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## My Six Years at Hiroshima Peace Institute

Motofumi Asai

When I assumed the presidency of the Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI) in 2005, I wrote the following in my first article in *HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS*: "[As] I feel a very strong sense of crisis about [the] situations both at home and abroad, [...] I was very eager to accept this job at HPI. [... And] I will perform the duties of president to the best of my ability [in order] that HPI will become an institution in which Hiroshima citizens can take pride."

When comparing the international situation at the beginning of 2005 with that at the end of 2010, it is still in such a chaotic state that I cannot see an exit from this dark tunnel, but rather a sense of fear for the future of humankind. When US President Barack Obama came to the political arena in 2009, expectations for nuclear abolition surged up on a global scale. However, these expectations have proven to be ungrounded now that a year has passed. Within Japan, at the same time, the neo-liberalist policies of the Koizumi administration have severely damaged Japanese society. Even after the power transfer from the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), the DPJ's amateur administration is further aggravating the situation and there seems no way to get back on track. To be honest, that "very strong sense of crisis" that I felt in 2005 is even stronger in me today.

Sadly enough, during the course of my presidency I was unable to realize my objective of transforming HPI into an "institution in which Hiroshima citizens can take pride." On a number of occasions I have felt that the expectations of Hiroshima citizens are by no means of little significance. The reason that I could not fully satisfy their expectations was, I have to admit, simply down to my own insufficient capability, for which I would like to express my apologies to the people of Hiroshima.

I have worked to reinforce the primary duties of HPI and I believe these efforts have born some fruits, including the following: improving the amount and quality of research relating to peace; enhancing the contents of the Lecture Series for Hiroshima Citizens by incorporating the voices of citizens; holding an annual symposium now coorganized by the Chugoku Shimbun; and enriching the quality of the newsletter. On the other hand, some initiatives that were focused on sending out messages of peace achieved only limited success, for example: establishing the Peace Research Institute Network of Western Japan; and strengthening the collaborative partnership with Nagasaki through developing a Nagasaki-Hiroshima joint appeal which expressed a strong demand for the enactment of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles. The corporatization of Hiroshima City University (HCU) in April 2010 has positioned HPI under the full management of the whole of HCU, therefore we the academic staff are now required to participate in postgraduate teaching. Despite these initiatives and changes, looking at the broader picture I have to admit that HPI has yet to gain full recognition of Hiroshima citizens.

While expressing my apologies for my limited achievements during the past six years, I would like to emphasize three points that I think, based on my experiences here, are indispensable for HPI in order for it to become a pivotal peace research institute in and *for Hiroshima* in future.

The first point is that as a self-proclaimed "international peace culture city," Hiroshima should tirelessly pursue a solid and consistent

"peace philosophy of Hiroshima," which will then become the basis for both Hiroshima and Japan in pursuing global peace. Hiroshima should also set its primary objective to become a hub to send out that "peace philosophy" both within Japan and abroad. Hiroshima cannot stand at the forefront of the nuclear abolition movement around the world as long as, while advocating nuclear abolition, it hesitates to oppose the nuclear policy of the Japanese government which is so full of contradictions. Whether it is on the Korean Peninsula or across the Taiwan Strait, any war which involves Japan has the potential to develop into a nuclear war. This means that if it is truly determined to tackle the issue of nuclear abolition, Hiroshima should explicitly express its objections to the US-Japan military alliance which is the real cause of all these regional conflicts, and it should stand at the forefront of the advocacy for Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. Regarding a more specific issue, Hiroshima should recognize its heavy responsibility to oppose the reinforcement plan of the US military base in its neighboring city, Iwakuni, the plan which is a key part of the entire reinforcement plan for the US bases across Japan. Hiroshima cannot remain indifferent and overlook this plan. Hiroshima should establish its own solid and substantial "peace philosophy" and apply that "philosophy" to specific issues in society. Only in tandem with these efforts by Hiroshima can HPI also fulfill its duty which is consolidating the "peace philosophy" by means of its academic expertise.

The second point is that as the parent institution of HPI, HCU should develop a framework in which it can devote its utmost efforts towards Hiroshima-originated peace studies. After the corporatization of HCU, it has been working on the development of both Master's and Doctor's courses in Peace Studies. Nevertheless, what is more important is to elevate Peace Studies even to the position of being the *raison d'etre* of HCU. To be more specific, this can be achieved in two areas. On the academic side, Peace Studies should become a fundamental factor which interlinks HCU's three faculties / graduate schools of International Studies, Information Sciences and Art. On the administrative side, the HPI President should assume a newly-created post whose duty it is to oversee Peace Studies on the scale of the entire university. Furthermore, the HPI President should also be included on HCU's Executive Board as a standing member. In short, Peace Studies should constitute the core of HCU in all respects.

The last point is that while the concept of "peace" can have a number of definitions, Hiroshima, HCU and HPI should continue to pursue a peace philosophy of Hiroshima, originating from this very city, and that peace philosophy should have a universal appeal. After 13 years since its establishment in 1998, the research activities of HPI are now centered around three areas which I think are appropriate for the institute: nuclear issues, peace philosophy, and area studies focusing on East Asia. By means of research in these areas, I strongly believe that HPI is expected to contribute towards the establishment, enrichment and implementation of the "peace philosophy of Hiroshima" which is based on the legacies of this "international peace culture city."

I truly hope from the bottom of my heart that the day will come when HPI becomes a universal asset in which Hiroshima citizens can take pride.

