

Assuming the Presidency at Hiroshima Peace Institute

By Motofumi Asai

With the end of the Cold War that cast a shadow over international relations throughout the late 20th century, we breathed a sigh of relief and hoped we were on our way to a peaceful world without war. But as if to suggest, "Things will not be that easy," the Persian Gulf Crisis and the succeeding war occurred in 1990/1991. Subsequently, conflicts in various parts of the world intensified, producing serious questions about the visions and methods required to build a new post-Cold War world order. The fundamental question is whether the conventional concept of the international society, composed of nation states, can survive and still be effective in decades to come. The speed at which U.S.-led globalization has been dominating the world, mainly in the field of international economy, shows no sign of slowing down. The uncontrollable progression and aggressiveness of globalization is so fierce that, if unchecked, it may deprive us of the possibility of providing international society with fresh and reinvigorating ideas. The U.S., which has come, for good or for ill, to dominate the world as the sole superpower, should be strongly urged to recognize its responsibility for dealing with the basic challenges facing international society mentioned above. Both the Clinton and Bush administrations have completely failed to recognize such responsibility. Since the September 11th attacks in 2001, the Bush administration has focused its attention exclusively on its "war against terror" and pursued unilateralist policies shamelessly, not showing the slightest readiness to deal with international relations from a comprehensive and global perspective.

I have had confidence for years that Japan, which has a peace constitution based on the lessons learned from past wars of aggression, remains thoroughly committed to the philosophy of "peace not dependent on military force" (anti-power politics) and could play a very important role in developing a new framework for international society after the Cold War. The key is for it to realize its important position as the second-biggest economy in the world and to act accordingly. If Japan is actively engaged in this challenging task, I am confident that it will be recognized internationally as an effective counterforce to the U.S., which clings to the philosophy of "peace dependent on

military force" (power politics). What Japan lacks today are (1) confidence in the moral and realistic relevance of the philosophy of its peace constitution, and (2) recognition of its international role as the second-biggest economy in the world. Due to this lack of confidence and awareness, Japan cannot overcome its diplomatic inertia and still blindly follows U.S. policies. Moreover, at the request of the U.S., political momentum is building in Japan to revise the peace constitution, which would deprive Japan of the possibility to act as a counterforce to the U.S.

Japanese citizens, whose country was forced to surrender by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, began a full-scale campaign for the elimination of nuclear weapons in 1955, triggered by the Lucky Dragon Incident in 1954. Their movement has come to be recognized as an important base for the international campaign against nuclear weapons. I believe that the very existence of Japan's peace constitution has been the backbone of our nuclear abolition campaign, helping to expand its international influence. This can be immediately understood by imagining what it would be like if the peace constitution is revised and Japan scraps its philosophy of "peace not dependent on military force." How convincing could Japan be in appealing for nuclear abolition if it turns to the American-led philosophy "peace dependent on military force" and more overtly accepts the idea of nuclear deterrence as an integral part of that philosophy? In that sense, the current situation in Japan, in which discussion of constitutional revision is overt, poses a grave danger and challenge to Hiroshima, the leader of Japan's nuclear abolition campaign.

My basic analysis of the domestic and international situation is as described above. To summarize, I feel a very strong sense of crisis about these situations both at home and abroad. Because of this sense of crisis, I was very eager to accept this job at HPI. I read the HPI Web page, understood the historical process of its establishment, studied its basic plans and objectives and came to understand the direction HPI is taking. Thus, I gained confidence in the *raison d'être* of HPI, and I resolved to do my best to help HPI fulfill its mission.

Though little time has passed since I started to work as a president of HPI, I have already become keenly aware of the heavy responsibility of the post. Because HPI is a young research institute, established in April 1998, the next several years will be crucial to HPI's effort to gain international recognition as "the peace research institute based in Hiroshima." I will perform the duties of president to the best of my ability and will try to create an environment in which excellent researchers can exercise their abilities to the fullest. I will also actively convey messages about domestic and international problems such that HPI will become an institution in which Hiroshima citizens can take pride. I hope we can count on your guidance, support and cooperation.

Asai is president at HPI

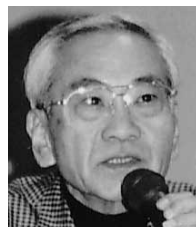
CONTENTS

Assuming the Presidency at Hiroshima Peace Institute by Motofumi Asai	1
Symposium	
A Re-examination of the NPT Regime:	
Proposals from Hiroshima and Nagasaki	2-3
Research Project	
The Real State of the Hibakusha Exposed by the 1954 Bikini Nuclear Test	3
2005 NPT Review Conference—A Personal Report by Yuki Tanaka	4
Problems Relating to the Kyoto Protocol and Global Warming by Akimasa Sumi	5
Reforms of the United Nations for the 21st Century by Christian Scherrer	6-7
Research Project	
Myanmar Peace Initiative	7
HPI Research Forum	
North Korea under Kim Jong-il by Sung Chull Kim	7
Forthcoming International Symposium:	
"Hiroshima and the Peace Constitution: Building on Our Past"	8
Diary	8



Coordinator, Yuki Tanaka,
Professor at HPI

HPI held a symposium called "A Re-examination of the NPT Regime: Proposals from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum on March 19, in advance of the May 2005 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference. Six researchers and peace activists from Hiroshima and Nagasaki made presentations in the first half of the symposium. In the second half, presentations were by experts from South Africa, Brazil, and New Zealand, three nations of the seven members of the New Agenda Coalition (NAC), which is actively involved in nuclear abolition. Nearly 150 participants, mainly Hiroshima citizens, listened to these presentations. Summaries of their presentations follow.



"For the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference: What Should We Do to Abolish Nuclear Weapons?"

Yukio Yokohara, A Steering Committee Member, Hiroshima Alliance for Nuclear Weapons Abolition

The NPT regime has already become meaningless and empty. We have to discuss at the most fundamental level whether the NPT regime will be able to eliminate nuclear weapons. Problems of the NPT regime include: the NPT is an unequal treaty; Article 4 of the NPT grants to the NNWS the right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and allows the spread of nuclear technologies; the NPT has not been successful in preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons even among parties to the NPT; the presence of a black market for nuclear weapons is tacitly approved; negative security assurances obtained by the NNWS are insufficient. Weapons of mass destruction will never be eliminated as long as wars and violent conflicts continue. In the current context, where nuclear weapons are used as political insurance against international isolation, and "usable" nuclear weapons are considered necessary in the fight against terrorism, it is important to campaign internationally to eliminate war. Complementary measures effective for nuclear nonproliferation, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and fissile material cut-off treaty, should also be undertaken while recognizing that it will take some time to eliminate nuclear weapons altogether.



