

A Few Thoughts on the Past Year

By Haruhiro Fukui

Time, as the saying goes, flies like an arrow. It is indeed hard to believe that a year has passed since I arrived at Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI). Nonetheless, that is sufficient time for me to be able to stop and take stock of the latest phase of my life.

I arrived here last spring with a specific and ambitious goal in mind: to help build HPI into a world-class peace research institute by quickly adding to its fledgling research staff as many world-class scholars as possible.

Efforts to reach this goal had actually begun before I arrived. Advertisements placed in a variety of printed and electronic media both in Japan and overseas in January and February drew 96 applications from 14 countries. The list of candidates was whittled down to eight following a two-stage screening process conducted by a 10-member international panel. After interviews, four of the eight were offered jobs. Three accepted, and one declined. (Profiles of the three can be found in this and the previous issue of Hiroshima Research News.)

No sooner had the first search been completed than a second search followed in the autumn of 2001. This time, job advertisements appeared in more places, and for longer periods, than before. HPI received applications from 109 scholars in 23 countries. At the time of writing, five on the short list of those who have passed two rounds of screening have been interviewed and formal offers of appointment are expected shortly. I hope to see at least a few new appointments as a result. In any case, two more worldwide searches will be needed to fill several positions that are likely to remain vacant after the current search, and to bring HPI's research staff to its initially projected size.

Meanwhile, HPI's research and related programs and activities have progressed well over the past year. Two research projects initiated in 2000 one on nuclear disarmament in the 21st century and the other on the legitimacy and rationality of new interventionism are almost complete, with the publication of their final reports expected by the end of the year.

In late July, half a dozen international experts on disarmament attended an HPI-hosted symposium in Hiroshima to discuss the state of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. Ties have been cemented and expanded not only with local organizations, such as the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and atomic bomb survivors organizations, but also with those abroad, such as sister peace research institutes in Scandinavia and the United States.

All in all, the past year has been a good one both for HPI and for myself. Staying the course is the most sensible tack for us to follow in the coming year.

Fukui is president of HPI

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International Symposium

Competing Memories of Hiroshima: Quest for a New Role of "Hiroshima" for Peace and Reconciliation in the 21st Century

Narratives about experiences of the nuclear attack on Hiroshima, even when more than 50 years have lapsed since the event, are believed to add to the advocacy of peace.

With the passage of time, however, the task of passing down those experiences to future generations as lessons to be learned is becoming increasingly difficult.

In the meantime, memories of World War II and the atomic bombing give rise to conflicting ideas about the implications of the events and peace in the postwar period among people in Hiroshima, the rest of Japan, other Asian countries and the United States.

By examining and comparing different memories of the war and the bomb, we hope to reevaluate Hiroshima's message of peace and revitalize the city's role in the world. All those interested in this issue are invited to attend the symposium.

Panelists:

Prof. Kiichi Fujiwara
Graduate School of Law and Politics, Tokyo University

Prof. Martin J. Sherwin
Department of History, Tufts University

Prof. Bu Ping
Deputy director, Heilongjiang Social Sciences Academy

Dr. Sook-Jong Lee
Research fellow, Sejong Institute

Kazumi Mizumoto
Associate professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute

Date and time: Aug. 3 (Sat.), 2002 1:30 p.m.- 4:30 p.m.

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

Host: Hiroshima Peace Institute

How to Attend

Send a postcard to reach Hiroshima Peace Institute by July 31. Write your name, address, and telephone and fax numbers. Reservations can also be made by phone, fax or email. Up to 200 people can be accommodated on a first-come, first-serve basis.

Address: Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima Mitsui Building 12th floor,
2-7-10, Otemachi, Naka-ku, Hiroshima 730-0051, Japan

Tel: +81-82-544-7570 Fax: +81-82-544-7573

Email: office-peace@peace.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp

International Terrorism: A Provisional Assessment

By Christian P. Scherrer

We all saw the same horrific images on September 11, scenes that Hollywood could have invented: burning giant buildings in Manhattan, deliberately hit by airplanes, huge explosions, firestorms, desperate people jumping to certain death, huge structures collapsing one by one, the Pentagon burning – scenes like those in a war. But it was not a war, even though thousands of people died. The world's mightiest state seemed defenseless and confused.

What we saw on September 11 was the result of failed preventive efforts, missed opportunities, or quite the opposite of it, the result of decades of denial of development, democracy, freedom, and human rights to peoples in the South by those in the North, especially in places endowed with abundant resources or considered strategically important.

What was the aim of those who committed the aggressive acts? It was obviously to strike decisively and scare a whole nation by inflicting on it as much destruction as possible in both human lives and economic damage. They attacked the most powerful symbols of America – the symbol of its dominance of world trade and the headquarters of its mighty armed forces, though the airplane that crashed at the latter site was nowhere to be seen.

Who were the attackers? They were different from any hijackers we had known before. The hijackers were no cowards, but fanatics – firmly determined to fulfil a carefully planned suicide mission. The attackers, mainly from Saudi Arabia, were ready to commit ruthless mass destruction. They did nothing less than transform a civilian plane into a bombshell.