President of HPI

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# The Myanmar Elections of 2010

#### Tin Maung Maung Than

The recent elections took place 20 years after the controversial election of May 1990 in which the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi won more than 80 percent of the seats but was denied the right to form a government by the ruling junta. It was the fifth stage of the seven-step Road Map announced in August 2003 by the then prime minister General Khin Nyunt who was deposed in October 2004. This was the crowning achievement of the Myanmar military's managed transition towards civilian government, following the endorsement of the 2008 Constitution (in May 2008) which ensured continued military control.

However, when the ruling State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) passed laws, bylaws and regulations governing political parties' registration and elections, they were deemed discriminatory and restrictive by the NLD (which refused to recognize the Constitution) and its pro-democracy allies at home and abroad. Subsequently the NLD and four other existing parties refused to re-register and were dissolved by the Union Election Commission (UEC).

Some of the objections to these laws and regulations included: high registration fees (around US\$ 500 for each candidate); short recruiting period (90 days) to attain the minimum membership threshold (1,000 for a nation-wide party and 500 for a provincial party); exclusion of jailed personnel in the party membership list; ineligibility of public service personnel to stand as candidates and party members; campaigning restrictions and media restrictions; very short "window" for submitting candidates (less than three weeks after UEC's announcement of all constituencies); required submission of campaign finances within 60 days after being elected; rejection of international monitors/observers; and exclusion of over 3,000 villages in Eastern Myanmar border regions for security concerns. In fact, the NLD and exiled activists advocated non-contestation and non-voting, arguing that the elections would not be "free and fair" and must be regarded as a vehicle to legitimize continued military rule.

Nevertheless, altogether 42 parties were allowed registration, of which 37 contested the elections for three different parliaments: Pyithu Hluttaw (People's Assembly or lower house), Amyotha Hluttaw (National Assembly or upper house), and Taing Daythagyi / Pyinnai Hluttaw (Region/State Assembly or provincial parliament). Among the parties, the newly-formed Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), recently converted from the military-sponsored Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), was the largest and richest with millions of members. It was regarded as a proxy for the military. Its leader was the incumbent prime minister and it fielded the entire cabinet and recently retired generals, garnering some 1,100 candidates. With overwhelming resources at its disposal, the USDP was expected to win, but the pro-democracy parties (including the National Democratic Front or NDF, a breakaway faction of the NLD which produced 180 candidates), the National Unity Party (NUP, the reincarnation of the former Burma Socialist Programme Party, with over 900 candidates), and ethnic-based regional parties were expecting substantial representation given that the military and the USDA were widely unpopular.

Amidst complaints of harassment of opposition parties and candidates as well as the USDP's misuse of state authority and resources, the elections were relatively peacefully concluded in all seven States (with majority non-Bamar ethnic population) and seven Regions (with majority Bamar population) of Myanmar in which 3,071 contestants vied for 1,154 seats. Meanwhile, 55 constituencies were walkovers as they only had one contestant.

Some 29 million eligible voters were registered for the elections

and although voting was not compulsory, there was a relatively high turnout (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Voting on November 7, 2010

	Total no. of constituencies	No. actually contested	Voters turnout (%)	Valid votes share (%)
People's Assembly	330	325	77.3	93.1
National Assembly	168	168	76.8	93.6
Regional Assembly	673	661	76.6	92.5

Source: The Union Election Commission

There were altogether 82 independent candidates with 40 contesting the lower house, 7 the upper house and 35 the provincial parliaments, but only 6 of them were successful (1 each in the two national parliaments and 4 in the provincial parliaments). Only 22 out of the 37 parties won seats in the polls and 16 of them are ethnic-based regional parties. The USDP won a large majority in the two national parliaments as well as in seven out of the 14 provincial parliaments where the Bamar ethnic group formed the majority of the population. The NUP and other national parties fared poorly, while the ethnic-based parties contesting in their respective regions made some inroads, though not as much as they had anticipated. A summary of these results is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Poll Results by Party Affiliation (% share)

Party	People's Assembly	National Assembly	Regional Assembly			
USDP	79.7	76.8	74.9			
NUP	3.7	3.0	7.0			
NDF	2.5	2.4	0.6			
3 other national parties combined	0.0	0.0	0.9			
16 ethnic-based regional parties combined	14.1	17.8	16.6			

Source: The Transnational Institute, Burma Policy Briefing Nr. 4 (Dec. 2010)

According to the Constitution, the military is automatically entitled to 25 percent of the total number of seats in all three legislatures. Military representatives would be nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. As such, the military quota comprising one third of the total number of electoral constituencies would take up additional seats in all of the parliaments. Apparently, the military representatives and the USDP parliamentarians combined together would form a super majority that could effectively block any attempt by other political parties to change the Constitution or even to push for legislation of their bills.

What do these elections portend for the political future of Myanmar? One should not expect accelerated political or economic reforms in the short term. Myanmar will have a constitutional government under an executive presidency. There will be some opposition voices in parliaments but the executive branch will be dominated by retired and serving senior military officers or technocrats chosen by the military. The SPDC has ensured that everything is stacked in favor of continued military control and influence over vital functions of the Myanmar state.

Nevertheless, provincial parliaments may still be able to play a significant role in the political governance of their respective areas; especially in the six States where ethnic parties and their allies would constitute some 30-50 percent of the total seats.

All in all, how the legislative process and governance at the center and the provinces unfold will depend upon how comfortable the military is with the new structures and processes and how the "opposition" behaves in and out of parliament. The military remains the key agency for change or otherwise.

Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore

#### HPI Lecture Series for Citizens of Hiroshima (Second Term 2010)

## The Amendment or "Implementation" of the Present Constitution

The latest HPI Lecture Series (held from Jan. 7 to Feb. 4, 2011) examined the issue of constitutional amendments, particularly as the Law on Constitutional Amendment Procedure has recently been enacted. The five lectures were aimed at providing the audience with opportunities to consider related issues such as whether the Constitution should be amended and whether the principle of the Constitution should be retained and implemented by means of changing politics instead of the Constitution itself.

Lecture 1 (Jan. 7) An analysis of a constitution and constitutional amendments: from the perspective of constitutionalism

Akihiro Kawakami, Assistant Professor at HPI

Lecture 1 examined two fundamental questions related to a constitution: "What is a constitution?" and "What are constitutional amendments?" A constitution can be described as a "social contract" by which the citizens, with whom sovereign power resides, guarantee their own basic rights by establishing governmental organs and authorizing them to carry out administration. Kawakami explained that regarding constitutional amendments, they are by no means an equivalent of revolution or coup d'état and the procedure must be constitutional. Therefore, they cannot violate the "basic norm" of a constitution which concern, among others, sovereignty or the purpose of a constitution, and it is a common argument within academic circles that constitutional amendments have their own intrinsic limits. In the lecture Kawakami analyzed this argument of the limits of constitutional amendments and examined related issues particularly for cases of possible amendment bills that go beyond these limits.

Lecture 2 (Jan. 14)

## The Law on Constitutional Amendment Procedure

Shusaku Iguchi, Professor at Daito Bunka University

In Lecture 2, the newly enacted Law on Constitutional Amendment Procedure was closely examined. Iguchi argued that the development of this law contained a number of problems from the beginning. For instance, some people argued when the bill was first proposed that those who oppose constitutional amendments should approve the bill itself since they can reject proposed amendments later through a referendum when specific amendments are actually put forward. However, in Japan an amendment bill can be put to a referendum only after its approval by the Diet. Therefore, the opposition side being able to oppose the bill in the referendum means they can do nothing but stand aside while the bill is passed by the Diet. Iguchi further argued that the law itself also contains problems: for example, while it imposes severe restrictions on national campaigns led by civil servants and educationists, restrictions on public announcements such as TV advertisements are rather slack, the effectiveness of which increases according to the amount of money spent on them.



## "Peace as a human right" and the Japanese Constitution

Miyoko Tsujimura, Professor at Tohoku University

The objective of Lecture 3 was to revisit the issue of peace by examining the triangular relationship between human rights, peace and gender. In terms of the relationship between the first two factors, Tsujimura stated that arguments should always hold that war itself is a violation of human rights, and the consolidation and theoretical enhancement of the right to live in peace was essential, as has been indicated by various recent academic arguments and court cases. Tsujimura then presented arguments which seem to be problematic when analyzed from the perspective of gender studies. These arguments include the notion that women are always

regarded as victims of war and are thus peace-oriented; that women should also have the right to participate in war as soldiers; and that it is always men who are compelled to go to war for the state and are thus required to kill on behalf of the state.

Lecture 4 (Jan. 28) Possibility of the creation of an East Asian peace community and Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution

Narihiko Ito, Professor Emeritus at Chuo University

Lecture 4 discussed the necessity of the creation of an East Asian peace community by actualizing the peace principle contained in the Japanese Constitution. Ito argued that the purpose of an East Asian peace community should not be for exercising neoliberal economic activities, retaining nation-states and national militaries, or maintaining the power of the dollar. Instead such a community should, modeled on the EU, become a true peace community in which various forms of cooperation across national borders are expanded, a common currency created, disarmament implemented, and military expenditures transferred to civilian use, thereby removing the possibility of war and the necessity of maintaining militaries. Ito also argued that in order to realize this ideal community, what is essential is to expand a network connected through a treaty of peace and friendship which prohibits the hegemony of a single country, and which should be modeled on the 1978 Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded between Japan and the People's Republic of China. He further held that it is essential to cooperate closely with the network connected by the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia.

Lecture 5 (Feb. 4) A-bomb experiences and a peace philosophy of Hiroshima: the Japanese Constitution for the 21st century

Motofumi Asai, President of HPI

In the final lecture, Asai first examined discussions by Masao Maruyama and Sadako Kurihara on the atomic bombing in Hiroshima, and then argued that, instead of isolating Hiroshima's A-bomb experiences from everything else, these experiences should be linked to other debates related to the A-bomb and developed into a universal philosophy. Hiroshima's call for nuclear abolition and peace was triggered by the 1945 atomic bombing; nevertheless, this call should be elevated to the level of a universal philosophy which extends beyond personal emotions or local experiences. For this purpose, the A-bomb experiences should not be examined merely as victims' experiences or local and past issues. Rather, it is necessary to face up sincerely to the past and the present which have prevented some important issues from being properly dealt with, such as Japan's war responsibility, postwar compensation for victims, and true implementation of the "Peace Constitution." Asai further stressed that it is also necessary to realize "peace by means of non-violence" from the standpoint of respecting human dignity and the "Peace Constitution."

Each of the five lectures of the latest HPI Lecture Series attracted a large audience who raised various interesting questions. It is hoped that the five lectures together provided the audience with opportunities to deepen their understanding of issues relating to constitutional amendments.