"South Africa's View on the NPT Regime"

Mahlatse Mminele, Counsellor, Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Tokyo

We are dissatisfied with the lack of progress toward the "unequivocal undertaking" by nuclear-weapon states (NWSs), which was resolved at the 2000 NPT Review Conference. The possession of nuclear weapons does not enhance international peace and security. The complete elimination of nuclear weapons is only the assurance that they will never fall into the hands of terrorists. In the recent past, the sole emphasis has been placed on nonproliferation, while other key elements of the Treaty have been neglected. The NWSs have made politically binding security assurances to the state parties of the NPT and this political undertaking now needs to be given legal force under the NPT. It is necessary for the Review Conference to establish Subsidiary Bodies so as to give particular consideration to nuclear disarmament, security assurances and the 1995 Review and Extension Conference Resolution on the Middle East. South Africa's involvement in all issues relating to nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament is informed by the sad memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. South Africa will continue to be an advocate of nuclear disarmament for the sake of international peace and security.



"The NPT Regime and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons"

Mitsuo Okamoto, Professor, Hiroshima Shudo University

The contradiction within the NPT regime, which approves the existing NWS's possession of nuclear weapons while prohibiting other nations from having them, does, in a way, promote the proliferation of nuclear weapons. If the NPT successfully prevented the "horizontal" spread of nuclear weapons and the CTBT prevented "vertical" proliferation, the way toward the elimination of nuclear weapons would be a steadier one. But under the NPT in 1995, nuclear weapons existed in a total of 11 countries. As late as 2003 the U.S. and Russia together possessed the obscene number of some 30,000 nuclear weapons, and there is no guarantee that the U.S. will never again use nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, the NAC represents the hope and belief of many citizens of the world, who fervently desire the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In light of the advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1996, the use of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a violation of International Humanitarian Law. If the U.S. is intent on undermining the "unequivocal undertaking" of abolishing completely all its nuclear weapons, promised at the 2000 NPT Review Conference, the peace NGOs of the world must consider radical measures in deciding what to do now. All relevant NGOs must seek to carve a path toward "Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty" with solid determination to eliminate nuclear weapons.



"Brazil's View on the NPT Regime"

Alexandre Kotzias Peixoto, Second Secretary, Embassy of Brazil in Tokyo

Brazil supports multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament and nuclear non proliferation. But multilateralism has been weakened and relegated to a secondary position. Brazil joined the NPT in 1998 in order to join other parties in their efforts to correct its imbalance and contribute to its universality and credibility. Because of the emergence of so-called "non-State actors," the limits of the basic principles of international law have been stretched and new military doctrines including the use of nuclear weapons come into play. Restrictions on non nuclear-weapon states (NNWSs) have been strengthened while NWSs show no willingness to accept any curbs on their freedom of action, ignore multilateral negotiation, and backtrack on previous nuclear disarmament commitments. Agreements cannot be reneged on from one Review Conference to the next. We must urge North Korea to comply with the NPT. Brazil remains gravely concerned with nuclear weapon possession by India, Pakistan, and Israel. But we must also insist on complete and universal disarmament. The 2005 NPT Review Conference will be a test of the willingness of its parties to agree on ways and means to strengthen the Treaty.



"The NPT and Nuclear Disarmament : What We Can Do"

Kazumi Mizumoto, Associate Professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University

The NPT has been an imperfect treaty from the time of its inception, with the true aim of maintaining the "nuclear monopoly" by NWSs. The question now is how to move toward the goals of both the 1995 Review and Extension Conference's "Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament," and the 2000 Review Conference's 13 Practical Steps for nuclear disarmament, including the "unequivocal undertaking" to eliminate nuclear arsenals. The greatest obstacle to this problem is the U.S., and the Bush administration's stance on the NPT and nuclear disarmament that darkens the outlook. However there are some bright spots, such as a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty in Central Asia, which was finally provisionally signed. Hiroshima and Nagasaki need to humbly explore ways to link arms with nations and races with different experiences, making Japan's ambiguous traditional nuclear policies more consistent, and our experience of the atomic bombing more directly relevant in the movement toward global nuclear disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons.



"Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Upholding Both Sides of the Bargain at the 2005 NPT Review Conference"

Tanya Ogilvie-White, Lecturer, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

As the 2005 NPT Review Conference draws near, we are concerned that the expectation gap concerning the conference held by NWSs and NNWSs might widen. The U.S. stresses the need to focus on nonproliferation rather than disarmament, an issue which it declared "does not exist." NNWSs are interested only in pursuing NWS responsibility for not implementing efforts toward nuclear disarmament. The worst possible scenario would be a collapse of the NPT due to an entrenched ideological divide between NWSs and NNWSs.

The purpose of the 2005 Review Conference is to evaluate the implementation of the NPT, along with the 1995 Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament, and the Final Document of the 2000 Conference. The prospect for progress in re-committing the NWSs to their disarmament obligations has been significantly improved by the NAC, the NATO 8, Japan and South Korea. To some extent, the success or failure of the Conference will depend on the ability of this group to demonstrate a balanced approach during negotiations, one that promotes progress on both disarmament and non-proliferation.



"What Can We Do to Resolve the Crisis in the NPT Regime?"

Akira Kimura, Professor, Kagoshima University

The NPT is on the verge of collapse. What should individual global citizens do? It is important to discuss the NPT issue at a fundamental level, premised on the criminality and illegality of using atomic weapons. If forced to choose between the "prohibition and prevention of nuclear proliferation" and the "duty to implement nuclear disarmament," the latter is more important. The collapse of the NPT regime would not necessarily bring about uncontrolled nuclear proliferation. NNWSs that withdraw from the NPT would have the option of establishing on their own a new "nuclear weapon convention" to put pressure on NWSs. It is also necessary to question the relationship between nuclear weapons, conventional weapons and war, as well as the close relationship between the criminal use of atomic weapons and genocidal attacks on noncombatants through the use of new weapons. Specific agendas and clear schedules need to be established for the realization of nuclear disarmament. The renunciation of first-use of nuclear weapons by NWSs against NNWSs is especially important in the process of nuclear disarmament. Japan must abandon nuclear deterrence theory, become independent of the U.S. nuclear umbrella, and lead the nuclear abolition campaign.