The Lack of an Agreed Definition of Terrorism

The U.N. General Assembly is working on drafts of a convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and a comprehensive convention on the elimination of terrorism. Progress has been blocked by the lack of an accepted definition of terrorism. It is a matter of considerable urgency to identify types of political violence that the international community regards as “unjustifiable.” Such types of political violence require the application of both preventive and repressive measures consistent with international law.

A definition ought to connote the essence of terrorism and the salient elements at work, and include both non-state and state actors as potential perpetrators of criminal acts. This may be phrased as: “Sporadic, repeated or systematic violent actions by either clandestine gangs or state elites who pursue illegitimate demands, aims, and/or interests are forms of terrorism, if such actors employ criminal or otherwise unjustifiable means characterized by serious violations of human rights, the committing of war crimes (as defined by the Geneva conventions) or crimes against humanity, thereby spreading fear and horror amongst defenseless populations by randomly or selectively targeting predominantly civilian victims.”

Differentiating Terrorism from Legitimate Struggles

The contradiction between the viewpoints captured by the cliché that one state's terrorist is another's freedom fighter has not ended with the Cold War. The question “How does one differentiate terrorism from the struggle for self-determination and to combat foreign occupation?” still makes it almost impossible to mold an international consensus on how to define non-state terrorism and, even worse, state terrorism. This does not mean

that we have no way of distinguishing heinous terrorist acts from liberation struggles. Terrorist acts violate international humanitarian law, especially such law as embodied in the Geneva conventions, since they target defenseless civilian populations rather than combatants and other military targets. But so did many acts of dirty war committed by a number of U.N. member states.

Sustained Structural, Cultural or Direct Violence Breeds Terrorism

Indeed, there are only a few ideologies capable of turning individuals into suicide warriors. Fanaticism must be based on a belief and a sense of belonging to a special group, no matter if the belief is tied to a religion or to its modern surrogate, nationalism, or to both. In contemporary history, suicide bombing has been rarely used by ethno-nationalists (e.g., most often by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, LTTE) but frequently by religious fundamentalists (Islamists, Hinduists and Christians) for whom religious and nationalist ideologies mix. Even states have used the same tool, as Japan did with its kamikaze pilots in World War II.

What are the driving forces behind international terrorism? Is it structural violence (Galtung), such as the daily toll of 100,000 deaths at the bottom of the world economic system? Or some 230 U.S. military interventions abroad? Historical guilt, such as the nearly total genocide of Native Americans, and 300 years of slavery? More recently, the U.S. bears direct or indirect responsibility for the death of more than 15 million people killed since 1947 by U.S. forces in such countries as Korea, Vietnam, Latin America, Libya, Iraq, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan.

Policy Failures Breed Terrorism

The United States is certainly a superpower in regard to military might and economic wealth. In the political sphere, however, America has failed to meet many people's expectations of global leadership. On the contrary, narrow vision and short-sightedness characterize U.S. policy in many areas. For decades the U.S. has had popularly elected leaders deposed and replaced with puppet military dictators in countries it considered parts of its own backyard, which embraces all of Latin America and beyond, and in those it considered as of strategic interest, such as the oil states in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

The U.S. seems isolated in regard to many global issues and a number of major policy failures occurred in recent years in such domains as justice (e.g., the campaign against the International Criminal Court), human rights (e.g., the policy failure in Durban), and ecology (e.g., the lone opposition to the Rio summit and the Kyoto protocol), as well as in its role in policing the world that has been assumed without U.N. mandate (e.g., the mess created in Iraq and the Balkans). Worse still, the U.S. is about to start a new arms race.

But the triggers for terrorist violence against the U.S. are found elsewhere: the most embarrassing U.S. policy failures have occurred in the Middle East. The weak resolve of the U.S. to bring the Oslo peace process back on track in the wake of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's Temple Mountain provocation, has been followed by non-response to the escalation of violence in the region, especially in the occupied territories. The United States could have played, as no other country could have, a critical role in calming the situation in the Middle East. The present

administration has, however, utterly failed to tame Israel's new aggressive policy that is arguably bordering on state terrorism. As the abuse of power, injustice, and sustained oppression continue unchecked in the Middle East and are allowed to reproduce political violence and terrorism, more "democidal" attacks against America are likely to occur in the future.

What Is New About September 11?

First to be clarified is exactly what is truly new about the threat of highly organized international terrorism. My assessment is that only the direction and target of this form of terrorism are new. It is pointed against the West and, *inter alia*, against the leading power, the United States. In the past, this type of terrorism was invented and financed for use against the East, but now it is used against the West. Obviously, something has gone wrong.

Former Iranian president Bani Sadr has called on U.S. political leaders to stop lying to their own people and to the world about the origins of September 11. Ahmed Rashid and others have revealed that the United States has nurtured Islamist terrorism for decades.

For example, one needs to look into developments in Afghanistan: In 1986, the then CIA boss, William Casey, stepped up the war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) by taking significant top-secret measures. In 1998, it was disclosed by the security adviser to former U.S. president Jimmy Carter that Carter had allocated some US\$500 million to provoke an intervention in Afghanistan by the USSR in order to trigger an Islamist "response." It is known that this engagement was maintained (and greatly increased in scale) during Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush's administrations. Despite the abundant evidence showing that Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda ('the base') organization are creations of the United States' Cold War policy against the Soviet Union, the denial of the truth continues.

