

## The Accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, and the Legal Responsibility of Tepco

Nobuo Kojima

### 1 Characteristics of the Fukushima disaster

#### i. A disaster on an unprecedented scale

The first characteristic of the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi (No. 1) Nuclear Power Plant, operated by the Tokyo Electric Power Co. (Tepco), is its unprecedented scale.

In terms of the affected area, the exclusion and evacuation zones together cover approximately 800 km<sup>2</sup> which is equivalent to the area of the 23 Special Wards plus Hachioji City of Tokyo Metropolis. This vast area is now a scene of desolation which people are forbidden to enter. In addition to this, another 500 km<sup>2</sup> has been highly contaminated by radiation. The whole affected area covers the entire Kanto region stretching as far north as Iwate Prefecture, which represents an area with a radius of 200 km.

The total amount of radioactive material emitted into the air was 770,000 TBq (terabecquerels) of radioactive iodine, which is 50 to 60 times greater than that released in the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result, high levels of radiation of as much as 20 mSv (millisieverts) per year have been detected even outside the evacuation zone, such as in school playgrounds and parks in the cities of Fukushima and Koriyama which are both in Fukushima Prefecture. Across the Kanto region, high levels of radiation from 20 to 100 mSv per year have been detected in places where objects accumulate radioactive contamination such as roofs, gutters, areas of greenery, swimming pools, ditches, park benches, piles of leaves and garbage dumps.

Furthermore, within a few years it is expected that contaminated seawater will spread out as far as the West Coast of the United States.

The number of affected people and business properties in the evacuation area amount to 90,000 people and 8,000 offices where a total of 60,000 people were formerly employed. When counted together with the wider area with relatively high levels of contamination, the number of affected residents exceeds 1 million.

This great number of people who have been forced to evacuate their homes and offices, combined with the vast geographical area affected, go towards explaining how the damage caused by the accident is unprecedented and the most serious in the modern history of Japan. The number of people and the total area affected may become even greater if surrounding areas are included.

#### ii. The long-lasting effects

The second characteristic of the accident is its long-lasting effects.

It should be noted that the accident is by no means over yet. In Reactors 1, 2 and 3 at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, the fuel rods have melted down, and have partially drained out of their pressure vessels. As a result, they can no longer be cooled in the conventional way, and are requiring many tons of water to be repeatedly poured over them. However, once these cooling efforts

cease, it is possible that further disasters could happen at any time, such as that of large amount of radiation spreading into the air, induced by a hydrogen explosion or other causes.

At the same time, a large amount of cooling water is constantly draining out of the facilities which is aggravating the pollution of sea and groundwater. In most of the evacuation area and its surrounding area, the surface of the ground has been found to be highly contaminated with over 600,000 Bq/m<sup>2</sup> of radioactive cesium which has a half-life of 30 years. This level of concentration is as high as that in the mandatory evacuation zone surrounding Chernobyl. Even if the consequences of the explosions at the power plant can be contained, local people will not be able to return to their hometowns unless a comprehensive cleanup of the area is carried out. However, this cleanup in itself is an extremely daunting task. In addition to the vast area of approximately 800 km<sup>2</sup>, the cleanup will inevitably produce a large amount of highly radioactive waste that will need to be disposed, such as soil, dust, used cooling water, building materials and plant matters.

Considering all of these difficulties, the people affected by the disaster may be compelled to live as evacuees for the next 10 years or even longer.

#### iii. Normal life ruined completely

The third characteristic of the accident is the complete ruin of people's lives and the economy of the affected region.

In the evacuation area, 155,000 residents together with those who had been engaged in some form of economic or agricultural activity were compelled to abandon the basis of their life and work and to evacuate the area entirely, leaving their land, farm animals, forests, factories and shops behind. Local society, which was founded on a close network of local businesses, consumers and workers, was entirely destroyed.

The life and economy of the surrounding area were also severely disrupted, affected as they were by the suspended businesses, medical services and schools in the evacuation area. The surrounding area itself is also highly contaminated with radiation, and as a result mothers and children now live with constant worry or have evacuated of their own volition. This has caused highly stressful lives for the affected people and, in some cases, further difficulties for those families in which the mothers and children have evacuated while the fathers have remained. There have even been cases of farmers who have committed suicide as a result of being unable to find a way out of the collapse of their businesses.

The Fukushima accident has completely destroyed the component elements of local society and people's lives, and the affected families and individuals are enduring severe psychological stress. When society is founded upon a close network of local people, the damage caused by disruptions to that society will not be

limited to individuals. The disruption of the interrelations within that society itself is an additional severe damage.

