

# The Present Trend of the Democratization in the World

Recently, democratization movements are spreading around the world, with the notable example being the Arab Spring in the Middle East and North Africa which began towards the end of 2010. These movements have drawn international attention as they represent a new way for citizens to participate in politics which utilizes social networks such as Facebook and Twitter. This can also be observed in other grass-roots movements such as the “Occupy Wall Street” demonstrations against political and economic inequality in the US, and the anti-nuclear power plant movements in Japan. However, there are issues which have not been addressed yet to a sufficient degree such as the ultimate goal of the Arab Spring, its possible future course, the possible consequences for former political leaders, and its possible influence on other regions of the world.

Based on these questions, HPI's latest Lecture Series focused on the democratization processes in South Korea, Myanmar and the Arab world. It was aimed at examining various contemporary democratization movements in terms of their present situations, historical significance and possible influence on Japan. The three lectures which were delivered by two HPI researchers and a faculty member of Hiroshima City University examined the cases of the two countries and the area, and also their respective influences on other countries such as the US and Japan, thus deepening and enlivening the discussion. The summaries of each lecture are as follows.

## Lecture 1 The Democratization Movement in Korea: Development Process and Implications for Today

(May 25)

The first lecture examined the case of South Korea in order to gain a clear understanding of its historical significance and possible lessons for the future. Since the end of WWII, South Korea has been under the dictatorships of Rhee Syng-man, Park Chung-hee, Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo. The political awareness of South Korean citizens was gradually raised through the democratization movements of 1960 and 1980. The student-led June Democracy Movement and the subsequent 6.29 Declaration in 1987 facilitated South Korea's shift towards a democratic political system. According to Kim, the role of students as the main actors in the movements was significant, and their ideals were derived from previously developed nationalism which aspired to

national independence and unification. Their objectives also included the overthrow of the then dictatorial government. These factors were the driving force behind the democratization movement in South Korea, even after 1987 when the main actors of the movement shifted from anti-regime students to citizens' groups. Kim examined the previous achievements and limitations of the citizens' democratization movement. He also emphasized that both the alliances between the groups within the democratization movement, the “pact” agreed between these groups and the authorities, and the neutrality of the military were crucial to the democratization of Korea.



Sung Chull Kim, Professor at HPI

## Lecture 2 Recent Developments towards Democratization in Myanmar

(June 1)

The second lecture examined the case of Myanmar. After gaining independence from the British Empire in 1948, Myanmar was under a military regime from 1962 which came to an end with the collapse of the government of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) in 1988. The political climate of the country changed further following the victory of the National League for Democracy (NLD) in the general election of 1990, and democratization has been pursued under the current government led by the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) which came to power in 2010. It may still be clear in most people's memories that the non-violent opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, recently returned to the political arena following many years of house arrest. In the lecture, Ganesan described the previous political developments in Myanmar while referring to its relations with the UK and Japan since the end of WWII. He

Narayanan Ganesan, Professor at HPI

then examined the characteristics of and differences between the previous military regime and the current government. The latter embarked upon democratization by means of introducing parliamentary and electoral systems, and expanding the scope of freedom of the press. However, according to Ganesan, Myanmar still faces several serious political and socio-economic problems: the still lingering influence of the national army in politics; unstable prices for goods and services; and severe deficiencies in medical services, education and agricultural output. Ganesan concluded the lecture by stating that in order to promote further democratization in Myanmar, it will be necessary not only to address these problems, but also to shift gradually to a civilian government and gain the support and cooperation of international society.



## Lecture 3 Rethinking the Arab Spring

(June 8)

Masaki Uno, Professor at the Faculty of International Studies, Hiroshima City University

The third lecture focused on the Arab Spring. Uno first pointed out the great importance of overcoming the Euro-centric dualistic perspective on the Western and Arab world which views them as “advanced and less advanced,” “democratic and non-democratic,” and “peaceful societies and war-mongering societies.” According to Uno, secular democratization in the West and non-secular democratization based on Islamic values in the Arab world must be clearly distinguished from each other. In other words, Arab countries are aiming at creating a non-European, Islamic political system; therefore the Arab Spring should not be viewed as the “democratization of non-democratic states” in the Western sense. The intensification of Islamism which has been observed during the course of the Arab Spring

was not only born out of anti-Americanism within the Arab world, but also developed as a counteraction to Islamophobia in Western society. In order to overcome one-sided perspectives, Uno stressed that the pro-Israel policy of the US in the Middle East should be changed. At the same time, people in Japan should seek to acquire multicultural perspectives in order to achieve mutual understanding with people in the Arab world. More specifically, they should change both their current tendency to impose a Western sense of values on the Arab world and the tendency to view the expansion of Islamism with skepticism.