The United States and Saudi Arabia have financed the construction of the infrastructure of the Islamic fundamentalist threat against the erstwhile USSR's Central Asian republics and China. Tens of thousands of Uzbeks, Kazaks, Kyrgyz, and Tajiks from the former Soviet Union, Uyghurs from China, Chechens from Russia, and other Turks, as well as Arabs from an assortment of countries but the bulk of them from Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and the Gulf states all went through training courses operated by al-Qaeda. Many soon started undertaking activities aimed at the destabilization of the existing regimes in the region.

Bin Laden and his lieutenants were on the CIA "payroll" for some ten years; in the 1970s, the construction company owned by his family built many of those caves which he later used for hiding and which were bombed by U.S. airplanes, with bombs containing depleted uranium which release large amounts of toxic uranium-plutonium dust.

Today the potential threat of another terrorist attack looms large, but it is hardly measurable. Rashid writes that more than 100,000 Muslim radicals have direct contacts with Pakistan and Afghanistan and are influenced by the *jihad* (holy war) ideology. An unknown percentage of them receive regular training as terrorists. A few thousands were trained as special commandos. Several hundreds have probably learned secret service skills. To advance a global *jihad*, al-Qaeda has trained a large number of sleepers for potential new strikes at targets around the world. This type of terrorist network is comparable only with highly-organized secret organizations such as the German Rote Armee Faktion (RAF), the Red Brigades in Italy and the Red Army in Japan, and their alliances formed with fighters elsewhere.

The difference between this network and left-wing terrorist networks, and the advantage of the former over the latter, is that the *jihadists* have enjoyed secret but massive support of a dozen states. Until 1989, or probably even until the 1991 Gulf War, the *jihadists* were supported by

the United States, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Pakistan. A key figure was General Hameed Gul, an ethnic Pashtun and head of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) secret service.

What Could Have Prevented September 11?

Some scholars have been pondering what would or could have prevented the September 11 attacks. In a violent conflict, it is a usual practice to listen to all sides and hear their points of view. In the case of Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda network, however, the key question has not been asked: What made them turn against their masters?

Al-Qaeda people were trained to use the media for widely publicizing their demands, which became publicly well known. Years before September 11, this Islamic network warned and made several demands to the United States' governments: these were ignored, however. The response was bomb attacks against U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, embassy bombings in East Africa, and a bomb attack against USS Cole in Yemen. What were the demands? Why was there no action on the part of the U.S.?

Most commentators say that the demands of al-Qaeda were impossible to meet without major policy changes. This point of view is contestable. Generally speaking, the demands were limited, concise, and legitimate. The two main demands could have been accommodated without major problems, if seen from the angle of U.S. national security. What were asked for were the withdrawal of the U.S. military presence from the *holy lands* of Saudi Arabia and the settlement of the Israeli-Palestine conflict, whereby Palestinians' right of self-determination, including their claim to their own state, was to be honoured. It was only during the military campaign against the Taliban regime that President George W. Bush began, all of a sudden, to talk about a Palestinian state.

Indeed, the U.S.-military presence on the holy lands of Saudi Arabia represents an insult to all Muslims, and it was easy for bin Laden to capitalize on this fact. As for the Israeli-Palestine question, it was the U.S. that passively sabotaged the implementation of the 1993 Oslo accords, giving chances and even *carte blanche* to the extreme right-wingers and Ariel Sharon to strike against the Palestinians, invade the West Bank, and use sophisticated weapons and excessive force against defenseless civilians. Possible solutions for the Palestine question have been on the table, such as the peace plan unveiled in the *New York Times* by Saudi Arabia's Prince Abdullah in February 2002 and supported by the Arab League amidst a dangerous escalation of tensions in the Middle East.

It would be disingenuous to ignore the fact that bin Laden and al-Qaeda enjoy mass support in many Muslim countries and that it was precisely for the legitimacy of their demands that they do so, and will continue to pose a threat to the security of the United States. Without a political solution, there will be no end to this type of violence.

"War Against Terrorism" Is Inappropriate, Treats Only Symptoms

Most of the war effort in Afghanistan has been carried out by the Afghan Northern Alliance, while the U.S. forces were, until the ill-conceived *Operation Anaconda* in March 2002, rarely in any exposed position on the ground but were bombing enemy targets with everything U.S. defense contractors produce, including huge depleted uranium bombs. The U.S. has claimed "victory," but nothing much has been won by the U.S. in its strange "war on terrorism." None of the original war aims to capture the leaders of the Taliban regime and al-Qaeda "dead or alive" (Bush) has been achieved. A long conspicuous silence followed the initial hard talk as regards bin Laden and his lieutenants. Meanwhile, we have witnessed a military operation with ever-shifting aims.

The U.S. president has vowed to declare war against a whole "axis

of evil,” in which he includes a very heterogeneous group of nations such as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Without a shred of evidence, all these states have been accused of aiding al-Qaeda terrorism. Military assaults on other states such as Yemen, Somalia, and Sudan, have also been publicly discussed. Not since the days of Ronald Reagan’s obsessive anti-communism has Washington’s political rhetoric about the fight between *good* (America, its subaltern, Great Britain, Israel, and few others) and *evil* (all above-mentioned *rogue* states and others not specifically mentioned) packed such a pathological fury.

