

The Jeju Peace Institute Today

Bong-Jun Ko

The Jeju Peace Institute (JPI) aims to play a leading role in developing networks among experts engaged in Northeast Asian cooperation and world peace. Dr. Bong-Jun Ko of JPI introduces the institute's history, profile, organization and activities.

Background

In January 2005, the Korean government designated Jeju as an Island of World Peace. The central idea was to make Jeju an international peace center in Northeast Asia along the lines of Geneva in Europe. This led to the formation of the International Peace Foundation and its working entity, JPI, which were launched in March 2006 as non-profit organizations. While JPI is actually an NGO, it is fully sponsored by both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Jeju Provincial Government.

Objective

The objective of JPI is two-fold: first, it is to elaborate the prospects for Northeast Asian security cooperation, the economic integration of Northeast Asia, and the consolidation of peace on the Korean Peninsula; second, it is to promote peace dialogue, which will contribute towards peace-building in Northeast Asia and throughout the entire world in various capacities.

Mission

As an independent non-profit research institution, JPI is developing and supporting comprehensive research programs, international conferences and educational outreach activities in order to promote peace and prosperity throughout the region and beyond.

Organization

For the sake of efficiency, JPI maintains a small staff made up of experts in their respective fields. Currently, under the first president Ambassador Tae-Kyu Han, JPI has two main functioning pillars: in the research department, four Ph.D scholars and two other researchers are actively working. The interests and expertise of these researchers vary, but they share a common understanding that the essential goal of JPI is to contribute towards creating an East Asian peace community. The second pillar consists of the planning and coordination department and the secretariat. The

seven members of staff in these departments are fully supportive of the research activities of JPI.

Major functions

In order to fulfill the goal mentioned above, JPI performs the following functions: research, the holding of conferences, networking, providing outreach activities and publishing.

1. Research

JPI is currently conducting two main research projects. The first project is to examine theoretically possible and practicable ways of institutionalizing multilateral security cooperation in East Asia. Of course, by security this does not mean that we simply focus on traditional security issues. We are open to a wide variety of issues and topics. The official declaration of the 4th Jeju Peace Forum in 2007 specifically mentioned the necessity for strengthening security in Northeast Asia through the creation of the Jeju Process. As a step towards carrying through the Jeju Process, JPI devotes itself to addressing practical ideas for institutionalizing peace and security in Northeast Asia.

The other project is to construct a Peace Index in Northeast Asia. Firstly, we scrutinize interstate disputes which appear on the news. Then, by way of an event counting method, we accumulate data representing the degree of disputes between the two countries over time. We use this index to analyze the foreign policy behavior of a state towards other countries with the help of statistical analysis.

In addition to these two projects, JPI's four research fellows are carrying out individual research in accordance with their own research interests. Their topics have developed year by year. The topics for the year 2009 are the following: the soft power index and Korean foreign policy; strategies for effective communication of Northern policy in South Korea; arms reduction, non-proliferation and East Asian multilateralism; multilateralism and economic integration in East Asia.

2. Conferences and forums

JPI hosts the biannual Jeju Peace Forum, one of the most prestigious international conferences held in Korea. Since it was launched in 2001 as a forum for multilateral cooperation in the region to promote common peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia and on the Korean Peninsula, the Jeju Peace Forum has established itself as an important regional event by generating further

Contents

The Jeju Peace Institute Today	by Bong-Jun Ko	1-2
The Evolving Political Situation in Thailand		3
<Reflection from Hiroshima>	Vol. 11	4-5
Hiroshima through the Eyes of Children's Literature	Writer Masamoto Nasu	

From Conventional National Defense to a Locality-Oriented Peace Guarantee: Three Keys towards its Realization	6
New Publication from HPI	7
Diary	8

international consensus on how to achieve peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia. Themes of the previous forums in June 2001, November 2003 and June 2005 focused mainly on peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia. However, at the 4th Jeju Peace Forum in June 2007 there were discussions about applying European experiences to the problems of peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia, exploring the issue from political, security and economic viewpoints. Detailed information of the 5th Jeju Peace Forum is written below.

JPI also holds academic conferences and policy forums on distinctive themes with diverse participants in order to promote the exchange of ideas related to multilateral dialogue and cooperation for peace.

3. Networking

In order to create a research network with peace research institutions around the world, including the Hiroshima Peace Institute and other prominent institutions such as SIPRI, PRIO and USIP, JPI seeks to cooperate with these institutions for research and the exchange of ideas. In addition, JPI is working towards becoming a recognized venue for the holding of peace dialogue. To that end, JPI hosts eminent scholars, experts, and renowned figures from around the world to hear their opinions on a variety of topics.

4. Outreach education programs

In order to contribute towards strengthening and spreading a culture of peace and nurturing future workers for peace, JPI operates various peace education programs for students. Furthermore, JPI is currently completing a feasibility study on hosting a CIFAL center in Jeju, Korea. If it is decided to continue with this project, another CIFAL center concentrating on preserving natural heritage will be established in Jeju. CIFAL is an international training center for local authorities and local actors which is affiliated to UNITAR.

5. Publication

To secure a professional audience, JPI publishes research reports, books and periodicals containing analyses on academic and topical pending issues.

The fifth Jeju Peace Forum

One of the features that makes JPI unique is the aforementioned Jeju Peace Forum. The 4th Forum was organized by JPI for the first time in June 2007 and was completed successfully. The 5th Jeju Peace Forum will be convened on August 11-13, 2009.