Makiko Takemoto, Assistant Professor at HPI



This time Dr. Takehiko Ito of Wako University, whose specialization is peace psychology and peace education, will present the role of the study of peace psychology and discuss how peace can be realized, analyzed from the viewpoint of his academic field. He will also present a peace education project with which he has recently been involved.

## Peace Studies for Me Means Peace Psychology and Peace Education

**Takehiko Ito**

Within the field of Peace Studies, I concentrate my research on peace psychology and peace education, as well as on its implementation.

A group of students from Wako Elementary School, Tokyo, developed their own preamble to a national constitution:

In this place, everyone can live at ease, everyone can have safe and delicious meals with their families every day, schools are filled with laughter, no one is alone and sad, animals are well taken care of, we are trusted by people around the world, and people say “thank you” to each other even when they do not know each other. We vow to create such a happy country. (Mika Tsutsumi, 2012, *Seifu wa kanarazu uso wo tsuku* [Governments Always Tell Lies], Kadokawa SSC, Tokyo: 215)

I think this is a well thought-out, excellent definition of a state in peace. This resembles the definitions offered by the Norwegian scholar of Peace Studies, Johan Galtung. He defined peace as “the absence of violence,” and violence as ways which hinder the realization of the potentialities of individuals. The “potentialities” here mean not only people’s lives but also their personal development and relationships with others. In the medical sciences there is an approach to the analysis of diseases called the “bio-psycho-social model” which places equal importance on physical, psychological and social factors. This approach can also be applied to cases of war and violence since they deprive people of not only their lives and physical functions, but also their families, friends, teachers, jobs and all the rights that are normally taken for granted in a peaceful society. Since humans may have the potential to prevent some natural disasters, war and violence can obviously also be prevented. This is a basic concept in the field of peace psychology. In this connection, the Preamble to the UNESCO Charter is noteworthy: “[S]ince wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.” Construction of the “defences of peace” means that problems must be solved not through force of arms, but through non-violent means such as empathy, dialogue and

creative ideas. This requires people to acquire sound philosophy, knowledge and appropriate skills. One of the roles of the study of peace psychology is to investigate how people can achieve this.

Another important role of the field is to study human behavior, and how to predict and guide it in order to find ways to realize a peaceful society.

This can be further explained in the case of economic activity. Economic conflict is one of the crucial factors when analyzing war. In fact, it is widely acknowledged that oil money is a key factor in the conflict in the Middle East. The relationship between people and money can be analogized with that between people and alcohol. There are people who love alcohol and there are those others who do not. Similarly, some people see the pursuit of money as the aim of their lives, whilst others are indifferent to it (as we all were when we were babies). When we exchange goods or services, while direct allocation limits the number of recipients and barter is not always feasible, money is a symbolic medium of exchange. However, this medium is to some people a goal in itself. (This is often called “money fetishism.”) A Japanese proverb says “At the first cup, a person drinks *sake*; at the second, *sake* drinks *sake*; and at the third, *sake* drinks the person.” This means that as one keeps drinking alcohol, the person loses oneself. In a similar manner, the function of money which is supposed to be a medium of exchange may be changed to a means to make more money; then eventually it becomes a poison that gnaws away one’s body, mind and social relations. This situation is comparable to financial capitalism or, in the field of politics, neoliberalism which let a limited number of rich people behave just as they wish. This is the third stage in the above proverb where one has become an alcoholic and one’s body, mind and social relations are all undermined. This stage requires proper treatment, and the same can be said for the present world. Therefore, to identify how to “cure” such a social situation is also a role of the study of peace psychology.