Terrorism as Catalyst for Increasing Military Spending and Aggression

War-mongering has been the most disturbing element of a wholesale policy change in the United States. As in the 1950s and the 1980s, the new policy has been designed to capitalize on and further spur growing patriotism and popular support for a government under the control of a military-industrial complex, as well as to quash progressive dissent at home and openly support pro-U.S. dictatorships and regimes with abysmal human rights records. Playing on the fear of “Islamic” (Islamist) terrorism has been intended to advance an ideological agenda not very different from that of the Reagan era, with commitment to the aggressive pursuit of U.S. global hegemony and supremacy.

The U.S. military spending of US\$350 billion, an incredible amount in itself and already larger than those of the next six largest military spenders combined, has been augmented by another US\$50 billion “to fight terrorism,” as if terrorism could be fought with more sophisticated bombs, missile defense (a renewed version of Reagan’s star wars project), and a new generation of nuclear weapons. Even before he moved into the White House, President-elect Bush made clear at the end of 2000 what policy he stood for: He would place the highest priority on “restoring” the level of U.S. military force. Expanding the U.S. military, however, has been deemed difficult to justify. Globalized terrorism conveniently

provided the “new daunting challenge” the Pentagon was searching for. How would the U.S. otherwise legitimate the further expansion of its already oversized armed forces and their hyper-sophisticated equipment?

The Pentagon’s 2001 Nuclear Posture Review has raised fears about the Bush administration’s intention to lower the threshold for the use of nuclear arms. The Pentagon declared a “need” for new nuclear arms that would deliver lower levels of yield and fallout. The Bush team deliberately left open the possibility that the targets of such new weapons might include non-nuclear states. To prepare the ground for such a scenario, the Pentagon created a shadowy new *Office of Strategic Influence* for dissemination of disinformation. Lower radiation GBU-28 bunker-breaking bombs have been already tested in combat situations in Afghanistan; reports depict a frightening vision of a localized nuclear war that fits in well with the Pentagon’s new aggressive strategy for the consolidation of U.S. supremacy. The Bush administration is not only pushing for the development of new types of nuclear weapons but also seems to be broadening the perimeters of the circumstances in which they might be used.

NATO constitutes the world’s strongest and, after the demise of its counterpart, the Warsaw Pact, in 1991, the only remaining supra-regional military alliance. While representing hardly 10 percent of the world’s population, it spent US\$471 billion in 2000, a sum that amounts to almost two-thirds of the world’s total military expenditure of US\$756 billion (see the 2001 yearbook, p. 226, of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute).

Never in modern history has the distribution of military forces and military expenditures in the world been so dangerously imbalanced. Never has a single state been as militarily mighty as the U.S. and yet so vulnerable and impotent in dealing with threats posed by sub-state actors.

Scherrer is a professor at HPI

New HPI Research Project

Confidence-Building Mechanism in East Asia

HPI recently launched a new research project titled “Confidence-Building Mechanism in East Asia.” We have been working alongside Prof. Yoshihide Soeya of Keio University (chairman), Prof. Akihiko Tanaka of the University of Tokyo, Dr. Seichiro Takagi of the National Institute for Defense Studies and Prof. Hajime Izumi of the University of Shizuoka. The scholars, all leading experts on the international politics of East Asia, met in February to draw up details of the new project.

Important legacies of the Cold War remain in East Asia, such as unsettled conflicts on the Korean Peninsula and over the Taiwan Strait, as well as territorial issues involving several nations. They are all potential threats to regional peace and security, and any one of them may develop into a major conflagration.

Generally speaking, confidence-building measures can be described as those policies that prevent the accidental outbreak of armed conflict and remove distrust between countries through such measures as prior notification of military exercises, the installation of hot-line communication channels between heads of government, and transparency in military power.

In Europe, confidence-building measures are permanently institutionalized as part of the Organization for Security and Cooperation

in Europe (OSCE). Although East Asia does not have an equivalent organization, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), launched by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), has successfully brought a number of non-ASEAN nations into its fold, and taken steps toward providing some form of cooperative security framework.

The ARF names conflict resolution as one of its objectives, but the majority of the ARF’s work goes into promoting security dialogues, leaving rule making and the resolution of specific conflicts on the sidelines.

To realize a sustainable peace in East Asia, the project will reexamine existing confidence-building mechanism in East Asia on a country-by-country basis, and attempt to produce a prognosis on the future of the ARF. The project also seeks to conduct research conducive to the creation of a multilateral security system in the region.

The first workshop is scheduled for November 2 and 3, 2002, at a venue in Hiroshima. Experts and researchers from eight countries will be invited to take part, with a view to releasing a report by the summer of 2003.

By Ikuko Togo, assistant professor at HPI

HPI Research Forum

January 15, 2002



Assessing the Risks of Nuclear Power

Title: "The Proliferation Risks from Civilian Nuclear Technology"

Speaker: Dr. Ron Smith, senior lecturer/director, Defense and Strategic Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Policy, The University of Waikato

In his speech, Smith said the risk depended largely on the level of nuclear technology and range of nuclear facilities in a given country. More important, he added, is the effectiveness of measures a country takes to control and manage those risks.

Although Japan's nuclear facilities and capabilities are of a high standard, Smith said, it has been trying to introduce greater transparency regarding information on nuclear facilities in cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), implementing IAEA safeguards and accepting inspectors.