The main theme of the 5th Jeju Peace Forum is “Shaping New Regional Governance in East Asia: A Common Vision for Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity.” Under this main theme, the issue of how East Asia will evolve to generate common prosperity and mutual benefit in the 21st century will be discussed. It is expected that lively discussions will take place between world leaders and key figures in the fields of security, diplomacy, economics, media and academia from around the world.

Of course, a peaceful solution to the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula will be a starting point for common prosperity and mutual benefit in the region, especially in East Asia where security matters such as the North Korean nuclear issue have long been interrelated. In connection with this issue, the 5th Jeju Peace Forum purports to explore practical ways to proceed with the Jeju Process declared at the conclusion of the 4th Jeju Peace Forum. This aims to institutionalize regional peace and common prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia through enhancing mutual understanding and in-depth discussions among experts regarding how the six-party talks on the North Korean nuclear issue can develop. In addition, the peace issue will be extensively examined in terms of non-traditional security matters — including soft power, Northeast Asia’s historical conflicts,

human security and other relevant concerns at home and abroad — alongside issues of traditional military security.

In addition, throughout the forum, discussions will be held on a sustainable vision for mutual benefit in East Asia, and joint efforts towards multilateral economic cooperation to address the world financial crisis. Essential issues will also be discussed regarding the correlation between an expansion of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and the economic development of East Asia, and also East Asian cooperation for sustainable development (“green growth”).

A variety of comprehensive subjects will be put forward to closely examine ways to achieve mutual benefit and common prosperity in East Asia through a broad spectrum of joint international efforts. In particular, the 5th Jeju Peace Forum will proceed in the form of “Forums in Condominium” in order to discuss various issues more efficiently under the grand theme of the forum. Diverse sessions on security, economy, history and international cooperation will be conducted independently but in close cooperation with the participating institution.

Through joint efforts, it is hoped that the 5th Forum will lay down a new milestone for a futuristic vision for mutual benefits and common prosperity by exploring various aspects in East Asia.

The 5th Jeju Peace Forum will consist of plenary sessions, round-tables, concurrent functional panels dealing with specific issues of regional importance, and Town Hall meetings.

• Plenary sessions

The plenary sessions will consist of a world leaders’ session, a defense and foreign ministers’ session, a business leaders’ session, and a session on a new national vision for Korea. The objective of the plenary sessions, in which all participants will take part, is to bring decision-makers from the security and diplomacy sectors, business leaders, and experts together to engage in discussions on the topics at hand, exploring the near-term challenges and prospects for the future.

• Round-tables

The purpose of the round-tables is to facilitate an exchange of views on specific topics among key regional and international practitioners of similar professions.

Leaders from the fields of politics, foreign affairs and domestic and foreign media will be invited to each panel as presenters or discussants.

• Functional panels

The objective of concurrent functional panels is to explore and formulate new strategies and tangible solutions for regional cooperation and examine specific areas and issues of regional importance. Functional panels will consist of 12 panels in total: three focusing on security, four on the economy, two on history, two on international cooperation, and one on Jeju. Experts from academia, government and business will come together to discuss practical issues in depth — national identity and conflicts, pressing issues regarding Northeast Asian conflicts, multilateral economic cooperation in East Asia, environmental policy, current issues and prospects for the world automobile industry, economic development and peace in Jeju — and draw out political implications. Each session will have paper presentations on the topic in question, which will be followed by open discussions.

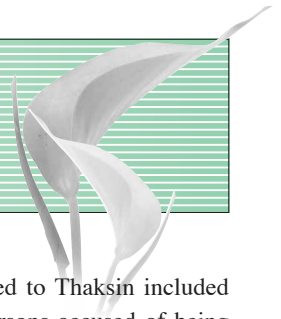
• Town Hall meetings

These will be arranged in two sessions entitled “Island for World Peace” and “Jeju Global Education City,” in order to promote local development in Jeju which will contribute to putting forward the vision and challenge of Jeju in the future.

(Associate research fellow at JPI)

The Evolving Political Situation in Thailand

Narayanan Ganesan



Thailand has undergone many significant political changes in the past few years. The political situation in the country initially appeared to be stable at the turn of the century when telecommunications tycoon Thaksin Shinawatra won a convincing victory in the 2001 election. Although he did not have a majority to form the government at that time, he was able to persuade a number of smaller political parties to join a coalition government led by his own party, Thai Rak Thai (Thais Love Thai). His political party was registered in 1998 shortly after the Asian Financial Crisis that devastated the Thai economy in 1997. Riding on a wave of nationalist sentiment and populist policies that benefitted the rural poor, Thaksin was able to sweep aside much older and established parties. His popularity and political power appeared unstoppable when he won a second term of office in 2005. In that election, his party secured a total of 377 seats in the 500-seat Thai parliament. The representatives of his party were known for their discipline although there were four major factions within the party — a regular feature of Thai politics. Thaksin's other strengths included an availability of resources which was totally disproportionate to that of his political rivals, an uncanny ability to exercise patronage and secure clientelist loyalties from faction leaders, and political charisma that the Thais refer to as *barami*.