The importance of studying human behavior may also be understood when viewing peace psychology in relation to one’s personal development:



1. For one's personal development and well-being, a peaceful environment without violence is essential. (Nevertheless, people can be strong enough to actualize their own will even in a violent environment. In this respect, it is noteworthy that post-traumatization personal development is also being studied.)
2. Unlike direct violence, structural violence is relatively invisible, as in the cases of unemployment, inequality, deprivation and discrimination, which are being worsened by the limited number of rich people and the military industry.
3. Cultural violence reinforces both direct and structural violence. For example, media reports do not necessarily tell the truth, thereby intensifying cultural violence. In this context, media literacy is indispensable for personal development and the improvement of society.

These points may indicate, in short, that personal development is closely connected with the realization of peace since a state in peace is a manifestation of people's potentialities. This may confirm the importance of studying human behavior, the outcomes of which will be utilized in "curing" today's world and making it a better place. It is this understanding that makes specialists in peace psychology contemplate a definition of "peace" in contrast to "violence."

The above argument may further lead to ideas relating to peace education. It can be discussed in relation to conflict resolution:

1. While conflict often causes violent destruction, it is also possible to derive opportunities for people's development from conflict. Here conflict can occur at various levels, from an argument in everyday life to global war.
2. Conflict resolution requires discipline in three areas, which are empathy, dialogue and creative thinking.
3. Training in these areas is being implemented in some schools from the elementary level. Specific methods include peer mediation and the "SABONA project," the latter of which is aimed at developing pupils' techniques to solve conflicts by changing their thinking through the use of a special mattress.
4. Methods of conflict resolution should not only be taught as mere "knowledge," but should also be applied to actual cases in daily life. Even unfruitful efforts can become meaningful experiences.

I've been involved in a research project which examines the practical effects of conflict resolution methods. My colleagues and I recently produced an animation DVD titled "A Way to Make Everyone Happy: Three Theories for Good Relationships" (2012). I have been studying the effects of the conflict resolution methods introduced in this DVD on people of various ages, from elementary school students to adults. At a workshop during a conference of the Japan Association of Applied Psychology that was held in September this year, the director of the animation, Ms. Yuko Takabe, talked about the DVD. It contains three short animation films and an accompanying booklet. The booklet explains the three peace education theories presented in the three animation stories respectively, and the booklet also contains sample methods for class delivery. I myself contributed to the booklet in which I presented the method called the "Transcend method" which attempts to transform the nature of a specific conflict. The three stories in the DVD are as follows:

1. **Johnny and Percy: The "my message" method for not exacerbating conflict** (7 min.)

At a time of conflict, it is sometimes difficult to express one's real thoughts and one becomes offensive instead. The method introduced here attempts to have both parties in conflict try to express their own thoughts by placing "myself" as a subject and to understand each other. In the animation, a penguin named Johnny and a seal named Percy solve their conflict over food by using this method. The animation was created by Mushi Production whose masterpieces include *Astro Boy*.

2. **Momotaro who does not wish to hunt the ogre: "Ho o'ponopono" for conflict resolution through dialogue** (10 min.)

Based on the Japanese folk tale *Momotaro*, this second story poses the question of whether the hero *Momotaro* really has to hunt the trouble-making ogre as in the original tale. The story depicts an attempt to resolve the conflict between the ogre and the villagers for whom the ogre is causing trouble by using the Hawaii-originated tradition called "Ho o'ponopono," an approach to conflict resolution by means of holding a discussion between all the parties involved. The animation employs the stop motion technique, using 15-centimeter-tall dolls and a diorama.

3. **Five ways to become happy: The "Transcend method" for constructive conflict resolution** (7 min.)

The last story is set in a classroom where students practice the Transcend method and have a constructive discussion in order to realize that there are many ways to solve a problem.

Prior to the workshop in September, Associate Professor Akihiro Sugita of Daito Bunka University, Professor Takayo Inoue of Meiji Gakuin University and I conducted research at a workshop using the third film to study the effects of the Transcend method. In the workshop, 71 participants used a specially-designed metric to observe changes in their approaches to conflict before and after the workshop. With the metric, one can measure the degrees of two factors: self-assertiveness and attentiveness to others. The results showed that a majority of the participants saw an increase in both of the two factors. Furthermore, in their comments afterwards, more than 70 percent of the respondents acknowledged the effectiveness of the method.