## 2 Tepco's liability for negligence

As discussed above, the damages caused by the accident at Fukushima were extremely severe, and without doubt the accident is the worst case in the modern history of Japan. Consequently, can it be argued that Tepco, the operator of the nuclear power plant, is liable for negligence with regard to the accident? This question needs to be examined with the particular intention of preventing the occurrence of similar accidents in the future.

It is held that the scale of the earthquake and tsunami on March 11 should have been predicted. Notwithstanding this, Tepco neglected to carry out any simulations or develop appropriate contingency measures, assuming that a complete loss of the alternating current power supply would not last for a long period of time.

Furthermore, the recent accident was not caused solely by the tsunami.

Firstly, the external power supply was completely severed by the earthquake, which is to say before the tsunami reached the plant. Despite the fact that the supply remained intact at the Onagawa Nuclear Power Plant in Miyagi Prefecture which had also been severely affected by the earthquake and tsunami, that at the Fukushima plant was completely lost. This suggests that there was some fault on the part of Tepco with regard to maintaining a secure power supply.

Secondly, immediately after the earthquake, the pressure and water levels in the pressure vessel at Reactor 1 showed a sharp drop, the pressure in the containment vessel showed an abnormal rise, and the cooling system soon broke down. These phenomena suggest that the earthquake caused damage to some of the pipework used in the reactor. Should this prove to be the case, Tepco could be at fault for overlooking the condition of pipework which was not sufficiently resistant to earthquakes.

Considering these factors, Tepco is clearly liable for the Fukushima accident, and as a consequence, it cannot be subject to exemption from liability for nuclear accidents in the case of a major natural disaster, as stipulated in Article 3.1 of the Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage.

## 3 The liability of the state and the issue of a compensation framework

### i. The liability of the state and "the principle of state responsibility to focus"

Article 4 of the Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage limits the responsibility for nuclear disasters to the operator(s) of the nuclear facilities in question, thus exempting all other parties from liability. In this case, therefore, is the state also exempt from any liability?

When it is recognized that some fault can be attributed to the state in the exercise of its authority and that that fault led to the accident, then the state should be recognized as a liable party based on Article 1 of the Act.

Firstly, it may not be appropriate to exempt the state from liability when there is a fault on the part of the state, and when the scale, duration and severity of the accident is taken into consideration. Secondly, the exemption of the state from liability may conceal its duty to devise appropriate safety measures, and

consequently increase the risk of the occurrence of similar accidents in the future. The exemption of the state may also lead to its assuming an ambiguous responsibility for handling the post-accident situation, as will be discussed in the following section.

As discussed earlier, clear faults can be identified on the part of Tepco for failing to implement appropriate safety standards and measures with regard to, for example, incorrectly predicting the possible scale of the earthquake and tsunami, and not considering the possibility of a complete loss of the power supply for a long period of time. Moreover, Tepco has previously sought to cover up other nuclear accidents: for example, a criticality accident which occurred at the Fukushima Daiichi (No. 1) Nuclear Power Plant in 1978, and another accident caused by a recirculation pump breakdown at the Fukushima Daini (No. 2) Nuclear Power Plant in 1989. These occurrences may suggest the existence of serious problems in Tepco's technical capacity and safety systems. Despite having knowledge of these past incidents, the state has allowed the plants to operate for more than 30 years which has exceeded their initially stipulated lifetimes. Considering this situation, the liability of the state for the recent nuclear accident becomes clear.

Consequently, it can be concluded that the state cannot escape from the liability defined in Article 1 of the Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage.

### ii. The state's responsibility for dispute resolution

The state has a duty to take the necessary measures to support the operator of the nuclear power plants in question in paying compensation (Article 16 of the aforementioned Act). In addition, at a time of nuclear emergency, it also has duties to prevent the further spread of harmful consequences, stabilize the situation and reestablish normal conditions, as stipulated in Article 26.2 of the Act on Special Measures Concerning Nuclear Emergency Preparedness.

The duty stipulated in the latter clause is defined in Article 1 of the same Act which is aimed at protecting people's lives and health. Therefore, it can be concluded that the state is clearly obliged to fulfill this duty.

### iii. The issue of a compensation framework

Article 16 of the Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage binds the state to provide the plant operator with assistance in providing compensation payments. The key question at the present time is precisely *how* the state should support the operator. Electricity bills are currently paid based on the fully-distributed cost (FDC) method. This means that Tepco's future compensation payments will be covered by bills paid by its customers. This mechanism is nothing more than shifting the burden onto ordinary citizens. It also allows Tepco's shareholders and creditors to evade their own responsibility, and will likely not lead to investment in and financing for improved corporate activities which would prevent the occurrence of similar accidents in the future.