By contrast, Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, whose nuclear capabilities are not nearly as advanced as Japan's, have not adopted a policy of transparency, he added. Hence, the potential for civilian nuclear know-how falling into the wrong hands and being diverted into military use is particularly high in these countries.

In the nuclear production cycle, he explained, the highest proliferation risk comes during the storage of spent fuel and the disposal of waste. In

the storage stage, measures should be taken to reduce the accumulation of spent fuel and separated plutonium, and to protect fissile materials. At the same time, international controls should be put in place over the storage of spent fuel, as such a system would reduce the risk of proliferation by preventing countries from unilaterally accumulating plutonium. Countries that do not have their own nuclear reprocessing facilities or enough storage space would also benefit from such an approach, although arranging safe transportation could pose a problem.

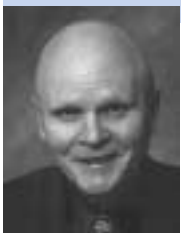
Smith evaluated proliferation risks by comparing the safety risks involved in using alternative energy sources, as well as other factors, such as the sudden termination of a stable energy supply.

This writer believes it is impossible to secure absolute safety in the use of nuclear power, although in terms of the likelihood of accidents, fatal or otherwise, nuclear power carries no greater risk than any other energy source. Others disagree, pointing to the risk nuclear power poses to the environment and the extent and degree of damage that could result from an accident of the type that occurred at Chernobyl.

Nevertheless, the reality of current energy use makes it impossible to avoid serious discussion of how to minimize the risks of accidents and proliferation, and to ensure the safe and peaceful use of nuclear energy. The history of research into the impact and risks of nuclear energy is short when compared with the half-life of fissile materials. Many issues remain to be explored in greater depth, including the intergenerational effects of radiation.

By Nobumasa Akiyama, assistant professor at HPI

May 30, 2002



Modern Genocide and the Nuclear Holocaust in Hiroshima

Title: "The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust in Comparative Perspective: Ideology, War, and Revolution and the Origins of Modern Genocide"

Speaker: Dr. Robert Melson, professor of political science and former acting director of the Jewish Studies Program at Purdue University, Indiana, U.S.A.

Melson discussed the Armenian genocide (Aghet) and the Holocaust (Shoa) in comparative perspective. The following is a summary of his presentation:

The Aghet is the archetype of modern genocide and the first of four total genocides, which include Cambodia (1975-76) and Rwanda (1994). In the Ottoman Empire, Armenians enjoyed autonomy like most of the other 40 or so millets (communities). The disintegration of the empire set free destructive forces. The Young Turks' political revolution in 1908 started with liberal ideas and ended in a nationalist upheaval inspired by Pan-Turkish ideologies. In the context of World War I, the Armenians of Anatolia were accused of conspiring with Russia against Turkey, and the Young Turk leadership ordered their deportations and subsequent destruction.

Like the Young Turks, the Nazis came to power after the collapse of an old regime, the German empire that was vanquished in 1918, a social revolution, and the downfall of the Weimar Republic. The Nazis reactivated the late 19th century theory of human races and declared the Jews a threat to the "Aryan race." Hitler also denounced a "Jewish world conspiracy." Exploiting age-old anti-Semitism in Europe, the Nazis preyed on Jews. In the context of World War II, the extermination of six million Jews was the result of Hitler's project for which he mobilized the state apparatus, the army (*Wehrmacht*), the Nazi S.S., and collaborators in the 20 or so states occupied by the Germans.

Similarities and dissimilarities between the two cases should be considered in reference to other cases of genocide and acts of mass murder.

In sharp contrast to the colonial genocides of the 19th century, the four total genocides in the 20th century were characterized by the obliteration of a substantial component or components of domestic society. The victimized groups were minorities in the very states that destroyed them. Those victimized first, however, were members of the political opposition. Revolutions, or upheavals in general, and wars provided the framework conditions of these genocides. This was because the wars closed off other possibilities for dealing with the minorities, such as integration, assimilation, or segregation.

The discussion following Melson's presentation was extremely lively. The question of where to locate the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings on the conceptual map of genocides provoked an especially intense discussion. Melson recalled the U.N. convention, which defines the genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy in part or in whole a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such" (emphasis Scherrer's). He proposed to distinguish the intent of President Truman and his advisors, who decided to use the A-bomb, from the effect of that decision on the citizens of Hiroshima. The effect of the bombing was unquestionably genocidal.

Some participants argued that the distinction between intent and effect would do harm to the movement for peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons. Others referred to the recent proliferation of nuclear weapons and voiced pessimism about the possibility of barring their use in the future. Melson pointed out, however, that the effects of nuclear weapons are so well known today that whoever uses such weapons in the future must be presumed to do so with the intent to commit genocide. By making this inference, we remain consistent with the U.N. definition of genocide, while categorically rejecting the use of nuclear arms.

The lecture fit in very well with HPI's research agenda, which includes prospective work on issues related to genocide, mass murder, and war crimes. A survivor of the Holocaust, Melson, and his wife, Dr. Gail Melson, visited the peace museum and viewed its exhibits. They also met and engaged in a very moving exchange of experiences and opinions with a delegation of *hibakusha*, or survivors of the atomic bombing.