In August, another workshop was conducted with teachers of elementary, junior high and high schools, which again confirmed the effectiveness of the method. While I'm organizing the results into an academic paper, I'm seeking a future opportunity to conduct another workshop with elementary, junior high and high school students.

Professor Emeritus Hideo Fujita of Rissho University, who is a specialist in peace education, once pointed out that peace education should not be simple education about peace, but actual acquisition of how to create peace. It is crucial for one to acquire awareness of, knowledge about, and skills for conflict resolution and peace creation during one's childhood or adolescence. Peace education for children can also be an opportunity for teachers to learn themselves. Peace Studies for me means research on peace psychology and peace education. It will be an honor for me if my research can help facilitate mutual personal development for both children and adults.

*Faculty member at Wako University*



- ◆ **Jul. 4** Taeko Kiriya gives lecture "'Reconstruction' of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Hibakushas' View" to a group of students from the Secondary School attached to the Faculty of Education, the University of Tokyo, held at HPI.
- ◆ **Jul. 6** Robert Jacobs gives public lecture "Social Mobilization in Japan after Fukushima" in New Delhi, India.
- ◆ **Jul. 9** Mikiyoung Kim serves as Chair and discussant for the panel session "Global Justice—Local Democracy" of the Human Rights Section, during the 2012 World Congress of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), held in Madrid, Spain.
- ◆ **Jul. 9-18** Narayanan Ganesan organizes training workshops as part of the Peace and Reconciliation Project, in Yangon and Myitkyina, Myanmar.
- ◆ **Jul. 10** Mikiyoung Kim is elected to be Executive Secretary of the Human Rights Section, IPSA, during its 2012 World Congress.
- ◆ **Jul. 11** Jacobs presents paper "The Big Apple and the Giant Mushroom: Depictions of a Nuclear Attack on New York City, 1945-2012" at the annual meeting of the International Committee for the History of Technology, held in Barcelona, Spain.
- ◆ **Jul. 12** HPI Vice-President Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture "From the Development of the Atomic Bomb to Its Use on Hiroshima" at the training course for recounters of atomic bomb experiences, organized by Hiroshima City, held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 13** Mikiyoung Kim presents paper "Memory, Human Rights and Reconciliation in Inter-Korean Relations" at the international conference "The Korean Peninsula in a Changing East Asia," organized by and held at the Jeju Peace Institute, Jeju, Korea.
- ◆ **Jul. 17** Mizumoto gives lecture "The Current World Situation of Nuclear Weapons" at the training course for recounters of atomic bomb experiences, organized by Hiroshima City, held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 19** Mizumoto gives lecture "Challenges to the Present World: The Global Situation Surrounding Nuclear Power" at the Peace Education Course of Hiroshima International University, held at the university.
- ◆ **Jul. 21** Mizumoto gives lecture "How Should We Link the Atomic Bombing Experience to World Peace?" at the Hiroshima Peace Forum organized by the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 29** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Peace" at a training course for journalists organized by Hiroshima City, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Aug. 1-18** Ganesan organizes training workshops for ethnic minority groups and NGO workers as part of the Peace and Reconciliation Project, in Yangon, Mawlamyaing and Paan, Myanmar.
- ◆ **Aug. 2** Mizumoto participates in the 1st meeting of the Hiroshima Prefecture-entrusted "Project for Promotion of the NPT" organized by the Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, the Japan Institute of International Affairs, held at the Hiroshima Prefectural Office.
- ◆ **Aug. 3** Jacobs gives lecture "The Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as Seen from America" at the Peace Seminar 2012 of Bowling Green State University, hosted by and held at Hiroshima Jogakuin University.
- ◆ **Aug. 4** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Peace: The Danger of Nuclear Weapons" at the Peace Seminar 2012 of Bowling Green State University, hosted by and held at Hiroshima Jogakuin University.
- ◆ **Aug. 5** Mizumoto gives lecture "Tasks for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons towards the 2015 NPT Review Conference" at "2012 Peace Symposium in Hiroshima," organized by the Japanese Trade Union Confederation, the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs, and the National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons, held at the Hiroshima Kenminbunka Center.