"As We Face the NPT Review Conference and After : A Proposal from Nagasaki"

Hideo Tsuchiyama, Former President, Nagasaki University

The NPT faces two dilemmas: 1) it is an unequal treaty, but is the only treaty leading toward nuclear disarmament, and 2) unlike the Treaty for the Complete Prohibition of Anti-personnel Mines, no progress will be made until NWSs, the possessors of the targeted weapons, agree to give up these weapons. These dilemmas are reflected in the U.S. statement that "Article 6 of the NPT (obligation of nuclear disarmament) is not an issue." The 2005 NPT Review Conference is expected to deal with arguments between nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. It is important for voices from A-bombed cities to be reflected in the nuclear policies of the Japanese government. One solution is to work more closely with the seven NAC countries, as well as Canada and Australia. Another solution is to reject the U.S. nuclear umbrella. In that case, one security option would be to create a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Northeast Asia, including Japan. Our duty is to make the Japanese government change its attitude toward the political inertia that results in continued dependence on the U.S. umbrella and to denuclearize both the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.



"A Hibakusha's Opinion"

Akihiro Takahashi, Former Director, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

When I was hit by the atomic bomb at the age of 14, I was in a schoolyard located 1.4km from the epicenter. I was severely burned, but after suffering from various illnesses for 18 months, I narrowly escaped death. I am still fighting chronic hepatitis and many other diseases which seem to be aftereffects of the bombing, while conveying my Hibakusha experience to others. I have given more than 3,000 lectures to a total of over 300,000 people during the past 33 years. Last year, for the first time in 59 years, I saw the clothes of my friend, who fled with me right after the bombing. Seeing the clothes burned by heat rays, I could not hold back a flood of tears. The clothes rekindled my hatred against the U.S. But you cannot erase hatred with hatred. I am determined that the death of those mercilessly killed classmates shall not be wasted. I firmly believe it is my duty, as a survivor, to convey to posterity the silent messages from the many killed by the atomic bomb. Whether the 2005 Review Conference achieves success or ends in failure, it is the ardent wish of atomic bomb survivors that others continue without ceasing our efforts for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. For our part, we are determined to continue talking about our experience of the atomic bombing until the last flame of the last life flickers out.

By Kazumi Mizumoto, associate professor at HPI

HPI Research Project

The Real State of the Hibakusha Exposed by the 1954 Bikini Nuclear Test

The Bravo Shot, a U.S. hydrogen bomb test, on March 1, 1954, victimized a large number of innocent people, including Marshall Islands residents, American soldiers and crew members of the Lucky Dragon. The full picture of radiation exposure from that test remains unclear even today, half a century later.

On March 24 and 25, 2005, HPI held a workshop as part of the research project "The Real State of the Hibakusha Exposed by the 1954 Bikini Nuclear Test." The purpose was to clarify the full extent of radiation exposure caused by the U.S. nuclear tests in the South Pacific. Project members include Dr. Yoshinobu Masuda, former director-general of the Meteorological Research Institute, Professor Emeritus Shoji Sawada of Nagoya University, Noriyuki Kawano, research associate at the International Radiation Information Center, Research Institute for Radiation Biology and Medicine, Hiroshima University, Seiichiro Takemine, PhD student at Waseda University Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, and Hiroko Takahashi, the author of this article.

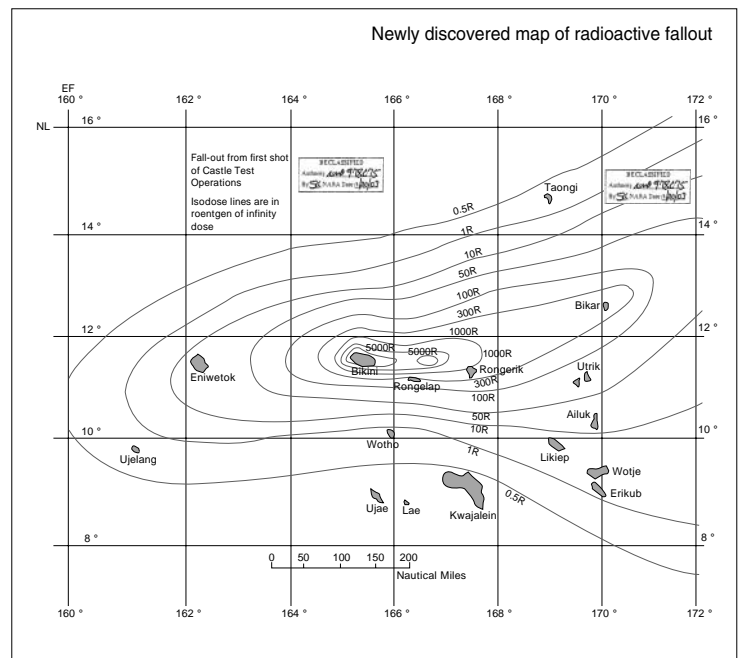
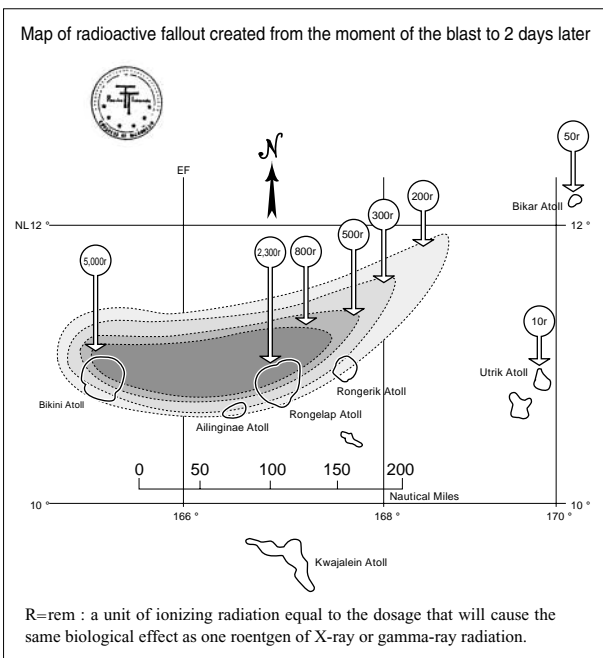
In February 2005, the writer, a historian, collected records on U.S. nuclear tests in the U.S., focusing on documents related to the radiation exposure caused by the Bikini H-bomb test. These documents, which now belong to the U.S. National Archives, were originally held by the Biological Medical Division of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. The documents collected by the writer were variously analyzed by project members from the standpoint of their specialties.