By Christian P. Scherrer, professor at HPI

Globalization, War and Terrorism

By Yuki Tanaka

Technological innovations, particularly in information and transportation, have revolutionized the way we communicate and interact. The regions of the world are now directly linked, and comprehensive financial and distribution networks have expanded worldwide under the mantle of free trade. "Globalization," as this process is called, has made possible the massive and constant flow of information, money, commodities and manpower on a global scale. On the surface, it would seem that globalization constantly improves the quality of our daily life and communication between various groups of people is also beneficial.

The fact is, however, that multinational corporations are further expanding their global business operations by utilizing the most advanced technologies. The oil and military industries are among those undergoing expansion as they exploit the increase in regional conflicts seen since the end of the Cold War. Such multinationals and industries view trade protection and environmental regulation as obstacles to the untrammled pursuit of business opportunities and, of course, profits. They are determined to replace those regulations with new ones based on the principle of "free competition."

Free competition, or the law of the jungle, is creating a serious economic imbalance and inequality between the nations of the northern and southern hemispheres. These inequalities have, in turn, created great social tensions. Many nations in the southern hemisphere have accumulated huge debts. They have fallen prey to chronic poverty and diseases, and suffer from widespread environmental destruction. Social funds such as those for education, social welfare and economic development have been substantially reduced, which increases the potential for regional conflicts, with their attendant massive loss of life and refugee crises. Poverty also causes the illegal migration of workers and illegal trade in such items as narcotics and human organs.

Furthermore, in the developed nations of the northern hemisphere, the concept of marketability equates with control over all areas of life, leading to the privatization of public facilities, such as railways and telecommunications networks, hospitals, schools, homes for the elderly and even prisons. Small businesses, which can no longer obtain government protection and financial support, are unable to compete with large multinationals and are forced to close down. Unemployment rates remain high, unions have little influence over government policies, and the income gap between rich and poor is widening all the time. These circumstances provide the ideal breeding ground for crime and corruption.

While cutting investment in education and welfare, governments simultaneously strengthen their military and police forces to protect advanced technologies, large financial institutions and the oil industry. Thus the military budget is increased and the military-industrial complex is expanded.

In the political sphere, these so-called advanced nations tighten surveillance of their citizens in the name of protecting freedom, human rights and democracy. People's privacy is no longer guaranteed. In daily

life, the proliferation of large supermarkets, shopping malls, chain restaurants, cinemas and other entertainment complexes means that, alarmingly, the multinationals have acquired the power to standardize lifestyles and value systems.

Globalization of the type described above has been in the ascendant since the oil crises of the 1970s, and received a further boost from the neo-liberal policies of the administrations of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States in the 1980s. Economic globalization made the Soviet communist bloc heavily dependent on the Western capitalist world and, aided by the failure of socialist policies of the Soviet bloc itself, it worked to destroy one communist nation after another in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The United States emerged from the collapse of the Soviet bloc with its supremacy unchallenged, allowing globalization to proceed at a greater speed and on a larger scale than ever before.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995 to replace the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as the principal means of promoting a global system of free trade. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were the major players in creating this new system. Clearly, the political and economic power of the West, home to the multinationals, was behind this drive toward creating a new free trade system.

Developing nations are forced to implement structural reforms based upon the neo-liberal economic model in return for financial support from the World Bank and the IMF. These reforms include the promotion of exports (particularly natural resources), the devaluation of currency in order to secure sufficient foreign currency, substantial cutbacks in education and social welfare, the large-scale reduction of financial support for small-scale farmers, and the privatization of national assets and public corporations. Yet these nations' debts are increasing, not decreasing, with the current total estimated at well over US\$83 trillion. The inequality gap between the winners and losers in globalization is widening, and social, political and economic problems are spreading as a consequence.

In 2000, the top 20 percent of nations in terms of wealth produced 86 percent of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), while the total GDP produced by the remaining 80 percent of nations amounted to a mere 14 percent. In the same year, the top 20 percent consumed 82 percent of the world's goods and services, while the remaining 80 percent consumed 18 percent. In the same year, moreover, 93 percent of Internet users worldwide hailed from the top 20 percent of nations. About 50 nations are currently regarded as super-debtor nations; i.e., they are no longer able to repay their debts. Of these, the average debt accumulated by African nations is 123 percent of gross national product (GNP), while that of Latin American nations is 42 percent, followed by Asian nations at 28 percent. Inequalities between rich and poor are spreading among developed nations. The gap between the top 20 percent of income earners and the remaining 80 percent is growing particularly fast, and is being

accelerated by rising unemployment.

The conditions for structural reform imposed on debtor nations by the World Bank and IMF create economic inequalities that often lead to domestic conflict. In many cases, people are unaware of the real cause of those inequalities, and, in the search for scapegoats, find themselves engaged in inter-ethnic and religious fighting. The consequences include premeditated massacres, the destruction of schools and hospitals, and starvation among refugees.

Western nations and international aid organizations such as the Red Cross typically arrange for emergency food and medical supplies to be sent to war-torn regions. At the same time, political power is handed over to foreign political powers or the United Nations until a new political authority is established and political stability restored. Although NGOs do their utmost to relieve refugee crises, the new political regime is, in most cases, placed under the direct control or influence of the United States and other Western governments. This is the pattern that emerged during the conflicts in Mozambique, Angola and Rwanda, to name but a few.