- ◆ **Aug. 8** Mizumoto gives lecture "Tasks for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons towards the 2015 NPT Review Conference" at "2012 Peace Symposium in Nagasaki," organized by the Japanese Trade Union Confederation, the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs, and the National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Weapons, held at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum.
- ◆ **Aug. 10-11** Mizumoto gives presentation at "Part 1: Views and Experiences from Educators" in "Session 3: Designing and Implementing Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education," during the Global Forum on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education, co-organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the United Nations University, held at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum.
- ◆ **Aug. 25** Mizumoto gives presentation "Present Tasks and Japan's Role in Nuclear Disarmament: Observed from Hiroshima" at "Plenary Session 3: World Without Nuclear Weapon 2" during the 20th International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) World Congress "From Hiroshima to Future Generations," held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Aug. 30** Mikiyoung Kim gives two lectures "Japan-ROK Relations" and "Japan-ROK-DPRK Identity" at the Joint Foreign Area Officer (FAO) Program of the Naval Postgraduate School, the US, held at the Japan Foundation, Tokyo.
- ◆ **Sep. 3-4** Mizumoto participates in meetings of the Promotion Committee and the working group on nuclear issues of "A Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held at the Grand Prince Hotel Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Sep. 3-7** Ganesan organizes training workshops as part of the Peace and Reconciliation Project, in Mandalay, Myanmar.
- ◆ **Sep. 4** Mizumoto participates as a panellist in the "International Peace Forum, Hiroshima," held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Sep. 6** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima's Efforts to Contribute to International Peace: Support for Cambodia" at a training course of JICA which is entrusted by JICA and organized by the Hiroshima International Center, held at JICA Chugoku International Center, Higashihiroshima City.
- ◆ **Sep. 8** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Peace: The Atomic Bombing Experience and Contribution towards Peace" for the Cambodia Reconstruction Support Project, co-organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA, held at the Hiroshima Prefectural Office.
- ◆ **Sep. 13** Jacobs presents paper "Networking Global Hibakusha: Connecting Radiation Affected Communities Cross-generationally through New Social Media" at the international conference "Semipalatinsk Test Site: Radiation Legacy and Development Prospects," organized by the Institute of Radiation Safety and Ecology, Kazakhstan, held in Kurchatov, Kazakhstan.
- ◆ **Sep. 17** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons" to a group of Japanese and American students from the California University Program of Meiji Gakuin University, held at Aster Plaza, Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Sep. 24** Mizumoto serves as the Vice-Chair at the 12th meeting of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the museum.
- ◆ **Sep. 29** Mizumoto gives presentation "Hiroshima's Mission and Role for International Peace" at an open seminar of "The Training Course for Hiroshima Global Human Resources" organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and other organizations, held at the Hiroshima International Center.
- ◆ **Oct. 6** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima-originated Peace Activities in Asia: From an Experience in Cambodia" for the course "The Past and Future of Asia and Hiroshima" of Hiroshima-gaku (Hiroshima Studies) Seminar, organized by and held at Funakoshi Community Center, Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Oct. 15** Jacobs presents paper "Nuclear Zenith: 1962 as the Apex of Cold War Colonialism" at the international conference "1962, A World" organized by the National Centre of Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology and other organizations, held in Oran, Algeria.
- ◆ **Oct. 19** Jacobs presents paper "Finding America Hidden behind Hiroshima" at the annual meeting of the Society for Social Study of Science, held in Copenhagen, Denmark.
- ◆ **Oct. 20** Mizumoto gives lecture "The Danger of Nuclear Weapons and Memories of Hiroshima" at the open seminar "Memories of Nuclear Weapons: Linkages between Hiroshima, Kokura and Nagasaki" organized by the University of Kitakyushu, held at the university.
- ◆ **Oct. 31** Mizumoto gives lecture "How to Live in the International Age: Pursuing Nuclear Abolition and International Contributions from an A-bombing City" at a seminar for international understanding, held at Hatsukaichi High School, Hatsukaichi, Hiroshima Prefecture.

—Visitors—

- ◆ **Jul. 4** Students from the Secondary School attached to the Faculty of Education, the University of Tokyo.

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