One of the most significant outcomes of the workshop was the

analysis of a distribution map of radioactive fallout caused by the Bravo Shot. The U.S. government released the map to the left, showing the distribution and amounts of radioactive fallout created from the moment of the blast to two days later. The map to the right, which shows the ongoing influence of radioactive fallout, was obtained by the writer from the U.S. National Archives and is made public here for the first time. From local resident witnesses in the Ailuk Atoll and from U.S. Atomic Energy Commission records, Takemine has revealed that people in the Ailuk Atoll were exposed to radiation, even though the Ailuk Atoll is located outside the area designated as "influenced by radioactive fallout" in the map to the left produced by the U.S. government. Analyses of the map on the right by meteorologist Dr. Masuda and physicist Dr. Sawada found that residents in the Ailuk Atoll have been exposed to radiation, and their findings are supported by Takemine. Kawano, whose specialty is social medicine, is conducting field research at a nuclear test site in Semipalatinsk, in the former Soviet Union. He pointed out that epidemiological investigation based on these new records is necessary in the Marshall Islands.

Based on the new findings brought to light for the first time at this workshop, the project members recognized the urgent need for field investigations and joint research into the U.S. National Archives' documents.

By Hiroko Takahashi, research associate at HPI



2005 NPT Review Conference

— A Personal Report —

By Yuki Tanaka

On a bright and sunny May Day morning, about 30,000 people, including as many as 1,000 from Japan (105 from Hiroshima), marched from the United Nations to Central Park in New York City, chanting “No War, No Nukes.” At the Hecksher Ballfields in Central Park, demonstrators formed a large human peace sign and held a rally, which was addressed by the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, together with many prominent peace activists from around the world, as well as some Hibakusha. This event marked the start of the 7th NPT Review Conference at the United Nations, an event held once every five years since the NPT came into effect in 1970. The number of participants this year was, however, notably smaller than at previous events of this kind held in New York City—an indication of a lack of interest in nuclear issues by the general populace.

At lunchtime on May 4, an NGO session was conducted in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations, where the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, representatives of several NGOs from anti-nuclear movements in Japan and other nations, and celebrities such as Yoko Ono, were supposed to address the delegates of member nations to the U.N. This was a rare opportunity for NGOs to appeal directly to the U.N. for the immediate abolition of all nuclear weapons throughout the world. Yet, the contrast between the General Assembly Hall—which was all but empty—and the Public Gallery, which was packed with a few thousand expectant people, was astounding. It was indeed a sad scene to observe prominent speakers each in turn give their presentation to this huge, vacant hall. Not surprisingly, a dejected mood pervaded the gallery as people realized the harsh reality of the difficulty of conveying these messages to all the nations of the world, asking them to seriously discuss ways of abolishing weapons of mass destruction.

During the first week of May, many workshops organized by NGOs working on various nuclear-related issues were held in the U.N. building where lively discussions amongst peace activists took place. In the corridors various free pamphlets and magazines prepared by NGOs as well as by some governments were displayed and handed out to participants. One of them was a glossy brochure prepared by the U.S. government, entitled *Foreign Policy Agenda March 2005: Today's Nuclear Equation*. In this, there is a short article titled “Controlling the World's Most Dangerous Weapon” by Stephen Rademaker, Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control and Acting Assistant Secretary of State for NPT. Rademaker claims that the world's most dangerous weapons are weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists such as al-Qaeda and those of so-called rogue states like North Korea and Iran. Referring to the 2005 NPT Review Conference, he writes “Never before have the members of the treaty faced the scope of violations that occurred in recent years.” Yet he makes no mention whatsoever of the obligation of the nuclear-weapon states to comply with nuclear disarmament as stipulated in Article 6 of the NPT.

Today it is estimated that there are more than 12,600 nuclear warheads in the world, of which 7,000 or 56% are owned by the U.S. Clearly, the U.S. possesses the largest number of the “world's most dangerous weapons.” Yet, as far as its own nuclear policies are concerned, the Bush administration refused to ratify the CTBT, withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, and is promoting new types of “tactical nuclear arms.” Surely these policies must be seen as inconsistent with the spirit of NPT. The U.S. government regards North Korea as a “rogue nation” and a “threat to the world,” but claims Pakistan is not a threat, even though it provided North Korea with nuclear arms technology. The U.S. carried out a preemptive strike against Iraq, claiming that America was defending itself against a nation that already possessed or was developing weapons of mass destruction including nuclear arms. After the invasion and occupation, evidence substantiating the allegations is not forthcoming. Yet, it remains silent about the Israeli possession of nuclear arms. Moreover, the U.S. government has no

hesitation in stating that it may use nuclear weapons against potential enemy nations with no nuclear arms. Undoubtedly it is these kinds of inconsistent “nuclear proliferation policies” that are responsible for making the NPT defunct.

In the statement delivered by Japan's Foreign Minister Nobutaka Machimura at the U.N. on May 2, Japan urged North Korea and Iran to dismantle all their nuclear programs. Similarly, he asked India, Pakistan and Israel to accede to the NPT and abolish their nuclear weapons. Yet, he made no request that the U.S. and other nuclear-weapon states also adhere to their international obligation—stipulated by the NPT—to abolish such weapons. On the same day in New York, together with other delegates of a Hiroshima-based NGO, the Hiroshima Alliance for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, I met Kazuya Ogawa, a member of the Japanese Government Delegation to the Conference on Disarmament, and exchanged views on the NPT. During this session I argued that Japan should cooperate closely with the nations of the New Agenda Coalition (NAC) to press all nuclear-weapon states, including the U.S., to fulfill their obligation to abolish nuclear weapons. I also argued that Japan, as the only nation victimized by A-bombs, bears a moral responsibility to lead the world anti-nuclear campaign. His reply was that Japan, as a nation protected under the American nuclear umbrella, must take a different approach from the small countries of the NAC, which fall outside the U.S. nuclear umbrella. His reply characteristically demonstrates a grave contradiction in Japan's nuclear policy. It is like asking an alcoholic to stop drinking while constantly providing him with the opportunity to obtain alcohol.

Having attended some of the workshops on various nuclear issues organized by NGOs, I reconfirmed my own view that a completely new approach is required to tackle the problem of nuclear weapons. It is undoubtedly important to raise issues such as the danger of the radioactive effects of depleted uranium (DU) weapons on civilians and the illegality of using and threatening to use nuclear weapons. However, we must accept that it is almost impossible to eliminate nuclear weapons through grass-roots movements focused solely on abolishing nuclear weapons. It is quite natural for any regime to want to possess weapons that will outdo those of a potential enemy. Our aim, therefore, must be to develop a new, comprehensive approach to consider how to reduce and eventually abolish all types of arms, including nuclear weapons. At the same time ways should be explored to increase understanding of the fact that killing civilians is a crime against humanity regardless of the asserted military justification and regardless of the type of weapon used, whether nuclear or conventional, a crime that should be punished on the basis of the Nuremberg and Geneva principles. However this effort will be a mammoth task necessitating the cooperation of many people from around the world.