Akihiro Kawakami, Assistant Professor at HPI

## Peace Born Out of Tolerance:

## A Legacy of Alfredo Bunye

Hitoshi Nagai

On July 22, 1966, an elderly couple from the Philippines arrived in Japan. Their visit was made possible thanks to an invitation from former Japanese war criminals who had been imprisoned in Muntinlupa but who had been granted a pardon by Elpidio Quirino, the Philippine President. The name of the gentleman who stepped out of the plane at Haneda Airport before his wife was Alfredo M. Bunye, and he had been the superintendent of a prison in the Philippines where the Japanese war criminals served their term. In the prison, these former Japanese soldiers cultivated a long-lasting friendship with this former superintendent who was in a position to guard and supervise the Japanese war criminals. This article will examine the background of this extraordinary episode through tracing the life of Alfredo Bunye.

## 1. From a Student Living in Hardship to a Prison Superintendent

Alfredo M. Bunye was born in Biñan in Laguna Province on the Island of Luzon, the Philippines, on June 15, 1899. His father, Ignacio O. Bunye, was once a captain during the Philippine Revolution who fought against the Americans, and later worked for the Alabang Stock Farm in Muntinlupa. The first son of six children of a poor family, Alfredo lived with a Swiss businessman as a houseboy in order to help with the living costs of his family. The businessman took extraordinary care of young Alfredo who was a good shoeblack boy, and instead of giving him money, the man sent him to school as he had hoped. After graduating from Manila High School in March 1921, Alfredo started his teaching career at Pasay Elementary School. While working as a teacher, the diligent Alfredo studied at the University of the Philippines and the Philippine Law School. His hard work was recognized and at the age of 24 he was appointed as Director of the Schools of Modern Oriental Academy in 1924.

In October 1928, he changed his vocation and joined the Bureau of Prisons where he served as a teacher in the adult education class, a clerk, and then chief of the legal section. In March 1937, at the age of 37, he was promoted to superintendent of the Bilibid Prison in Manila. He obtained a license to become an attorney in February 1933. Then in April 1938, he undertook a visit to various prisons in Japan, including Sugamo and Odawara, accompanied by Associate Justice Masataro Miyake of the Supreme Court of Japan.

## 2. The Japanese Occupation and the Death of His Father

When the New Bilibid Prison (NBP) was opened in Muntinlupa in 1940, the prisoners at the old Bilibid Prison were transferred to the largest prison in the country in November of the same year. Around the same time, Alfredo married the actress Sofia V. Rivera and they began their new life in Muntinlupa.

In December 1941 the Japanese carried out air raids on the Philippines, which was then under US control. The Japanese first took control of its capital, Manila, in January 1942, and soon after the whole country. However, the Japanese did not station troops at the NBP which was therefore administered by Superintendent Bunye and the Director of Prisons, Eriberto B. Misa. From around 1944 Philippine guerrillas who had been convicted of anti-Japanese resistance were transferred there. Therefore the NBP now oversaw not only ordinary prisoners but also these "political prisoners."

Early in the morning of June 24, 1944, the "political prisoners" escaped from the NBP in a group. Seventy-eight members of the Hunters ROTC Guerrillas raided the prison in order to help their imprisoned comrades escape. The raid was conducted "like a flash in the night," and more than 50 prisoners escaped. Director Misa was ousted straightaway for his mismanagement, and Superintendent Bunye was also removed from the post. It is said that behind their dismissals was pressure from the Japanese military; and following this incident, approximately 20 Japanese soldiers were stationed at the NBP.

The now deposed Bunye and his family left Muntinlupa and rented a house in Manila where their relatives lived. In February 1945, Manila became a fierce battlefield and in Muntinlupa a tragedy struck the Bunye family: Alfredo's father, Ignacio, was abducted by the Japanese military authorities in Alabang, and then killed on February 3 at the age of 72. It was some time later that Alfredo was informed of his father's tragic death by a Filipino collaborator who had cooperated with the Japanese during the war, and Alfredo himself subsequently attended the exhumation of Ignacio's body. Around the same time, in the NBP 31 Filipino political prisoners were taken out of their cells by the Japanese and executed one by one on February 3 and 4. After the Japanese left the NBP on February 5 due to the deterioration of the course of the war, the members of the Hunters ROTC Guerrillas released their remaining comrades in the afternoon of the same day. Soon after that, Misa and Bunye returned to their posts at the NBP.

#### 3. Creating Peace in the Prison

Following decisive victories in the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 and in the Battle of Manila in February 1945, the US took control of the entire country thanks to its overwhelming military strength. A majority of the surrendered Japanese soldiers met the anger of Filipinos, whether through stone-throwing or verbal abuse. This expressed the outrage felt among Filipinos at the arrogant behavior of the Japanese, which was symbolized by the Japanese tradition of slapping people's faces for the purpose of discipline, and the oppressive control that they had exercised during the occupation period.

Immediately after the war, Japanese war crimes trials were initiated in Manila. As in the trial of General Yamashita which started in October 1945, these trials were at first conducted by the Americans. In 1947, following the independence of the Philippines (July 1946), jurisdiction was transferred to the Philippine government. War crimes trials conducted by the Philippines were

held between August 1947 and December 1949 during which 151 former Japanese officers and soldiers were tried for the killing and torturing of Filipinos. Approximately 90 percent of the defendants were convicted, half of whom received the death penalty. The charges that the Philippine people brought against the Japanese were particularly severe.

On December 1, 1948, the Japanese war criminals were transferred from the American stockade in Mandaluyong, Rizal, to the NBP to be dealt with by Philippine authorities. Soon after the transfer, Superintendent Bunye came to the Japanese prisoners and told them "You have come to this prison by destiny, for which I feel sorry." He also said that at the NBP "we will take special care of you, on the Philippines' honor," and that they would work to ensure "humanitarian" management, therefore "we would like you to report any cases of violence or mistreatment, and to express any demands to which we should give special consideration." A Japanese prisoner wrote in his diary: "This superintendent must be a person of extraordinary virtue."