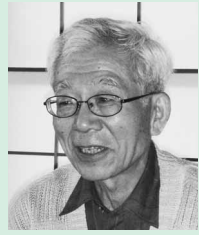
Despite his political power and prowess, there were widespread murmurs of unhappiness with his government. Many regarded his style of conducting business as impersonal and authoritarian. Influential academics and economists accused Thaksin of manipulating the national agenda in order to profit from public policies. The process itself came to be labeled “policy corruption.” Other activities with economic repercussions that put him in bad light included a 4 billion baht loan to the Myanmar government through the Export-Import Bank of Thailand for telecommunication equipment from which the company he founded benefitted. However, the transaction that eventually led to the unraveling of Thaksin and his power was the sale of his family's entire share of Shin Corporation — a telecommunications company he founded — to the Singapore government holding company Temasek. The sale was pursued such that his family members avoided paying any taxes on the US\$1.8 billion transaction. In fact, it was this deal in early 2006 that was the immediate trigger behind street protests which eventually led to his downfall. The military staged a coup against him in September 2006, and the courts also annulled his third 2006 election victory and disbanded his party due to electoral irregularities. Additionally, 111 senior party members were barred from holding public office for five years.

Other negative developments attributed to Thaksin included the extra-judicial killing of some 2,000 persons accused of being drug traffickers and an extremely hardline policy against the Muslim insurgency in the south of the country where the police and military were regularly accused of torture and killings. In 2004, 78 Muslim youths lost their lives when they were piled into military trucks and transported without proper ventilation on an occasion when security forces broke up a demonstration. The Takbai Incident, as this came to be called, revealed an apparent callous disregard for human life and significantly fuelled the insurgency that has since claimed more than 3,500 lives. Finally, Thaksin was also seen as undermining the traditional compact between the military, bureaucracy and monarchy that wielded significant power in the country through an informal network. And in a country where the King is treated as a semi-god with laws barring negative comments against the royal family, such behavior was certainly seen as being unpardonable. The daily street protests against his government also badly affected businesses and sapped international confidence in the country.

After Thaksin's party was disbanded, his supporters mobilized and formed the People Power Party which won the subsequent election in December 2007. Street protests led by the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD — yellow shirted to express support for the King) accused the new government of being a proxy government of Thaksin and continued its protests. The protestors even occupied the Government House (parliament) and the New Bangkok International Airport. The first Prime Minister to take office during this period, Samak Sundaravej, was forced to resign shortly after his appointment, as was the second, Somchai Wongsawat, who was Thaksin's brother-in-law. In the second instance, the courts also disbanded the People Power Party due once again to electoral irregularities. Following this second dissolution, a major faction leader from Thaksin's old party allied himself with the Democrat Party and allowed the current Prime Minister, Abhisit Vejjajiva, to form a minority coalition government.

The current situation is by no means stable. Many observers regard the legitimacy of the current government as tenuous since the PAD had succeeded in forcing a stalemated political situation through the use of illegal tactics. The PAD does not necessarily command widespread support beyond sections of Bangkok society, and some of its leaders were previously associated with Thaksin. There are also charges that the PAD was tacitly supported by the “network monarchy.” Additionally, the courts that were directed by the King to break the impasse are thought to have dealt with Thaksin and the political parties he inspired rather harshly. Finally, Thaksin has inspired his own movement of red-shirted supporters who come from the poorer regions in the north and northeast of the country in the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD). The situation is therefore far from stable and has the potential to deteriorate into violence.

Professor at HPI



Masamoto Nasu

Hiroshima through the Eyes of Children's Literature Writer Masamoto Nasu

By Motofumi Asai
(Interviewed on April 13, 2009)

Masamoto Nasu is a renowned writer of children's literature with his masterpiece being the long-running series *Zukkoke Sanningumi* [The Goofy Trio]. He talks about memories of his father, his perception of the atomic bomb during his childhood and episodes of working on his two books, *Children of the Paper Crane: The Story of Sadako Sasaki and Her Struggle with the A-Bomb Disease* (M.E. Sharpe, 1991, originally published in Japanese from PHP Interface, 1984) and *HIROSHIMA: A Tragedy Never to Be Repeated* (Fukuinkan Shoten, 1998, originally published in Japanese, 1995).

1. Memories of my father

I lived with my parents and two elder sisters at that time. When the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, my father, Shigeyoshi, who was a teacher at a local girls' school, was at the Miyuki Bridge. For the next two weeks, he wandered around the city looking for his students. He later contributed 18 poems to a poem collection entitled *Hiroshima* (Daini Shobo, 1954) which expressed his thoughts and feelings at the time. One of those poems is particularly striking to me as you can feel his deep affection towards his students: *The list of the dead, / Finding at last / their names written there, / My heart filled with relief / drowning grief.*

I have one unforgettable memory of him. When I was in the eighth grade, he was outraged by me calling the Showa Emperor "Ten-chan" in an overly casual manner. In fact, one of his poems in the aforementioned poem collection reads, "*An old lady approached / with her back bent / looking outraged, / Then she screamed / 'The Emperor deceived me!'*" This is the only poem out of the eighteen in which he mentioned the Emperor. He was not particularly critical about the symbolic monarch. But I remember, when I criticized the Emperor for sending children to the battlefield and my father for supporting that without taking any responsibility for it, father stood up for the Emperor saying "I only accepted Japan's surrender because of the Emperor's declaration on the radio." After this little quarrel, however, he said to my mother that I had "grown up" and ever since, he never raised objections to me and always respected my words and deeds.

He retired from teaching after the war. Probably his feelings towards his students who were killed by the A-bomb were too strong to bear, making him decide on retirement. I remember him working really hard to petition for homage and compensation by the Japanese government to be paid to his A-bombed students who were not regarded as eligible because their school was categorized as a "special" school.