The strength of popular grass-roots peace movements stems from the fact that they can critically look at war and conflict from the viewpoint of the victims, and unite with one another through a shared concern for victims of war, irrespective of what weapons have been used. It is therefore imperative, I believe, to utilize this strength to the fullest, in order to generate new ways to promote popular movements to abolish all types of weapons.

To conclude this report on the 2005 NPT Review Conference, I would like to quote a verse from John Lennon's song, *Imagine*, with which Yoko Ono ended her speech at the U.N. General Assembly Hall.

You may say I'm a dreamer
But I'm not the only one
I hope someday you will join us
And the world will be as one.

Tanaka is professor at HPI

Problems Relating to the Kyoto Protocol and Global Warming

By Akimasa Sumi

1. Introduction

After being pending for years, the Kyoto Protocol finally came into force on February 16, 2005, leading to a resurgence in discussions regarding global warming and the significance of the Protocol. The Japanese government has begun preparing action plans for reducing the country's combined emissions to six percent below the 1990 level. Most people, however, have little awareness of the comprehensive impact of global warming. In this article I will identify the most significant problems relating to the Kyoto Protocol as a way of painting a clearer picture of global warming.

2. Global Warming as a Political Issue

Global warming is commonly considered a political problem requiring extensive scientific knowledge. However, scientific and technological knowledge is essential for resolving problems related to pension systems, food safety, and nearly all problems facing modern society. Thus, global warming is far from being the only problem requiring scientific knowledge. It is, however, the problem that has done the most to raise public awareness of the necessity to adopt a scientific approach to political decision-making.

The problems of global warming and nuclear war have much in common. Both represent a tremendous menace for future generations. Both are global problems that inevitably affect everyone on earth.

Despite the similarities, however, nuclear war and global warming have one outstanding difference. People everywhere share the fear of human annihilation by a nuclear war. Hiroshima and Nagasaki demonstrated the horrors of nuclear war. In contrast, people have differing opinions of the impact of global warming, which makes it difficult to develop a consensus even in a single society, much less on a global basis.

3. Significance of the Kyoto Protocol

Parties against the Kyoto Protocol argue that it lacks scientific grounding. I admit that scientific studies of global warming are neither perfect nor sufficient. However, the Kyoto Protocol is based on a wide range of scientific results gathered by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and other organizations. It is, therefore, reasonable and sensible to prepare for future environmental risks in accordance with the scientific knowledge available today.

Why then does the U.S. oppose this international framework? The U.S. seems to be affected by its traditional policy of the Monroe Doctrine. As stated in the U.S. Congress, Americans believe that the future of Americans should be determined only by Americans, not by international conventions. In addition, Americans regard China and India to be emerging rivals in the 21st century. So long as these two countries are not obliged to reduce their emissions, why should the U.S. have to reduce its emissions? Another reason for not ratifying the Protocol is the rapidly increasing American population, which makes the regulation of combined emissions unrealistic. Americans believe that everyone living in the "new world" should have an opportunity to make his or her fortune. America ensures that all people can embrace hope and ambition, even though they are likely to end up as mere dreams. In short, rather than follow international conventions restricting the freedom of its people, the U.S. intends to adopt its own approach to addressing global warming.

Europe, on the other hand, seems to be motivated by a political strategy that prioritizes environmental protection during the 21st century. In Europe, environmentalists have considerable influence, as evidenced by the Green Party. In addition, reducing CO₂ emissions is more feasible in Europe, particularly in East Europe, than in other regions. European countries believe that by taking the initiative in environmental policies, they will be able to exert leadership in political and economic policies as well.

Meanwhile, China, which used to represent developing countries, has begun to adopt environmental protection measures. Naturally, any country that develops economically begins also to develop concern for environmental problems. Accordingly, we need to facilitate the

economic growth of developing countries, while at the same time encouraging them to take measures to curtail energy consumption. Thus, one of our most urgent tasks is to promote scientific research and develop technologies to pursue sustainable development.

I have discussed the approaches several countries have taken to the Kyoto Protocol. These different approaches can be interpreted as different tactics aimed at gaining hegemony in the 21st century. It is within this context that the Kyoto Protocol established a new international framework, the "Kyoto Mechanism," which is of historic significance. Although the mechanism was widely criticized initially, I believe that it will eventually prove highly influential, as have other mechanisms.

Many corporations are particularly sensitive about the Protocol's "emissions trading" regime. Since corporations can buy and sell emissions credits on a global basis, many countries are seeking to establish a mechanism in favor of their enterprises. If this mechanism is established under Western leadership, Japanese companies are likely to find themselves at a great disadvantage. Accordingly, the Japanese government should actively participate in decision-making regarding trading rules, so as to establish a practical mechanism that will protect the interests of Japanese enterprises as well.

4. International Society in the 21st Century and Beyond

Finally, I would like to describe a likely future for international society. Obviously, we cannot continue consuming energy and other natural resources at current rates indefinitely. Oxygen concentration in the atmosphere is declining, a phenomenon attributable to increasing CO₂. If present emission levels continue, in 700 years the oxygen concentration that is projected to decline to approximately 18%, is a level harmful to human health. It is therefore evident that we cannot pursue unlimited economic growth. The future survival of humankind depends on finding a way to build sustainable societies. Since Japan depends on imports for 60% of its food consumption, it has no choice but to seek mutual prosperity with the rest of the world. Exploiting Japan's advanced environmental technologies, Japan should exert its leadership in promoting the vision of a sustainable international society, and should contribute to realizing that vision.

In my view, "optimists" who are not concerned about the worsening environment believe that environmental problems will affect only the weak and the vulnerable. These optimists often refer to the long history of evolution on this planet, mentioning "natural selection" and "adaptation to environmental changes." It is true that over the long history of organisms on the earth, many species were screened and lost. It is also true that the extinction of some species enabled the evolution of others. I doubt, however, whether these optimists are ready for human extinction. Presumably, they believe that they and their descendants will survive the process of natural selection. If they were truly aware of the risk of human extinction, they would certainly take measures to avoid that risk.

Various measures to avoid human extinction have been suggested. First of all, we should stop wasting energy and resources. Many urban problems, for example, typify problems derived from waste of energy and natural resources. As a solution to the problem of urban overcrowding, the Japanese National Diet adopted a resolution to relocate Japan's capital from Tokyo. Relocating the capital would effectively reduce greenhouse gas emissions, as well as reduce the risk of earthquake damage. However, the relocation plan has long been left pending, because the National Diet members are unable to decide where the new capital should be located.