True to his word, Bunye was conscientious towards the Japanese prisoners, and there were rarely any incidences of torture, abuse or slave labor at the NBP. The prisoners thought that the prison guards were receiving training in virtue from the superintendent. The Japanese prisoners enjoyed playing basketball, a popular sport in the Philippines, with the prison guards acting as referees. The days at the NBP were very tranquil for a prison containing war criminals. There was no actual censorship of letters from families, no restriction on parcels from Japan, and even no restrictions placed on the Japanese media regarding visits, the taking of photographs or the recording of interviews with prisoners. A correspondent from the Asahi Shimbun who tried to enter the prison with a camera was stopped by a guard. However, he was touched by Bunye who soon appeared and said to him, "You are not allowed to enter with a camera, but I guess you can take with you that funny device in your hand" (italic by the author). He further said, "Please take nice photos so that their families back home will be happy to see them."

In the cells on death row, where two or three prisoners were held in each cell, it was allowed to bring in an electronic stove, and the prisoners made coffee and cooked some dishes. One day, a prisoner who had been sentenced to death and was very shortsighted had his spectacles broken. As his only enjoyment in the prison was reading, he was so depressed, being now unable to read. A few days later, however, new spectacles were delivered to him—they were given by Superintendent Bunye.

These episodes as well as other similar experiences made the Japanese prisoners feel a special affection and respect towards Bunye, whom they perceived as a "most understanding and sympathetic person." A prisoner in fact wrote in his diary that it was "the most fortunate for us, the Japanese prisoners," that Bunye was their superintendent. The Japanese prisoners had felt distrust for the Philippine people after the trials, and also felt isolated and were in despair living in prison in a foreign country. In such circumstances, they saw a glimmer of hope in Bunye's humane attitude.

#### Conclusion

Considering his father's death at the hands of the Japanese military authorities and all the bitter experiences that the people of his country had suffered, Alfredo Bunye had sufficient grounds for having a strong aversion to the Japanese. It could not have been easy for him to face up to the sort of past that he experienced, and he must have had an inner struggle within himself. Nevertheless, he did not choose revenge or retaliation as his way of treating the Japanese

war criminals. For his mild, benign character, Superintendent Bunye came to be called the "father of Muntinlupa" by the Japanese. According to Bunye's son, Ignacio R., his philosophy of treating the Japanese humanely was to try to "stop the cycle of violence or hate." What was it that made him so tolerant?

It cannot be imagined that he felt no anger or uncomfortable feelings towards the Japanese. However, it seems that he tried to repress such feelings through rational thinking. He once said that the fact that his father had been killed by the Japanese military authorities "didn't give me the right or provide the grounds for retaliation." This may indicate that it seems that he was a rational and intellectual, rather than an emotional and sentimental, person. With his motto in life being "to live a life of humility and service to God and our people," he believed that as the war had ended, even former Japanese soldiers should be treated as normal human beings, and he tried to control himself so that his own grief and retaliatory feelings could be controlled. When he visited Japan on his way to America in July 1952, he commented, "My father was victimized by the Japanese in the Infanta Case. However, I believe it was a step in the process that the world resumes peace." Such a mindset was extremely rare in Philippine society at that time due to the persistent anti-Japanese sentiment. Despite such circumstances, it seems that Bunye sought to liberate himself from a sense of grief and animosity by accepting his father's death as a milestone towards the creation of peace.

Superintendent Bunye always believed that the law should be utilized for humanity and he always treated prisoners as normal human beings. This humane personality of Bunye could have developed from various aspects of his life: his innate character; his 20 years of service at prisons; his past career as a teacher; and international perspectives regarding prison management that he had acquired through inspections in various countries, including Japan. At the same time, the officers at the NBP were required by the Philippine President and the Ministry of Justice to treat the Japanese prisoners in a particularly sympathetic manner. Bunye's own philosophy together with the policy of the authorities may well have made it possible for him to overcome his father's death and attain an attitude that enabled him to "stop the cycle of violence or hate."

"After three years of the Japs, after the mass tortures and executions, the looting, burning, raping — Filipinos had ceased to think of the Japanese as human beings, only as something to be killed, to rid the earth of." —This is an excerpt from an editorial in a magazine distributed in Manila in 1948, around the time when the Japanese war criminals were transferred to the NBP. In stark contrast to this retaliatory sentiment prevalent among a majority of the Philippine people at the time, the staff at the NBP were treating the Japanese prisoners in a completely different manner. Instead of inducing hatred and distrust against the Japanese among the Philippine people, Bunye tried to restrain such a strategy. The friendship between Superintendent Bunye and the Japanese war criminals suggests the value and potential power of tolerance in creating peace.

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Associate Professor at HPI



# Mitsuo Sato, Director of the Japan Peace Committee To Live for the Anti-nuclear Peace Movement

By Motofumi Asai, President of HPI

#### 1. Hardship in childhood

I was born in Mitaki, Hiroshima City, and lost my mother when I was two and my father when I was five. After that I was raised by my grandmother. In April 1945 when I was in the second grade of elementary school, I was evacuated from Hiroshima with my grandmother; therefore I did not get A-bombed. However, 13 of my relatives who were A-bombed passed away by December of that year. (The remains of seven of them have not been found even today.) I returned to Hiroshima in 1947 to live with my sister who did get A-bombed but escaped death and injury. She got married and moved to Okayama, and so I started living with my grandmother again. She passed away when I was 13, which caused me to make a living on my own. I started living with my sister again, who had returned to Hiroshima, but she too passed away in 1955 as she suddenly succumbed to A-bomb disease. Following my sister's death, the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) came to me and said they wanted to buy her cadaver. Having seen and heard about some A-bombed friends who had been taken to ABCC and suffered cruel treatments there, I rejected their request as I had a strong aversion to them. In 1954 when I was in the second year of high school, I passed the screening process to become a civil servant of Hiroshima City. At first I could not become a full-time worker as I was still underage. However, thanks to the efforts of members of the Hiroshima Municipal Workers' Union such as Rikito Watanabe, I was able to become a temporary worker. Since that time I worked for Hiroshima City for 20 years until 1974 when I decided to work full-time for the union.