2. Change in my perception of the atomic bomb

I was only three years old when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima so my memory of that day is rather fragmented. My mother and I were at home in Kogo at the time (near the present day Nishi-Hiroshima station), and I was protected by a shutter case at the veranda and so received only slight injuries. I remember seeing many casualties trudge pass our house looking like puppets covered in mud. I also saw thieves targeting empty houses immediately after the bombing. In fact, a man dropped by at our house who seemed to have stolen fruit cans from somewhere. He gave me one of them, full of mandarins, which I had to blow on to cool

down to eat. I didn't feel any particular fright at the atomic bomb, but I remember feeling frightened by a house that was engulfed by fire across a field.

When I entered Koi Primary School in 1949, my impression of the atomic bomb was that at best it was "a bomb with colossal power." The following year when I was in the second grade, the Korean War broke out. One day, I was on my way home from school with an A-bombed friend and thoughtlessly said, "Why doesn't the U.S. drop an atomic bomb in Korea?" It goes without saying that I later felt deep regret for having said that to him.

It was nevertheless a rather common perception in much of Japanese society that the atomic bomb possessed colossal energy and there was even a kind of longing for the weapon. The famous cartoon by Osamu Tezuka, *Astro Boy*, is a typical example of this. There is a cenotaph at the west end of the Peace Bridge to commemorate A-bombed students of the Hiroshima Girls' High School. At its center stands a statue of a girl with a box in her arms, and the box has the equation of mass-energy equivalence " $E=mc^2$ " on it. It indicates that atomic power could be justified on the basis that the nuclear era started at the cost of *hibakusha* (A-bomb survivors).

It was when I was in the eighth grade and underwent a medical examination that my perception of the atomic bomb began to change. A famous *hibakusha* girl, Sadako Sasaki, was born on January 7, 1943, while my birthday is June 6, 1942. Under the Japanese education system, we were in the same grade, although attending different schools. Sadako was first hospitalized at the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital with leukemia on February 21, 1955, when she was only in the sixth grade. Then in October of the same year she passed away, having never attended Noborimachi Junior High School which she started just half a year before. A friend of mine was struck down with the same illness in August of the following year when we were in the eighth grade. His loss struck me with great fear during the two weeks following the medical examination I had to check the effects of the atomic bomb. Although I was only diagnosed with anemia, it was the first time that I actually associated the effects of the atomic bomb with my own life. I felt the same fear when my first child was born, who could have been affected due to my having been A-bombed. I doubt this fear will ever disappear until the last day of my life.

Nevertheless, I still regarded the atomic bomb as being a "necessary evil." However, such an understanding finally turned negative when I was a high school student and read a paper by Professor Seiji Imahori of Hiroshima University amid the 1960 turmoil over the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance. I came to doubt the necessity of the atomic bombing of Japan and to question whether it was a war criminal.

When I was a university student, I traveled all the way to the northeastern region of Japan. This journey made me realize that people outside Hiroshima had misunderstandings about the atomic bomb. On one occasion, I was in a public bath and a man who happened to be there asked me where I came from. When I replied "Hiroshima," he jumped out of the bath. If you were in Hiroshima, asking each other "Where were you at the time of the bombing?" was an ordinary thing, but this wasn't the case outside Hiroshima. That was something I came to realize only after I left my home to

go to university and met people from other places. I also realized then that it would be better if I didn't tell people that I had been A-bombed.

3. *Children of the Paper Crane: The Story of Sadako Sasaki and Her Struggle with the A-Bomb Disease*

In 1968 my second elder sister asked me if I wanted to join the Hiroshima Children's Literature Society and this stimulated my interest in children's literature. I made my debut as a writer with the book *Kubinashi Jizo no Takara* [Treasure of the Headless Jizo Statue] in 1972, the work for which I received a Gakken Children's Literature Award. I got married in 1977, lost my father the following year, and then moved to my wife's hometown, Hofu in Yamaguchi Prefecture. The year 1978 was a turning point in my life as it was then that I resolved to make a living as a writer.

When I wrote *Children of the Paper Crane: The Story of Sadako Sasaki and Her Struggle with the A-Bomb Disease*, I had already developed a strong desire to write about the atomic bomb. However, the direct trigger to begin this work was meeting with the children's literature writer Tomiko Inui (1924-2002) in 1982. When she visited Yamaguchi, she said to me that I should write something other than works simply for entertainment. It was an interesting coincidence that around the same time I received an offer from PHP Interface (a publishing company) to publish a non-fiction work.

During my life I had no direct interaction with Sadako Sasaki, since, for one thing, she went to Noborimachi Primary School and I went to Koi. When I entered Motomachi High School, there were quite a few people in my year who had been at the same primary school as Sadako. A female friend of mine introduced me to about ten of them. To my surprise, they told me that they were not particularly keen on the project of erecting a monument for Sadako in the beginning, and that they felt they were used by adults.

So in my book I decided not to depict an "idealized Sadako," but rather her real personality with as many facets as I could identify. At first, people only said what "a good girl" she was. But after conducting many interviews, I uncovered some different views too. One person confessed to having some jealousy towards the fortune of her family. But this feeling later changed to compassion as her farther passed away from the same illness as Sadako. Another interviewee, Kiyo Ohkura, who stayed in the same room as her at the Red Cross Hospital, did not particularly like Sadako. But once Ohkura learnt that Sadako knew the seriousness of her own illness, her feeling towards Sadako changed and the two girls came to understand each other. Based on these accounts as well as others, the first half of the book, which depicts Sadako's life up to her death in October 1955, describes her real personality in detail.