Many attempts to improve our present society would also be effective in preventing global warming, and by taking measures to prevent global warming, we can resolve various other problems and ensure a better future.

Sumi is professor of the Center for Climate System Research, University of Tokyo

Reforms of the United Nations for the 21st Century

By Christian Scherrer

When Kofi Annan in his address to the General Assembly in September 2003 warned Member States that the United Nations had reached a fork in the road, he was referring to the single most divisive issue in recent years, the assault by the Anglo-Saxon powers on a disarmed Iraq, with its population decimated, undernourished and weakened by a U.N. sanction regime whose manipulators during 13 years were the aggressors themselves.

At any fork in the road we must decide which path to take. In this case, one leads to utter international anarchy, impoverishment of vast world regions, new imperialist aggression, instability, ecological fascism and the threat of nuclear extermination. The other path would strengthen international law against the law of the jungle, eradicate poverty, share limited resources equitably, fulfill the U.N. Millennium Development Goals, control global warming and pollution, firmly establish a world peace order and outlaw illegal unilateral action.

Annan created the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change to generate and assess ideas about policies and institutions required for the U.N. to overcome the present crisis and effectively maintain the world peace order. The panel submitted its report "A more secure world: Our shared responsibility" in fall 2004. The section on a more effective United Nations (pp.75-94) kicked off widespread debate.

Iraq and the Decaying Global Peace Order

In September 2004 Annan explicitly but belatedly declared that the U.S.-led war on Iraq was illegal. Illegal action should be prosecuted, which is the purpose of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Half of the world's states are now parties to the Rome Statute, among them, almost all democracies.

Speaking for Japan, Naoko Saiki declared that the ICC should "ensure that there will be no place on earth where perpetrators may escape." However, Washington, D.C. seems to be a safe haven for war criminals. The ICC has failed to launch any investigation into the assault and occupation of Iraq while keeping itself busy pursuing African villains, with pending cases in Congo, Uganda and Sudan. Its inactivity regarding Iraq led global civil society to organize People's Tribunals.

Changes without Coherent Concept

In his March 2005 report titled "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all"—following-up on the High-level panel report—Kofi Annan spoke of "a historic opportunity in 2005" to start a reform process that will upgrade the system to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Major changes will be made at a summit of the world's leaders at U.N. headquarters in New York in September, which marks the U.N.'s 60th anniversary. What Annan calls for and my comment on them are as follows:

- * Expanding the Security Council—without mentioning the most controversial issue, the veto, which ought to be abolished
- * Setting clear rules for legitimate military intervention—but almost no mention of how to operationalize the prevention of violence (and genocide in particular) or how to enhance conflict management as central requirements for future global governance
- * Strengthening the human rights regime—but not a word about the most tricky rights, those for minorities
- * Equitable development and trade, with the Millennium Development Goals to be met by 2015—without binding rules of how to finance such a program
- * Member states to provide 0.7% of GNP for development aid and full debt relief to the world's poorest countries—again more an appeal than something binding
- * More coherence and sweeping overhaul of the U.N. bureaucracy—without touching upon the issue of how to finance and facilitate the increasingly global process of governance.

Conclusion: Though representing the biggest U.N. reform proposal in history, the proposed reform agenda remain too modest.

Maintaining the World Peace Order

Any promising method of conflict resolution requires, first and foremost,

political solutions geared to concrete situations, worked out in consultation with all parties to the conflict, enforced by a graduated set of instruments from preventive diplomacy, peaceful settlement via multiple tracks, targeted political and economic sanctions (that target non-complying governments without harming the people) and Chapter VII peace-enforcement operations—as last resort.

Genocide cannot be viewed as an "internal affair." Intervention becomes a moral duty. The task of developing structural prevention of genocide must receive the attention it requires. Despite the agreed necessity—and the African Union's right of intervention against rogue states, as of now, nothing has stopped the genocidal killing in Darfur.

Since 2001 the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review has raised fears about lowering the threshold for using nuclear arms. The 2005 Review Conference made it clear that the NPT regime is bound to collapse if the nuclear powers fail to agree on comprehensive disarmament. Indeed, among the most daunting challenges for the U.N. is the question of how to limit and control military spending and imperialist-style aggression.

New Agenda for Peace and Change

Major well-known challenges confronting the international society include: (1) need for peaceful settlement of intra-state conflicts vs. restricted possibilities allowed now under international law (non-interference); (2) incalculable risks of irreparable destabilization of the world economy if poverty continues to grow in the South; and (3) urgency of measures to avert global climate catastrophe. In all three areas the danger lies in the fact that effective responses get blocked and ultimately come too late.

The major powers privileged under the existing order of global institutions are politically short-sighted and resist serious reform to protect vested interests. And yet global governance by a strengthened United Nations is a non-starter without radical changes. Growing geopolitical contradictions may break the deadlock and overturn the present Euro-centric power structure. Enlarging the Security Council is a step in the right direction, with qualifications.

The main obstacles to much-needed reforms are clearly identifiable: In the U.N. Security Council, the right of veto is still held by the five old nuclear powers but not by India, Japan, Germany, Indonesia, Brazil, and Nigeria.

Calls for reforms originate mainly from Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) countries, trying to keep the big powers from further attempts to instrumentalize the United Nations. Today's dominance of the Northern minority over the Southern majority must be broken—with China and the East Asian tigers as emerging go-betweens.

More Radical Reforms are Needed

Radical proposals for reform call for upgrading and democratizing the U.N. system and for increasing its efficiency. The United Nations need not be "reinvented" but adjusted in line with new requirements. Missing are clear practical modalities to overcome obstacles to reform. That said, my list of proposed reforms would affect the entire U.N. system:

- * Abolish the Security Council veto and admit new permanent members—countries from all major world areas and such regional bodies as the European Union and African Union
- * Create a world welfare organization; establish global minimum standards for human existence; a single world currency
- * Create a world central bank to check currency speculation on financial markets
- * Abolish the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank; incorporating their functions under the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
- * Strengthen the General Assembly
- * Increase the democratic legitimacy of the U.N. system: world parliament of elected representatives having powers to approve the annual budget and dismiss the Secretariat if needed
- * Create an independent resource base fed by global taxes on financial transactions (e.g. at 0.1%) and environmental emissions; "taxes instead of contributions" would cure U.N. finances

- * Expand membership in and activities of the International Criminal Court; invigorate the International Court of Justice
- * Promote conflict-prevention measures as the core element of global governance
- * Create a culture of peace to replace repressive measures and military action
- * Global abolition of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction
- * Ban all arms sales
- * Promote and incorporate regional arrangements, which ought to be

integral parts of the U.N. system; include regional security councils and conflict-regulation mechanisms; regional peace-troops (solving the African Union's problems with destabilizing intra-state conflicts)

- * Constitute a world ecology and environmental council with the power to impose economic sanctions
- * Involve civil society actors in all global bodies; high budgets and large staffs made international NGOs global players in the 1990s; similarly, NGOs will have increasing influence in the 21st century.