## 2. Life dedicated to the anti-nuclear peace movement

I have participated in all of the past World Conferences Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, from the first one in 1955 to the most recent one, the 56th, which took place in 2010. As far as I know, there are only three people, including me, who have participated in all of these events. When I went to the first conference in 1955, I did so only because I wanted to receive 20 yen and some bread which was offered as an inducement. Nevertheless, the hundreds of red flags at the conference impressed me so much that I became deeply involved in the anti-A and H bombs movement.

It was in 1958 that I became a member of the Japan Peace Committee which had played a central role in organizing the first World Conference and establishing the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (*Gensuikyo*). I would like to talk briefly about the history of the Japan Peace Committee.

During the intensification of the Cold War, the holding of the World Congress of Partisans for Peace in Paris and Prague, both in April 1949, was initiated by some outstanding figures, including Dr. Joliot-Curie. This then led to the establishment of the World Peace Council. In Japan, where the dispatch of national representatives to the World Congress was prohibited by the US which was still occupying the country, another World Congress of Partisans for Peace was organized in Japan itself, which was attended by approximately 1,200 intellectuals. It was accompanied by the establishment of the Society to Protect Peace, which then developed into the Japan Peace

Committee on August 6, 1950. The committee played a significant role in the initial stage of the peace movement in Japan during which the following activities took place: a collection of signatures for the 1950 Stockholm Appeal; a call for an all-party peace treaty in opposition to the US-led Peace Treaty with Japan accompanied by the US-Japan Security Treaty; and a series of anti-US base movements which first began in 1953. Considering these past energetic activities, it was no wonder that the committee also played a central role in organizing the first World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and in establishing *Gensuikyo*.

I spent 30 years serving in the Hiroshima Municipal Workers' Union before I moved to Tokyo at the end of 1989. During my 30 years in Hiroshima, I first served as General Secretary from 1962 to 1974 (a period of 12 terms), retired as a civil servant in 1974 to work full-time for the union, and then served as Chairperson of the union from 1974 to 1989. At the same time, I also participated in important meetings of the Hiroshima prefectural chapter of *Gensuikyo* (*Hiroshima Gensuikyo*), and in that capacity worked for the World Conference every year, mainly in the role of mobilizing people to participate in the event.

Two separate World Conferences Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs were organized independently by Gensuikyo and the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikin) between 1964 and 1976, and the two conferences were reunified as a single event between 1977 and 1985. Nevertheless, the antagonism between Gensuikyo and Gensuikin was always deep, partly due to the complicated background involving China and the USSR which were opposed to each other, and which intervened in the anti-nuclear movement in Japan and then caused the split between Gensuikin and Gensuikyo. I particularly remember an episode in 1985 when I participated in drafting the Hiroshima Appeal during the World Conference. I, representing the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), negotiated with the representatives from the Social Democratic Party Japan (SDPJ) regarding the appeal. However, the real leaders of both sides were in fact in separate waiting rooms, and we, the actual negotiators, had to go back and forth between the negotiation table and the waiting rooms to discuss and report back during the night. This 30th conference in 1985 was one of the only three conferences in which the people of Hiroshima, whether socialist or communist, were technically involved, with the other two occasions being the first and ninth conferences which were held in 1955 and 1963.

I came to attend meetings of Gensuikyo in Tokyo because of the so-called "SDPJ-Komei agreement," an agreement reached between the SDPJ and the Komei Party on a number of political principles such as the formation of a coalition government that excluded the JCP, and the maintenance of the status quo of the US-Japan Security Treaty and the Self-Defense Forces. In response to this move between the political parties, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), which was the then Japanese national trade union center, strengthened its anti-communist stance. This led to the idea of forming a counterbalancing national center, which was later established in 1989 as the National Confederation of Trade Unions (Zenroren). As a preparatory step for establishing Zenroren, the Council of Labor Unions for the Promotion of Labor-Front Unification (Toitsu Rosokon) was formed. I headed various branches of Toitsu Rosokon in Hiroshima and as a result I had more occasions to go to Tokyo in order to attend meetings of various groups not only of Toitsu Rosokon but also of Gensuikyo and the Japan Peace Committee.

I put an end to my activities in Hiroshima in 1989. Since then, I have been based in Tokyo, serving as the Executive Director of *Gensuikyo* and also, since 1992, the Director of the Steering Committee for the World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. In 1993, I also became Director of the Japan Peace Committee.

## 3. The previous achievements and future direction of the anti-A and H bombs movement

Having been involved in the anti-A and H bombs movement since 1955 and having participated in all of the 56 World Conferences Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, at the 2010 World Conference I appreciated that public opinion and grass-roots movements had become more influential than ever before in international politics. I believe that this is the most significant achievement that the anti-A and H bombs movement has made so far, particularly when nuclear abolition has become a real issue in the global political arena today.