The wars in the Balkans and Kosovo emerged amid political instability that had been created by financial aid from the World Bank and IMF. In 1990, the World Bank and IMF proposed financial support programs to Yugoslavia, then a socialist state, subject to certain structural adjustments. The Yugoslav government tried to turn itself into a neo-liberal market economy, but instead received a severe blow to its economy, which was already in dire straits following the death of President Tito.

In the years that followed, inflation skyrocketed and unemployment reached massive levels following the collapse of state-owned corporations. In addition, the federal budget was slashed to repay foreign debt, thereby

reducing and delaying the distribution of money to each republic. This catastrophic economic situation created political divisions among the six republics and two autonomous provinces, and was followed by outbreaks of violence between ethnic groups. Those conflicts were aggravated by the war-mongering policies of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), with financial support from the United States, bought weapons from Germany and other nations, and received training from British Special Forces. The Milosevic government collapsed shortly after NATO launched air strikes on Yugoslavia in 1999. The new administration in Belgrade handed Milosevic over to the Hague International War Crimes Tribunal in return for economic aid, and once again, Western nations secured opportunities for fresh investment in Yugoslavia and control of the country's markets.

The September 11 terrorist attacks can be described as a high-voltage electric shock, triggered by the accumulation of social tensions around the world due to globalization, the origins of which are in the United States and other Western nations. In other words, the terrorist attacks were part of a war against globalization. The United States and its Western allies responded with military force. It is fair to say that economic globalization has created the globalization of war and conflict. The only possible solution lies in the globalization of forces opposed to economic globalization. Such a movement must involve the consolidation of grassroots movements, in particular those in the peace movement, on a worldwide scale.

Tanaka is a professor at HPI

Research Project on Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century

Discussions Conclude on Chapters of Final Report

HPI's Research Project on Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century held three study meetings in January and March 2002. The members concluded discussions on each chapter for the final report, which is scheduled for publication in August.

At the 18th meeting on January 25, Osamu Yoshida, professor of law at Hiroshima University, made a report based on his draft for the chapter "Nuclear Development in South Asia." Discussions followed the presentation. A draft of the chapter "Non-nuclear Policies and Nuclear Disarmament Policies in Australia and New Zealand," written by Naoki Kamimura, professor of international studies at Hiroshima City University, was submitted to the meeting in advance, and was discussed by members of the project.

At the 19th meeting on March 5, Prof. Mitsuru Kurosawa of the Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, made a report on the first draft of "Nuclear Policies and Nuclear Disarmament Policies of the United States" by Lawrence Scheinman, professor at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies. Mizumoto gave an outline of the first draft of a chapter on Non-nuclear Policy and Nuclear Disarmament Policies in Canada by Tariq

Rauf, head of the Verification and Security Policy Coordination Section of the IAEA, which was followed by a discussion. Comments about these chapters were passed on to each author to be taken into account for their final drafts.

The Research Project on Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century, initiated in 2000, held its 20th and final meeting on March 22. Kurosawa made a report on the last chapter "Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century," based on his draft. Heated discussions accompanied this presentation, since the chapter will serve as a conclusion to the final report. It proposes concrete measures on nuclear disarmament to be taken by the international community over the next 10 years. These measures are designed to strengthen the outcome of the 2000 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference.

The research project is now in its final stage and is focusing on publication of its final report titled "Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century A Message from Hiroshima."

By Kazumi Mizumoto, associate professor at HPI

Hello from HPI



Dr. Toshi Yuki Tanaka Professor

Since the mid 1980s Dr. Tanaka has been concentrating his research on war crimes committed by the Japanese Imperial Forces in World War II. Having extensively used a range of archival documents, he has revealed many cases of war crime in the Asia-Pacific War, which were hitherto unknown to the researchers in this field.

He lived and taught at several universities in Australia for about 20 years until 2000. While in Australia he conducted research at the Australian War Memorial as well as the National Archives of Australia and unearthed many invaluable archival documents concerning war crimes committed by the Japanese against the Allied forces and civilians. Since 1995 he also has travelled to the U.S. National Archives many times and used its collection extensively for comparative analyses between Japanese war crimes and war crimes committed by forces of the U.S. and other nations. His research aims are not only to analyze the causes of war crimes but to seek solutions to prevent military conflicts.

Hitoshi Nagai Research Associate

Born in San Francisco, California, U.S.A., Nagai specializes in the history of Japan-Philippines relations and the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal. He studied at Rikkyo University and Ateneo de Manila University.

He gained a Master's degree from Rikkyo University in 1993. He has taught at several universities, including Kanto Gakuin University and Kyoritsu Women's University, and took up the post of research associate at the Hiroshima Peace Institute in April 2002.

"I have analyzed Japanese foreign policy, focusing on the Asia-Pacific region during World War II," Nagai said upon his appointment. "It is significant for me to take part in peace studies at this institute, because Hiroshima is a symbol of both war and peace. Through my research, I will endeavor to contribute to the prevention of war and its miserable consequences, and to consider what messages can be sent to the world from the first city in the world to have been struck by a nuclear bomb."

DIARY

March 1, 2002 - June 30, 2002

March 5 HPI's project team on Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century holds its 19th meeting.

March 13-14 HPI's project team on the Legitimacy and Rationality of New-interventionism holds its 15th meeting.