Scherrer is professor at HPI

HPI Research Project

Myanmar Peace Initiative

The first workshop of the Myanmar Peace Initiative Project was held at the Hiroshima Peace Institute from 16th to 18th March 2005. The meeting brought together a number of scholars including Professor David Steinberg and Dr. Robert Taylor, who are familiar with historical and political developments in Myanmar. There were also a number of Myanmar scholars from both within and outside the country. The aim of the workshop was to review developments in state-society and civil-military relations in the country, especially the ethnic ceasefire agreements with insurgent groups and the Constitutional Convention. The workshop began with a roundtable discussion on recent trends and trajectories in Southeast Asian state-society relations in general, then moved on to a historical treatment of the Myanmar situation, examining the impact of British colonization and Japanese Occupation on the country's post-independence developments. Subsequent presentations examined conceptions of political legitimacy, the role of the military, state-society relations and the country's political economy. There were also papers that looked at the Karen and Shan ethnic groups and their places in the development of the country.

The first workshop resolved that there would be five additional

presenters to make the project more wholesome during the second phase. It was further resolved that developments pertaining to the Kachin and Mon peoples will be examined in the second workshop. Additionally, a presenter familiar with theories of ethnicity and their relevance for Myanmar will be included in the deliberations. Finally, the second workshop will commission two additional papers on state-society and civil-military relations in Southeast Asia so the Myanmar situation can be viewed from a comparative perspective. The second workshop will be held from 26th to 28th October 2005.

During the first workshop, invited attendees included Professor Michio Takatani from Hiroshima University and Professor Omar Farouk from Hiroshima City University. Two of other attendees were from the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation that generously supported the closing ceremony of the research project. Following the second conference, presenters will be given a final chance to revise their papers before the collection is published commercially. It is expected that the edited volume will be ready and available for purchase in early 2006.

By Narayanan Ganesan, associate professor at HPI

HPI Research Forum

April 25, 2005

Title: North Korea under Kim Jong-il: From Consolidation to Systemic Dissonance

Speaker : Dr.Sung Chull Kim

<Summary>

Since his appointment in 1973 to the position of secretary in charge of organization and propaganda in the Korean Workers' Party, Kim Jong-il's influence has never been limited to party affairs but has extended to every aspect of society, from the military to ideology, culture, and economy. His energetic and meticulous personality has penetrated deep into daily affairs. Long before the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, the younger Kim already had a firm grip on power in the party, the military, and the state apparatus.

During Kim Jong-il's three decades of engagement in politics, the reference points for national identity have been dramatically transformed. First, socialist values placing priority on public goods have largely been discarded, not only because of the inefficiency of central planning and collectivity but because of burgeoning unofficial commercial practices. The July 1st Economic Measure was a kind of reform targeting the uncontrollable unofficial sphere of activity. Second, anti-imperialism, which began immediately after the division of Korea in 1945 and strengthened after the Korean War, had been maintained for domestic political integration, but it changed significantly in the early 1990s. To solve Pyongyang's security dilemma, North Korea has attempted to detour through South Korea,

Japan, and Western countries—which may be called detour diplomacy—to approach the U.S. and, ultimately, to normalize relations. Finally, the anti-Japanese guerrilla tradition, extolled in the process of intensifying Kim Il Sung's personality cult, has been replaced by "military-first politics" since 1995. Due to a decline in party legitimacy, military-first politics garnered special attention in and out of North Korea.

The above-mentioned transformation of reference points is attributable to two conjoining phenomena plaguing North Korea in the 1990s. On the one hand, the breakdown of Eastern European socialist systems and the disintegration of the Soviet Union brought about a sharp decline in North Korea's energy imports from its socialist allies. On the other hand, inefficient agricultural practices compounded by natural disasters from 1995 to 1997 caused extreme famine in North Korea. The social impact of the lack of oil, food and other essential resources was enormous: minimal operation of factories, death by starvation, deurbanization, dissipation of the labor force, and suspension of education and medical services.

The failure of North Korea's detour diplomacy to access the U.S. as well as the unfolding of domestic military politics lay the groundwork for the second nuclear crisis that surfaced in 2002 and led to the declaration of nuclear state status in 2005. Time is a critical factor in resolving this crisis, especially to halt plutonium-based weapon development. Given the volatility of the U.S.-DPRK bilateral framework, that is, the Agreed Framework of 1994, it is vital to arrange direct U.S.-DPRK talks within the Six-Party framework. Such talks could create a practical mechanism for monitoring the implementation process.

By Sung Chull Kim, associate professor at HPI

International Symposium

Lectures

Hiroshima and the Peace Constitution: Building on Our Past

As a consequence of the devastation that resulted from the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Forces 60 years ago by accepting the Potsdam Declaration that demanded liquidation of its military forces and the introduction of true democracy. Japan thus ended the 15 year long war that had raged in various parts of the Asia-Pacific region. In 1946 the Japanese people widely supported the promulgation of the Peace Constitution that could be regarded as the embodiment of the Potsdam Declaration. This was based on the pacifist idea that the nation would never again take up arms nor wage war, no matter what the reason. Today, however, the country faces a critical dilemma, spurred on by the "weathering of the Hiroshima experience" as well as a rising voice demanding for "amendment of the Constitution." Faced with such a predicament, the Symposium will focus upon the question of how to revitalize the peace spirit of Hiroshima and Japan's Constitution.

Panelists:
Carol Gluck
 Professor, Columbia University, U.S.
Pervez Hoodbhoy
 Professor, Quaid-e-Azam University, Pakistan
Shoichi Koseki
 Professor, Dokkyo University, Japan
Motofumi Asai
 President, Hiroshima Peace Institute, Japan
Coordinator:
Yuki Tanaka
 Professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute
Date and Time: July 30(Sat.), 2005 1:30p.m.-5:00p.m.
Venue:
 Himawari Room, second basement (B2)
 International Conference Center
 (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park)
 1-5 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima
Host: Hiroshima Peace Institute
Collaboration: Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation

Prior to the International Symposium, lectures by two of the panelists will be held in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombing. Question and answer session will be included in the last half hour of each lecture. We hope you will attend the lectures.