In terms of the global political climate, the most recent NPT Review Conference held in New York in May 2010 has real historical significance. During this international event which took place on the 65th anniversary of the atomic bombing, a Final Declaration was adopted unanimously, including the five nuclear-weapon states, which called for the future achievement of a world without nuclear weapons. Approximately 2,000 Japanese people traveled to the US for the conference, among whom were approximately 1,600 *Gensuikyo*-related people. We also submitted to the UN signatures of 7 million people which included mayors and council chairs of local governments across Japan.

An upsurge of anti-nuclear and anti-war sentiment among peoples around the world, including the Japanese people, characterizes the first decade of the 21st century and reflects structural changes in world politics. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), in which a total of 118 out of 192 UN member states are enrolled (plus 18 observer countries as of the July 2009 NAM Summit in Egypt), proposed an Action Plan which targets the total elimination of nuclear weapons by 2025. It is significant that some NATO member states, especially those from Northern Europe, severely criticize current US nuclear policy. Also noteworthy is that the current UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon proposed a five-point plan for nuclear disarmament on June 27, 2010, which includes the coming into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. All these efforts around the world together contributed to the development of a global call for nuclear abolition which occurred prior to the 65th UN General Assembly which started in September 2010.

During the General Assembly, 58 resolutions were adopted in the UN First Committee on Disarmament and International Security (out of which approximately 20 concerned nuclear weapons). One of these resolutions, "Follow-up to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*," was proposed by NAM countries and others, and advocated negotiations to be initiated at an early date for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. This resolution has been adopted for 15 consecutive years. Another resolution, "Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world: accelerating the implementation of nuclear disarmament commitments," stressed the importance of the commitment made by the nuclear-weapon states at the 2010 NPT Review Conference to accelerate concrete progress on steps leading to nuclear disarmament, and urged the nuclear-weapon states to implement their commitments.

Another occasion on which I appreciated the powerful influence of grass-roots actions on a global scale was the most recent World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in 2010. There were indeed some noteworthy and significant achievements made during this conference.

One of these was the "peace parade" which took place prior to the conference and which has taken place every year since 1958. Today there are 11 parade courses such as Hokkaido-Tokyo, FukuiTokyo, Okinawa-Nagasaki and Hiroshima-Nagasaki, as well as the main course between Tokyo and Hiroshima from May 6 to August 4. The parade in 2010 was in fact a great success as it was joined by 100,000 people, covered a total of 8,000 kilometers, and ran through three quarters of all the cities and towns in the country.

While some people point out that the World Conference is too stylized these days, I don't think that this is true. Another successful point of the event proves this: that is the fact that a majority of the participants are young people. A survey of major local branches of Gensuikyo across the country reveals that those who attended the 2010 conference for the first time accounted for 54%, and those who aged between 10 and 39 years old accounted for 52%. The percentage of young participants was particularly high for some prefectures: 85% for Yamanashi, 75% for Fukuoka, 74% for Nagano, 64% for Kyoto, 63% for Osaka and 57% for Kagoshima. The problem with the young participants is the fact that approximately 40% of them were unemployed, while students of the same age group were likely to have been busy studying and doing their part-time jobs. This means that the young people who actually attended the conference will not necessarily become central figures in the future anti-nuclear peace movement, for which some specific measures will be needed.

The third factor that proves the success of the recent World Conference is visits to *hibakusha* by the conference participants which first started in 2004. Arranged by 40 to 50 local people, including members of the Democratic Youth League of Japan at Hiroshima University, approximately 1,000 conference participants meet *hibakusha* (approximately 90 people) on August 5 every year to learn about their A-bomb experiences, either at their homes or at other places. Although it is possible for non-Japanese speaking people to join these meetings, the difficulty for them is that they have to arrange translators on their own.

An achievement specific to the 2010 World Conference was the fact that its final declaration entitled "65 Years Since the Atomic Bombing: actions to be taken with *hibakusha* towards a 'world without nuclear weapons'" specifically referred to the US-Japan Security Treaty, which is the first time that this has happened in the history of the conference. The declaration stated that, with a firm stance to reject war, invasion and military threats, the signatories of the declaration reject military alliances to counter hypothetical enemies such as NATO and the US-Japan Security Treaty, and instead support the creation of a peaceful world order based on the UN Charter, as well as nuclear abolition and the denuclearization of Japan. Underlying this statement is a historical perspective that holds that the world today is no longer in an era in which a single state dominates the world, but rather that a new world is emerging which is being sustained by the active efforts of civil society.

The 2010 World Conference was indeed a success as witnessed by these phenomena. At the same time, however, as a person from Hiroshima I do recognize that significant participation in, and contribution to, the World Conference and the anti-A and H bombs movement is lacking among the people of Hiroshima, although they carry a responsibility on their shoulders. As I realize that the cause of this lies in a lack of common understanding between Hiroshima and the central organizers of this event as well as the anti-nuclear movement in general in Tokyo, I have to work and strengthen voluntary participation on the part of the people of Hiroshima.

(Interviewed on December 24, 2010)



All 16 interviews of the series "Reflections from Hiroshima" which began in the March 2006 issue have been compiled into a single book.