March 18 Kazumi Mizumoto attends a supervisors' meeting at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum on the master plan to renovate the exhibits regarding the reasons for the dropping of the atomic bomb.

March 19 Mizumoto gives a lecture on "Current Trends in Nuclear Weapons" in the second workshop of the Exchange Gatherings for A-bomb Witnesses, at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

March 22 HPI's project team on Nuclear Disarmament in the 21st Century holds its 20th meeting.

March 24 Janusz Onyszkiewicz, former Polish defense minister and analyst at the Center for International Relations in Warsaw, takes part in a discussion with HPI President Haruhiro Fukui and HPI Professor Christian P. Scherrer titled *Euro-Atlantic Area of Security: From Vancouver to Vladivostok, or to Tokyo?*

March 25-29 Nobumasa Akiyama visits the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, in Boston. In Washington, D.C., Akiyama attends the U.S.-Japan Track II Meeting on Arms Control, Disarmament, Nonproliferation and Verification, visits the Japanese Embassy, the office of the Monterey Institute of International Studies and the Henry L. Stimson Center.

April 1-June 30 Yuki Tanaka begins twice-monthly lectures at Niigata City Adult Education Course "Memory and future in Northeast Asia: For mutual understanding in the 21st century."

April 8-9 Akiyama attends the second Asia-Pacific Seminar, organized by the Association for Communication of Transcultural Studies, held in Jakarta.

April 10-11 Akiyama attends the second meeting on Enhancing U.S.-Japan Cooperation on Crisis and Consequence Management organized by the Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, in Tokyo.

April 11-14 Fukui attends the second meeting of the Jeju Peace Forum titled *Rethinking and Re-engineering Peace in the 21st Century: Lessons and Opportunities in East Asia*, in Jeju City, South Korea.

April 16 Fukui attends opening ceremony of an exhibition titled Linus Pauling and the 20th Century.

April 24 Scherrer visits refugee camps in West Timor and begins a four-week investigation in East Timor into U.N. peacekeeping operations and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

April 29 Mizumoto gives a lecture on "the importance of handing the experiences of A-bomb survivors to future generations" in a seminar organized by Meiji Gakuin University and the University of California, at Hiroshima Aster Plaza.

May 2 Akiyama visits the Japanese Foreign Ministry to discuss the U.S.-Japan Track II Meeting on Arms Control, Disarmament, Nonproliferation and Verification held in Washington, D.C. in April.

May 6-10 Scherrer meets the Timorese general prosecutor, the U.N. deputy prosecutor in the Serious Crimes Unit of UNTAET, the justice minister, and chairman and vice chairman

of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Dili. They discuss how to achieve justice after genocide.

May 13 Scherrer meets the Timorese foreign minister and other high-level UNTAET officials in Dili.

May 17 Scherrer questions Timorese President-elect Xanana Gusmao on justice and reconciliation in East Timor.

May 19 Scherrer meets the president of Philips Petroleum (Australia) and other business leaders in East Timor.

May 20 Scherrer participates in independence celebrations in East Timor. Tanaka lectures on war and society as part of a course run by the Economics Department of Keio University.

May 24-25 Fukui attends a meeting in Hiroshima of the preparatory committee for designing college courses about Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

May 28 Scherrer visits the Kyoto Museum for World Peace at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto.

May 30 HPI holds a research forum. Robert Melson, professor of political science and former acting director of the Jewish Studies Program at Purdue University, gives a lecture titled *The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust in Comparative Perspective: Ideology, War, and Revolution and the Origins of Modern Genocide*.

May 31 Fukui, Scherrer, Robert Melson, a survivor of the Holocaust, and Gail Melson meet five survivors of the atomic bombing at the Peace Memorial Museum.

June 1-8 Fukui interviews applicants in the United States as part of the second search for new researchers at HPI.

June 6 HPI holds a research forum. Gianni Deligia, U.N. coordinator in the Bobonaro district of East Timor, gives a lecture titled *Building Peace in East Timor: U.N. Peacekeeping and the Role of U.N. Volunteers*.

June 9 Tanaka attends a symposium about air raids on cities at Waseda University to mark the opening of the Research Center for the Tokyo Raid and War Damages.

June 10-20 Akiyama conducts research and attends a meeting on the Central Asia and Caucasia Project in Azerbaijan and Georgia, sponsored by the Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

June 14 Mizumoto gives a lecture on "Japanese Nuclear Policy and the Security of Northeast Asia" at a preparatory meeting of The Japan-South Korea Lawyers Interchange Meeting, held at the Hiroshima Bar Association.

June 21 Mizumoto gives a lecture on the "Current Trend of Peace Research and Its Tasks," held at and organized by the Hiroshima Prefectural Nursing Association.

June 21-22 Akiyama attends the meeting for the Asia Europe Forum for young professionals in Denmark.

Visitors to HPI

March 22 Australian Ambassador John McCarthy, Maj. T.F. Gellel, assistant defense attaché at the embassy, and Katsuhiko Tobimatsu of the Japan-Australia Society in Hiroshima.

April 5 Richard Bonney, history professor at the University of Leicester, England.

June 24 Thomas Ganschow, professor emeritus of history, Han S. Park, professor of political science, and six students of the University of Georgia.

June 25 Mohammed Saad Al-Muqadam, dean of student affairs at Sulatan Qaboos University.

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