Children of the Paper Crane and HIROSHIMA

The second half concerns the work and efforts of Sadako's former classmates to erect a monument to commemorate their lost friend. Some initial ideas for the monument included a mushroom-shaped tomb, modeled on the cloud from the atomic bomb. The idea that was finally adopted was to erect a cenotaph to commemorate all the children killed by the bomb, including Sadako. This idea was proposed by Ichiro Kawamoto who, having been A-bombed himself and seen the chaos in the city, had determined to devote the rest of his life to work for the *hibakusha*. He brought the idea to Gen'itsu Tanaka, the then Principal of Noborimachi Junior High School, the school where Sadako would have studied.

Major movements began after the Students' Group for Peace Building in Hiroshima was established in January 1956, partly thanks to the efforts of Tanaka who had been encouraged by positive responses and donations from schools across Japan. The Group consisted mainly of members of student committees of primary, junior high, and high schools of Hiroshima who themselves had no direct connection with Sadako. During this process Sadako's classmates were unfortunately merely "backstage" forces, even though they spent most of their time as junior high school students until the completion of the monument on May 5, 1958. It is no wonder that some of them came to hold negative, distorted perceptions of the project.

4. *HIROSHIMA: A Tragedy Never to Be Repeated*

Working on *Children of the Paper Crane* made me realize just how ignorant I was about the atomic bombing. One issue, for example, relates to the use of words like *genbakusho* and *hibakusha* ("A-bomb disease" and "A-bomb victims" respectively). These words are now commonly used, but it is not known when exactly they were first invented. I actually found out that the word *genbakusho* comes from another word *mansei-genshibakudan-sho* (literally meaning "chronic atomic bomb-derived disease") which was used by Dr. Masao Tsuzuki in his paper published in 1954, the year of the Lucky Dragon No.5 Incident. The first appearance of the other word *hibakusha* also came at the time of the incident: a report in *The Yomiuri Shimbun* read "Kuboyama Aikichi shi ga hibaku shiteiru" [Aikichi Kuboyama had been exposed to radiation]. This sort of research made me more eager to write something through which I could address the tragic event. I was also motivated by seeing students from other prefectures on school trips to Hiroshima who perceived the atomic bombing as if it had been a natural disaster. This made me want to produce some material through which students could learn about the bombing before they visited Hiroshima.

During the writing of *HIROSHIMA: A Tragedy Never to Be Repeated*, I thought it necessary to show a complete picture of the bombing, in contrast to episodes of particular individuals whose experiences and memories were, although of great importance in their own right, rather limited to a small area where they had been at the time of bombing. This was the idea I brought to Fukuinkan Shoten which would later become the publisher of the book. It was made possible thanks to the cooperation of many people, one of whom was Shigeo Nishimura who contributed drawings and who had had deep interest in Hiroshima, in addition to the chief editor. It was lucky that the U.S. had become active in disclosing information at the time so I could also acquire interesting sources from across the Pacific. Nishimura's devotion deserves admiration since he lived in Hiroshima for a whole year for the purpose of thorough information gathering, which resulted in the drawings that appear in the publication. From the first instigation of the project, it took us as long as six years to finally publish it in 1995. Nevertheless, that year was the 50th anniversary of the bombing and so I was rather happy about the timing. It feels rewarding that the book has been received quite well with an ever-widening readership.

President of HPI

From Conventional National Defense to a Locality-Oriented Peace Guarantee: Three Keys towards its Realization

Akihiro Kawakami

Wars and conflicts continue to smolder even today around the world. People can be sometimes victims, and sometimes assailants directly or indirectly. However, it is almost certain that most people want to live their lives without killing other people or being killed. How is it possible to construct real peace from a citizens' viewpoint? The following discussion addresses three points that may be considered when we think about this issue.

The first point concerns "the actors" who realize peace: that is whether it is exclusively the activities of the national (central) government or of multiple actors such as, for example, local authorities and NGOs.

In today's world, a central government can no longer self-sufficiently or exclusively control issues of diplomacy and security on its own. With the increasing significance of local authorities and NGOs, local authorities are no longer the subcontractors or terminal organizations of the nation (the central government). Governmental organizations are supposed to guarantee human rights. Therefore it can be said that they guarantee the human rights of the people within the framework of dual organs such as, for example, the national government and local governments. The relationship between these actors is not hierarchical but intergovernmental.

At the same time, the scope of activities of local authorities or citizens is expanding on a global scale. The *raison d'être* of local authorities as governmental organizations is to guarantee the safety of people's lives; therefore, any situation that greatly affects people's lives is a top priority for them to solve on their own. It is more desirable if the citizens and local authorities are the main actors to guarantee peace, while their actions are complemented by the central government, which is further complemented by international organizations ("the principle of subsidiarity").

The second point concerns "a means" to guarantee peace: that is whether it is military or non-military means that is employed to guarantee peace.

This leads to the following question: "Is the ultimate object that must be defended the state or the people?" The common understanding in the past regarding this question was as follows: "War must be won, but if the headquarters is destroyed, it would mean loss of the war. Therefore, the headquarters must be saved, even at the cost of the people." Is such an understanding which effectively disregards the people still acceptable today?

Where Japan is concerned, defense by military means has crucial disadvantages. Japan is a mountainous country with 75% of its land consisting of mountains and 25% plains, the latter of which is inhabited by as many as 127 million people. In such an overcrowded land, there are more than 50 nuclear power plants and 30% of them are concentrated in Fukui Prefecture, one of the closest prefectures to North Korea which is regarded by some as a "hypothetical enemy." If these plants were attacked with missiles, lethal ash would fall across a large area from Central to Eastern Japan. At the same time, due to the scarcity of natural resources within

Japan, there are a number of oil storage facilities across the country. Particularly around the areas of Shirashima in Fukuoka Prefecture and Kamigoto in Nagasaki Prefecture (both prefectures located in the Kyushu Region) which are close to North Korea, there are off-shore storage facilities containing a total of 40 million kiloliters of oil. In the case of attacks on the areas, much of the Kyushu Region would be engulfed in fire. This situation means that Japan would be too vulnerable in a time of war. (For further details, see *Shin Gaidorain to Nichibei Anpo no Henshitsu* [The New Defense Guidelines and Transformation of the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance] by Shun Oide, 1998, Hokusensha.)