## Reflections from Hiroshima —Bilingual Edition

Edited by Motofumi Asai (Kamogawa Shuppan, 2011)

#### DIARY

- ◆Nov. 5 HPI President Motofumi Asai presents paper "The 21st Century East Asia and Japan's Roles and Responsibilities" at the international conference "The Twin Rise of China and Japan and the Future of the East Asian Order" held at Lingnan University, Hong Kong.
- Nov. 6 Taeko Kiriya presents paper "Original Sceneries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Through the Eyes of Hibakusha: within the issue of reconstruction" at the Peace Studies Association of Japan, held in Mito, Ibaraki Prefecture.
- Asai gives lecture "Less-Abled People and the Importance Nov. 7 of Peace" at a Seminar on Guaranteed Development, held in Osaka.
- Asai gives lecture "The Issue of the Senkaku Islands and Sino-Japanese and US-Japanese Relations" at a study session organized by the Committee on Peace and the Constitution, the Hiroshima Bar Association, held in Hiroshima.
- ◆Nov. 16 Asai gives lecture "Why Can't the Secret Nuclear Pact Be Abandoned?" at a study session organized by the Okayama Prefectural Labor Union Congress and other organizations, held in Okayama.
- ◆Nov. 18 Asai gives lecture "The Convention on the Rights of the Child" at a study session of the National Council of Support for Disabled People, held in Sendai.
- ◆Nov. 20 Asai gives lecture "The Past, Present and Future of 'China Issues" at a public lecture organized by the Hiroshima branch of the Japan-China Friendship Association, held in Hiroshima.
- Nov. 21 Asai gives lecture "The Constitution of Japan and the US-Japan Nuclear Military Alliance" at a study session organized by Union Nagoya, held in Nagoya.
- ◆Nov. 27 HPI Vice-President Kazumi Mizumoto gives report "An Analysis of Recent Trends and Debates on Nuclear Weapons" at a workshop organized by the Advisory Research Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆Nov. 29 Mikyoung Kim presents paper "The Regional Implications of the Cheonan Incident: violence from within" at a seminar coorganized by the Korean Association of Area Studies and the Korea Future Foundation, held in Seoul, Korea.
- Nov. 30 Narayanan Ganesan organizes a workshop on East Asian Regionalism in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, and presents paper "Regionalism in International Relations Theory" held at HPI.
- ◆Dec. 3 Mizumoto serves as the Vice-Chair at the 3rd meeting of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆Dec. 7 Robert Jacobs gives lecture on American and Japanese perspectives on the atomic bombing and holds discussions with students from DePaul University, US, held at HPI.
- ◆Dec. 14 Mikyoung Kim attends the meeting "Korea-Japan Tourism and Trade Promotion Strategies after the Yeonpyeong Shelling" organized by the Consulate-General of the Republic of Korea in
- Dec. 17 Mizumoto gives lecture "Hibakusha and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons" at a special lecture for the exhibition "The Light: portraits of the 'hibakusha'" held at Hiroshima City University.
- ◆Dec. 18 Asai gives lecture "The US-Japan Military Alliance and

- the Peace Constitution" at a plenary session of the Kinki branch of the Peace Constitution League, held in Amagasaki, Hyogo Prefecture.
- ◆Dec. 20 Jacobs holds discussion on nuclear history and nuclear weapon policies around the world with students from Hitotsubashi University, held at HPI.
- ◆Jan. 3-16 Ganesan conducts field research in Myanmar.
- ◆Jan. 5 Asai gives lecture "The Political Climate in East Asia and the US-Japan Security Treaty" at a study meeting of the National Association for Democratic Education, held in Tokyo.
- ◆Jan. 23 Jacobs gives lecture "Project Ichiban: completing the ABCC dose reconstructions at the Nevada Test Site" at Tokyo Institute of Technology, Tokyo.
- ◆Jan. 24 Mizumoto presents paper "Disarmament as Observed from Hiroshima" at the Seminar on Disarmament, held at Kyoto University of Foreign Studies.
- ◆Jan. 25-Feb. 8 Jacobs conducts field research in the Marshall Islands for the Global Hibakusha Project.
- ◆Jan. 27 Mikyoung Kim presents paper "The US Presence in East Asia" at the workshop "The US and East Asia" held at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University in Beppu, Oita Prefecture.
- ◆Jan. 30 Mizumoto gives lecture "Cambodia: history, civil war and rehabilitation" at a preparatory training course for the Study Tour to Cambodia organized by Hiroshima International Center (HIC) and JICA Chugoku, held at HIC.
- ◆Jan. 31 Jacobs gives lecture "US Nuclear Testing in the Pacific in Global Perspective," at the Nuclear Institute, the College of the Marshall Islands, held in Majuro, the Republic of the Marshall Islands.
- ◆Feb. 1 Mizumoto gives lectures including "Support for Cambodia from Hiroshima" at the youth training course "The Philippines: postwar rehabilitation and peace building" organized by JICA Chugoku and other organizations, held at HPI.
- ◆Feb. 9 Mizumoto serves as the Vice-Chair at the 4th meeting of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆Feb. 16-17 Mikyoung Kim attends the seminar "Reassessment of National Space Exploration Policy," co-organized by the Korean Association of Area Studies and the Naro Space Center, held in Goheung, Korea,
- ◆Feb. 17-26 Mizumoto conducts visit to Cambodia for several projects including the Cambodia Reconstruction Support Project, co-organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.
- ◆Feb. 22-25 Mikyoung Kim presents paper "The Trend of Japanese Tourism Bound for Korea after the Yeonpyeong Island Shelling: the North Korean threats and implications for Korea tourism strategies," during a conference organized by the Asia Business Management Association, held in Fukuoka.

#### -Visitors-

- **◆**Dec. 7 Associate Professor James Halstead, Assistant Professor Yuki Miyamoto and students from DePaul University, US.
- ◆Dec. 20 Associate Professor Nobumasa Akiyama and students from Hitotsubashi University.

#### HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

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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@pe

E-mail: office-peace@peace.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp

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