What Tepco should do is sell its current assets in order to cover the costs of compensation. At the same time, it should also initiate comprehensive cost reduction by carrying out appropriate legal procedures, in order to minimize the burden on ordinary citizens, and to clarify the ultimate responsibility of its management, shareholders and creditors.

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# The Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant Accident, Black Rain and Death Ash

Hiroko Takahashi

Ever since the accident occurred at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, radioactive fallout has been emitted into the air. However, it cannot be said that up until now the Japanese government has been providing satisfactory information about the accident. The information so far released by the government, which is aimed at preventing damage caused by false rumors and removing people's fears, has been either far from adequate or has come too late to minimize the effects of radiation exposure. Has this situation been due to a haphazard attitude on the part of the government? The author does not assume this to be the case and rather holds that this represents a coherent attitude on the part of the Japanese government which has overlooked the effects of black rain or death ash caused by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and also nuclear tests. In fact, the Japanese government has assumed the previous standards for effects of residual radiation and internal exposure to be fully "scientific."

Recently, the Japanese government has lost a series of class-action lawsuits for recognition of A-bomb disease which first began in April 2003. The government should have learnt from these losses and devoted its attention towards a comprehensive and systematic study of residual radiation and internal exposure in order to fully recognize the suffering of *hibakusha* and prevent the occurrence of similar cases in the future. However, what the Japanese government actually did following the accident in Fukushima was nothing more than announce that there shouldn't be any effects in the immediate future, disregarding the real effects of residual radiation and internal exposure. This reaction is similar to the announcement made by the government immediately after the atomic bombings which announced that if one crouched down or hid behind a building, there would be no need to worry about harmful effects from the new bomb (i.e. the A-bomb).

Following the Fukushima accident, some important information was released later, which was data that came from the System for Prediction of Environmental Emergency Dose Information (SPEEDI). Operated by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, the purpose of this system is, "in the case of actual or possible emission of radioactive materials in a large amount from a nuclear reactor, simulating and predicting the distribution and concentration of the dose rate of radioactive materials, based on information from the reactor in question, weather predictions around the reactor, and topographic data." A map of the predicted area affected by radiation was publicized on March 23, followed by another on April 11, and from April 25 an updated map has been publicized on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the data from these maps only confirmed the outcomes of separate research that had already been conducted in Iitate Village, Fukushima Prefecture, which is located more than 30 km away from the Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. This research was initiated by a group of scientists who have rich experience of conducting research around Chernobyl, including Tetsuji Imanaka of the Kyoto University Research Reactor Institute and Satoru Endo of Hiroshima University. Therefore, the simulation data of SPEEDI was publicized much later than the report produced by the scientists. It may have been the case that the government could not avoid publicizing the SPEEDI data because of the existence of the research report which preceded it.

At the same time, some overseas research institutes such as the Norwegian Institute for Air Research and the German

Meteorological Service also publicized simulation data similar to that of SPEEDI from mid-March 2011. In fact, following the accident the author checked simulation data from these sources every day in order to decide whether or not it was safe to go outside. For some reason the aforementioned institutes stopped releasing data on May 13 and July 29 respectively, but few people in Japan were aware of such simulations anyway. The effects of radiation exposure could have been minimized. However, the delayed announcement of SPEEDI data and subsequent measures carried out by the Japanese government have rather aggravated the consequences of the accident.

Instead of the SPEEDI data, what the Japanese government actually announced at an early stage was the following "caution on rainfall":

For people living in Tohoku and Kanto regions:  
How to protect from radioactive rainfall

It's possible that rain can contain a small amount of radioactive substances when it rains in Tohoku and Kanto regions. Even if you are exposed to rain, it doesn't impose any threat on health. If you are concerned, follow these instructions.

1. Try not to go out unless it is an emergency.
2. Make sure of covering up hair and skin as much as possible.
3. In case your clothes or skin is exposed to rain, wash it carefully with running water.

This apparently optimistic announcement only served to increase a sense of fear because it resembles an announcement made by the US government in which it admitted for the first time the possible harmful effects of radioactive fallout following the Lucky Dragon incident at Bikini Atoll in 1954 in which the crew of the Japanese fishing boat and also residents on the atoll were exposed to radiation. On February 15, 1955, the United States Atomic Energy Commission released a report entitled "The Effects of High-yield Nuclear Explosions." It states as follows:

If fallout particles come into contact with the skin, hair, or clothing, prompt decontamination precautions such as have been outlined by the Federal Civil Defense Administration will greatly reduce the danger. These include such simple measures as *thorough bathing of exposed parts of the body and a change of clothing* (italics in the original).