Furthermore, in the era of "urbanized society," metropolises like Tokyo would be completely paralyzed if supplies of electricity, food and oil were cut off. Even anticipation of such a situation might lead to hoarding, restricted sales of products, looting, fire-setting and guerrilla attacks, possibly resulting in millions of refugees. Chaos on this scale could not be managed, even through the use of strategic stockpiles or action taken by the police and armed forces. Particularly in Japan where political, economic and cultural centers are concentrated in Tokyo, attacks on, or any serious disturbance within, the capital could cause great catastrophe. (For further details, see *Toshigata Shakai to Bouei Ronso* [Urbanized Society and Controversy over Security] by Keiichi Matsushita, 2002, Koujin-no-Tomo Sha.) All these realities should be taken into account when addressing key defense issues.

The third and final point concerns "the aim or object of protection." To be more specific, the point of argument is whether the priority should be defending the state through national emergency legislation or protecting the people's lives.

Legislation principally focuses on "how to fight in war"; therefore, its utmost aim would be to restrict people's freedom and human rights for the sake of prosecuting a war. On the contrary, the ideal approach to guaranteeing peace stipulated in the preamble of the Constitution of Japan is to create a network of "trust[...]" with "the peace-loving peoples of the world" and "to preserve [the peoples'] security and existence...." For that purpose, we "striv[e] for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth." We should also actively nurture non-military, civilian cooperation around the world so that we can "occupy an honored place in an international society...." The ultimate goal is therefore to guarantee "the right to live in peace" for "all peoples of the world...."

A locality-oriented peace guarantee prioritizes the lives of the peoples of the world above the existence of individual states. The first step towards this would be to consolidate peace at a local level and then expand the scope to include international cooperation, conflict resolution and war prevention beyond borders, which is to be achieved consistently through non-military means.

Assistant professor at HPI

NEW PUBLICATION

Co-edited by Yuki Tanaka and Marilyn Young

Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth-Century History

(New Press, 2009)

According to the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, a non-government organization based in Gaza City, 1,417 Palestinians were killed and another 5,300 Palestinians were injured during the recent Israeli attack on Gaza, which lasted 22 days between December 2008 and January 2009. The majority of these casualties were civilian victims of Israel's indiscriminate bombing who did not support Hamas. Anwar Balousha and his wife, for example, were among the poorest and most vulnerable refugee families living in the Gaza Strip when their house was destroyed by an Israeli bomb on December 30. They lost their five daughters, aged between 4 and 17, who were asleep together on mattresses in one bedroom. In an interview with a Guardian journalist, Anwar said, "We are civilians. I don't belong to any faction, I don't support Fatah or Hamas, I am just a Palestinian. They are punishing us all, civilians and militants. What is the guilt of a civilian?" Many other Palestinians, who escaped serious physical injuries, in particular small children, have been psychologically traumatized due to the prolonged bombardment that came from the skies above them.

Near the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan, U.S. forces are now increasingly deploying UAVs (unmanned aerial vehicles) to bomb the Taliban. U.S. military authorities claim that their UAVs, like the Predator, are capable of carrying out precision attacks on individuals who are identified as enemies. However, here again the majority of victims of these "precision bombings" have been civilians and, as a result, anti-American sentiment in this region is growing rapidly.

In this way, even more than 60 years after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which instantly killed tens of thousands of civilians and caused various fatal illnesses to many more people due to radiation, it is still ordinary civilians, and in particular women, children and old people, who are made the victims of aerial bombing, despite the persistent claims of militarists about "precision bombing."

The aims of our recently published volume, *Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth-Century History*, are therefore to question why military planning in the early twentieth century shifted its focus from bombing military targets to bombing civilians, how this theory of "strategic bombing" justifying mass killing originated and why it was employed as a compelling military strategy for decades, both before and since the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As Robert Lifton succinctly states in the blurb of our book, "the bombing of civilians is one of the greatest scandals of the twentieth century, culminating in the use of the cruelest weapons yet devised." Unfortunately, it is almost certain that this scandal will remain one of the worst during the first decade of the twenty-first century as well.

The book, which comprises ten chapters, is a product of a two-year research project in 2005-2007 funded by the Hiroshima Peace Institute and the result of cooperative work by 11 researchers from Japan, the U.S., and Australia. It covers the history of aerial bombing from the British bombing of Iraq in the early 1920s to the most recent conflicts in Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and Lebanon, through World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War. It also examines moral issues and international law concerning the mass killing of civilians by indiscriminate aerial attack.

The first chapter, written by myself, demonstrates that during the interwar years the British considered air strikes in Iraq a cheaper, more "humane" way of maintaining imperial control than conventional ground operations, and interprets this as a prelude to full scale indiscriminate bombings conducted by both the Allies and Axis during World War II.

In Chapter 2, Ronald Schaffer explains how strategic bombing in World War II began with the Nazi Luftwaffe, how

revenge bombing escalated into indiscriminate bombing by both sides, and how this consequently ended with the complete destruction of German cities.

In Chapter 3, Robert Moeller then analyzes how the bombing war entered German history, memory, and commemorative practice through critical examinations of recent and controversial German publications on this topic, such as those by W.G. Sebald and Jörg Friedrich.