[Lecture A]
Date and Time: July 27 (Wed.) 6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.
Speaker: Pervez Hoodbhoy
 Professor at Quaid-e-Azam University, Pakistan
Title: "What Will It Take to Stop Nuclear Proliferation?"

[Lecture B]
Date and Time: July 28 (Thu.) 6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.
Speaker: Carol Gluck
 Professor, Columbia University, U.S.
Title: "Remembering the Future: Hiroshima and the World"

Venue: Multimedia Studio, 6th floor of Hiroshima City Plaza for Town Development through Citizen Exchange. (6-36, Fukuro-machi, Naka-ku, Hiroshima. Next to Fukuro-machi Elementary School)

How to Attend: Contact HPI for reservations, which can be made by phone, fax, email or postcard by July 25 (Lectures) and July 27 (Symposium). Write your name, address, telephone number, fax number, and indicate desired event (Lecture A,B and/or Symposium). Up to 100 people for each lecture and 300 people for the Symposium can be accommodated on a first-come, first-served basis.

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D I A R Y

March 1 - June 30, 2005

Mar. 14 Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture on "Nuclear Issues 60 years after the Drop of the Atomic Bomb: A Viewpoint from Hiroshima" at the monthly meeting of the Hiroshima International Women's Club at Mielparque Hiroshima.

Mar. 16-18 First workshop of HPI Research Project "Myanmar Peace Initiative" is held.

Mar. 17 Mizumoto attends as committee member 4th conference of core members of Hiroshima International Peace Forum, organized in Tokyo by Hiroshima Prefecture.

Mar. 19 HPI holds symposium "A Re-examination of the NPT Regime: Proposals from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

Mar. 24-25 Workshop of HPI Research Project "The Real State of the Hibakusha Exposed by 1954 Bikini Nuclear Test" is held.

Apr. 1-2 Mizumoto gives lecture on "Atomic Bombing in Hiroshima and Its Peace Movement: From Military Capital to Peace City" at the "4*3 Peace and Human Rights Forum: For the Peace Community in East Asia" sponsored by the Jeju 4*3 Institute at the International Center, Cheju National University, South Korea.

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

Apr. 20 Yuki Tanaka gives lecture on "Godzilla and the Bravo Shot: Who Created and Killed the Monster?" at Donald Keene Center of Japanese Culture, Columbia University.

Apr. 21 Tanaka gives lecture on "Terror from the Sky: A History of Indiscriminate Bombing" to Genocide Studies Program at Yale University.

Apr. 23 Hiroko Takahashi reported on "Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission and the Concealed Atomic Bomb Casualties" at 11th Meeting of the Study of A-and H-Bomb Sufferers held by Japan Confederation of A-and H-Bomb Sufferers Organization (HIDANKYO) and the Japan Scientists' Association at Nihon University.

Apr. 25 Sung Chull Kim gives lecture on "North Korea under Kim Jong-il: From Consolation to Systemic Dissonance" at HPI Research Forum.

Apr. 26 Tanaka gives lecture on "Godzilla, Fire Bombing and Atomic Bombing" to seminar for graduate students organized by History Department of California University, San Diego.

May 2-4 Tanaka attends workshops pertinent to NPT Review Conference at the U.N. headquarters in New York.

May 12-17 Christian Scherrer conducts interviews with Hibakusha in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

May 15 Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Current Situation of Nuclear Weapons in the World" during training course for volunteer readers of A-bomb memoirs organized by and held at Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims.

May 24-25 Tanaka gives lectures on "Godzilla and the Bravo Shot: Who Created and Killed the Monster?" on 24th and "A Re-examination of the NPT Regime" on 25th at symposium "Hiroshima: Memory and Threat" organized by Center for East and South-East Asian Studies at Lund University, Sweden.

May 26-28 Second workshop of HPI Research Project "Contention and Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Analysis of Domestic-Regional Linkages" is held.

May 27 Mizumoto gives lecture on "New Perspective Learned from 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki joint course' to Improve Peace Education" for "Peace Education Course" organized by Hiroshima City Education Center, held at Kanda Sansou, Hiroshima.

May 30 HPI President Motofumi Asai attends as committee member Hiroshima meeting of Peace Memorial Facilities Utilization Council convened by Hiroshima City at Hiroshima City Hall. Tanaka gives lecture on "Godzilla and the Bravo Shot: Who Created and Killed the Monster?" at the Joint Seminar 2005 organized by and held at Hiroshima Jogakuin University.

Jun. 4 Makoto Oda, writer, gives lecture on "Thoughts on How to Revitalize Popular Peace Movements: What the Citizens of Hiroshima Need to Do" at HPI Research Forum. Takahashi chairs "Global Hibakusha" sectional meeting organized by Peace Study Association of Japan, held at Rikkyo University.

Jun. 4-7 Scherrer participates in biennial conference of the International Association of Genocide Scholars in Boca Raton, Florida, speaks on the opening Round Table on Genocide Research Abroad on his experience in Rwanda 1994, Burma since 1989 and Sudan since 1991; he gives two panel presentations "Genocides-in-whole and Their Aftermaths: Regime Change, Denial Accountability, Victims Rehabilitation and Memorialization" on 6th as well as on "Genocide by Sanctions: Review of the Evidence" on 7th.

Jun. 18 Tanaka gives lecture on "Japan's War Responsibility and Hiroshima" at Hiroshima/Nagasaki joint course "War and Peace in 21st Century" held at Waseda University.

Jun. 23 Mizumoto gives lecture on "Activities for Peace Contribution from Hiroshima" at training program for teachers from Bosnia and Herzegovina organized by Hiroshima International Center and Japan International Cooperation Agency at Hiroshima Prefectural government.

Jun. 25 Mizumoto gives lecture on "Atomic Bomb Experience and Japan's Nuclear Related Policies" and serves as trainer and chair for group discussion at Hiroshima Peace Forum organized by Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and held at International Conference Center, Hiroshima.

- Visitors to HPI -

Mar. 2 Ershad Mahmud, research coordinator, Institute of Policy Studies, Pakistan. Hiroaki Okamoto, Third Division, Intelligence and Analysis Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.

Mar. 9 Dr. Kazuo Takahashi, professor, and Dr. Wilhelm M. Vosse, assistant professor, International Christian University. Rumiko Aruga, coordinator, Rotary Peace Center, International Christian University. Ms. Carla Fantini and 5 other Rotary scholarship recipients.

Apr. 7 Ratna Sarumpaet, representative, Jakarta Arts Council, Indonesia.

Jun. 2 Kai F. Brand-Jacobsen, director, Peace, Action, Training and Research Institute (PATRIR), Romania.

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