In Chapter 4, Mark Selden analyzes the devastating consequences of the U.S. fire bombing of Japanese cities and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and places them in the broad context of indiscriminate bombings conducted in Europe as well as Asia-Pacific by both sides of the antagonized powers during World War II. Selden concludes that "mass murder of civilians has been central to all subsequent U.S. wars."

Through their critical analyses of aerial bombings during World War II, Ronald Schaffer, Robert Moeller and Mark Selden each show that area bombardment was regarded, in particular by Britain and the U.S., as a shortcut to victory long after evidence ceased to support this belief.

In Chapter 5, Tsuyoshi Hasegawa claims that it was the Soviet invasion rather than the atomic bombs that compelled the Japanese to surrender in the Pacific War by cross-examining vital archival documents from Russia, the U.S. and Japan. Hasegawa also questions why American policymakers rushed to use the atomic bombs, when other alternatives were available.

In Chapter 6, Tetsuo Maeda explains why the Japanese Imperial Forces chose the city of Chongqing as the main target for their strategic bombing, how they conducted the bombing, what consequences it had on the people of that city and how this issue still remains one of the controversial problems in the relationship between the Chinese and Japanese.

Marilyn Young in Chapter 7 analyzes the theory of "strategic bombing," by discussing how the terrorizing and demoralizing of the enemy nation through airpower has consistently been an essential ideological component in justifying the U.S. bombings in the Korean, Vietnam, Gulf, Afghan and Iraq wars. She verifies this clearly by examining various claims by American political and military leaders in each of these wars.

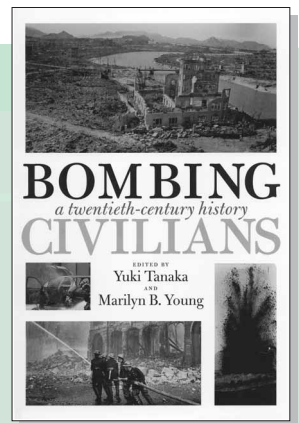
In Chapter 8, Michael Sherry examines the link between prophecy and practice of bombing through the history of American bombing. He also discusses the dissolution of that link late in the twentieth century, using popular books and films as the main source of his analysis.

In Chapter 9, Tony Coady discusses some important but difficult moral issues closely associated with aerial bombing, such as the "just war" principle, terrorism, collateral damage, incidental damage and the doctrine of "double effect."

In the final chapter, Tim McCormack and Helen Durham explain in detail the rules of international humanitarian law and focus upon recent specific bombing incidents to illustrate the specific rules and the challenges involved in their application.

As Howard Zinn states in his blurb for the book, readers will find that "the indiscriminate but also the deliberate killing of civilians by aerial bombing" is "one of the greatest horrors of modern war." We, the contributors of this book, sincerely hope that our cooperative work will enhance the public awareness that killing civilians is a crime against humanity, regardless of the asserted military justification, a crime that should be punished on the basis of Nuremberg and Geneva principles.

Yuki Tanaka, professor at HPI



- ◆ **Mar. 8** Kazumi Mizumoto participates as a lecturer at a wrap-up session of a Study Tour to Cambodia organized by Hiroshima International Center (HIC) and JICA Chugoku, held at HIC.
- ◆ **Mar. 11** HPI President Motofumi Asai, Kazumi Mizumoto and Hiroko Takahashi attend the 4th meeting of the Basic Planning Committee for the Renewal of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Mar. 26** Mizumoto attends as a panelist the inaugural symposium of the Hiroshima Peace Contribution Platform organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, HIC and others, held at HIC. ▽Makiko Takemoto presents paper "Peace Movement and Communist Party (KPD)" at the 19th meeting of the Society for Modern German History of West Japan held at HPI.
- ◆ **Mar. 27** Mizumoto participates as a regular member in the Advisory Research Group of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Mar. 27-30** Yuki Tanaka presents paper "British Air Policing in Colonial Countries Between the Two Wars" at the workshop "Violence and Statehood in Europe and Japan" held at the Kobe Institute of St. Catherine's College of Oxford University, held in Kobe.
- ◆ **Apr. 10** Tanaka attends a meeting of the Steering Committee of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND) Japan NGO Network, held in Tokyo.
- ◆ **Apr. 11** Mizumoto attends the inaugural meeting of the Japan Association of Disarmament Studies and is appointed a director, held at the National Center of Sciences, Tokyo.
- ◆ **Apr. 12** Tanaka attends a book review seminar held at the Center for the Tokyo Raid and War Damages.
- ◆ **Apr. 16-19** Robert Jacobs presents paper "Target Earth: Cartoon Images of Globalism in the Ashes of Hiroshima" at the annual conference of the British Association for American Studies held in Nottingham, UK.
- ◆ **Apr. 23-25** Narayanan Ganesan presents paper "The Global Financial Crisis and its Impact on Political Performance and Legitimacy in Singapore" at an international workshop, and attends the Executive Committee Meeting of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) in Danang, Vietnam.
- ◆ **Apr. 28** Asai attends the Local Liaison Council of the Radiation Effects Research Foundation in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Apr. 29** Asai gives lecture "Article 9 and Our Daily Life" at meetings organized respectively by Kogo-Furuta and Inokuchi-Inokuchidai Article 9 Associations (A9A), held in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Apr. 30** Asai gives lecture "Civil Protection Law and the Self Defence Forces" at a meeting organized by the Tokachi Bloc of the Hokkaido Peace Movement Forum and others, held in Hokkaido. ▽Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima & Nuclear Issues" at the California University Program of Meiji Gakuin University, held at Aster Plaza, Hiroshima.
- ◆ **May 3** Asai gives lecture "The Global Strategy of the Obama Administration and the Constitution" at a public meeting organized by A9A Omuta, held in Omuta, Fukuoka Prefecture. ▽Akihiro Kawakami gives lecture "The Present Situation of the Constitution in Japan and Our Choices" at a forum organized by the Society for Protection and Realization of Article 9, held in Shizuoka.
- ◆ **May 9** Asai gives lecture "The U.S. Global Strategy and Article 9" at a public meeting organized by the Association of Wakayama Prefectural Residents for Protection of Article 9, held in Wakayama. ▽Mizumoto gives lecture "The Meaning of Studying the Hiroshima Experience" at the Hiroshima Peace Forum organized by Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and others, and chairs a group discussion, held at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **May 10** Tanaka gives lecture "What Can We Expect from the Nuclear Policies of ICNND and President Obama?: The Role of Grass-root Anti-nuclear Movements" at the 2009 annual symposium of the Hiroshima Alliance for Nuclear Weapons Abolition.
- ◆ **May 11-12** Asai attends "Asia and Peace: Sino-Japanese Conference" held in Tokyo.
- ◆ **May 13** Mikyoung Kim gives lecture "The Japanese Reactions to the North Korean Rocket Launch" at the National Strategy Institute, Seoul, South Korea.
- ◆ **May 14** Mikyoung Kim gives lecture "Japanese Pacifism" at the Graduate School of International Studies, Korea University in Seoul, South Korea.
- ◆ **May 16** Asai attends as a panelist a symposium organized by the Japan Association for Middle East Studies, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **May 26-27** Sung Chull Kim presents paper "Sino-Japanese Normalization and Japan's Korea Policy: 1972-1973" at the symposium "The Koreas between Japan and China" held at the University of Hong Kong.
- ◆ **May 28** Mikyoung Kim presents paper "South Korean Construction of North Korean Women's Identities" at the international conference organized by the Hanns Seidel Foundation and the Institute of Peace and Unification Studies of Seoul National University, held in Seoul, South Korea.
- ◆ **May 28-31** Jacobs presents paper "Neighbors as Enemies: Narratives of Community Violence in Fallout Shelters and During Nuclear War in Early Cold War America" at the biannual conference of the Nordic Association for American Studies held in Copenhagen, Denmark.
- ◆ **Jun. 1** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Peace" at Peace Seminar 2009 organized by the International Center of Hiroshima Jogakuin University.
- ◆ **Jun. 1-19** Ganesan participates in an international team of scholars funded by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung for training Myanmar university lecturers and public officers on public policy formulation and Southeast Asian International Relations in Yangon, Myanmar.
- ◆ **Jun. 4** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima and Peace" to a group of students from the Central Connecticut State University, held at International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Jun. 6** Tanaka gives lecture "Crime and Responsibility: The Issue of Responsibility in the History of Examining the Criminality of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" at Waseda University in Tokyo.
- ◆ **Jun. 12** Mizumoto gives lecture "The Current State and Tasks of Peace Research" at a training program for Level II Certified Nursing Administrators organized by the Hiroshima Nursing Association.
- ◆ **Jun. 14** Takemoto presents paper "World War I and German Pacifists" at the 59th annual meeting of the Japanese Society of Western History, held at Senshu University, Tokyo.
- ◆ **Jun. 15** Mizumoto gives lecture "Hiroshima & Peace: From the Atomic Bomb Experience to International Contribution" at a regular meeting of the Hiroshima Southeast Rotary Club held at ANA Crowne Plaza Hotel Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Jun. 20** Tanaka gives lecture "Crime and Responsibility: The Mass Killing by Indiscriminate Bombing" at Kyoto Women's University.
- ◆ **Jun. 21** Asai gives lecture "The Situation in Northeast Asia after North Korea's satellite launch in April 2009" at a public meeting organized by the Kobe Koryo Culture Club, held in Kobe.
- ◆ **Jun. 23** Asai gives lecture "50 Years of the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance" at a public meeting organized by the Hokkaido Committee for Abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, held in Sapporo.
- ◆ **Jun. 26** Asai gives lecture "How to Approach North Korea" at a public meeting organized by the Study Group on the Suita Incident, held in Suita, Osaka Prefecture.

—Visitors—

- ◆ **Apr. 2** President Tae-Kyu Han, Dr. Bong-Jun Ko, Sujeong Kim, and Jiyoung Lee from the Jeju Peace Institute.
- ◆ **Apr. 15** Noriko Koide of the Nassau County Board of Cooperative Educational Services and 10 students from Valley Stream Central High School, N.Y., U.S.
- ◆ **Apr. 21** Akio Suda, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Delegation of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament.
- ◆ **May 29** Dr. Larry Hajime Shinagawa and 9 students from the University of Maryland, M.D., U.S.
- ◆ **Jun. 18** Yumiko Sakai, associate professor at Chuo University, and 10 students enrolled in the Summer Program of the university.

HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

Vol. 12 No. 1 (July 24, 2009) Copyright 2009 HPI, All rights reserved

- Published by Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University (Editor: Yuko Takahashi)
Ote-machi Heiwa Bldg. F9/10, 4-1-1 Ote-machi, Naka-ku, Hiroshima 730-0051, Japan
Phone: +81 (0)82 544 7570 Fax: +81 (0)82 544 7573 E-mail: office-peace@peace.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp
- Printed by Letterpress Co., Ltd.