Further harmful consequences from nuclear accidents will not be contained without learning from the past. However, what the Japanese government has done so far is to repeat the rhetoric of former Japanese administrations and the US, the latter of which has repeatedly conducted nuclear tests, and this will therefore only lead to the repetition of past failures. It cannot be denied that there will be a further spread of internal exposure caused by vegetables grown in the soil which contain radioactive materials subsequently passing into the food chain. The damage caused by the accident in Fukushima is being imposed on those people who have been exposed to radioactive fallout by the government's past negligence of failing to carry out thorough research on black rain and death ash.

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War always kills more civilians than soldiers or terrorists. (Is there a difference between soldiers and terrorists?) Trying to address this is perhaps the most humanist (and futile) act an artist could perform because it is about wanting to save lives. Unfortunately, too many bodies have been deformed, radiated, broken, killed, maimed, lost, disfigured and melted. It is for these bodies, these people, that I make my work. Much of my work is an act of memorializing, done in the aftermath of events, documenting and re-presenting memorials by others so that we may better understand history in the present to affect the future.

As you know, on August 6, 1945, the United States of America dropped an A-bomb fueled by enriched uranium on the city of Hiroshima. Seventy thousand people died instantly. Another 70,000 died by the end of 1945 as a result of exposure to radiation and other related injuries. Scores of thousands would continue to die from the effects of the bomb over subsequent decades. Despite the fact that the United States is the only nation to have used atomic weapons against another nation, Americans have had little access to the visual record of those attacks.

For the victims, the situation is quite different. Hiroshima is now a City of Peace. Everywhere there are memorials to this catastrophic event that inaugurated the atomic age. A-bombed trees continue to grow and A-bombed buildings remain — marking history, trauma and survival. The city is dotted with clinics for the survivors and their special pathologies. Names are added each year to the registry of the dead as a result of the bomb. It has been over 60 years since the A-bomb was dropped, but the A-bomb is everywhere in Hiroshima.

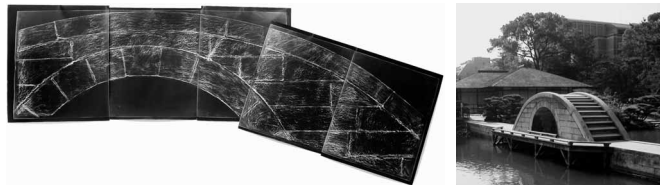
The enormity of Hiroshima challenges the artist, especially the American artist, in ethical and formal ways. For several years I worked on a series of anti-war drawings of places the United States has bombed, subsequently published as the book *Bomb After Bomb: A Violent Cartography* (Milan: Charta, 2007), with a foreword by former US air force bombardier and historian Howard Zinn. After making relatively abstract drawings from the bomber's aerial perspective that include no people — civilians, victims, soldiers or otherwise — I have now been on the ground, 60 years after the bomb was dropped, but still, on the ground.

The history of the atomic age is intertwined with that of photography. The discovery of the radioactive energy possessed by natural uranium was via a photograph that launched the atomic age. In 1896 Henri Becquerel placed uranium on a photographic plate, intending to expose it to the sun. However, because it was a cloudy day, he put the experiment in a drawer. The next day he decided to develop the plate anyway. To his amazement he saw the outline of the uranium on the plate that had never been exposed to light. Becquerel correctly concluded that the uranium was spontaneously emitting a new kind of penetrating radiation and published a paper "On (in)visible radiation emitted by phosphorescent bodies."

Following in the steps of Henri Becquerel, I worked in collaboration with the staff of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum during the summer of 2008 making cyanotypes (sun prints) of A-bombed objects: deformed glass bottles, hair comb, lunch box, and metal and tree fragments. My work with autoradiography (capturing on x-ray film radioactive emissions from objects) involved placing A-bombed objects on x-ray film in light-tight bags for a period of ten days. Surprisingly, or perhaps not, abstract exposures were made on the x-ray film — spots, dots, cracks and fissures. The lingering radiation in the metal and roof tile fragments, split and burned bamboo, tree knots and glass bottles, appeared on the x-ray film much like Becquerel's uranium on photographic plates. (It could be background radiation. It was not a very controlled or scientific experiment.) I also made crayon rubbings on paper of A-bombed surfaces: trees, the former Bank of Japan's floor and counters, the sidewalk at the hypocenter, the basement door of the Rest House where a man survived the A-bomb, and the Koko Bridge in the Shukkeien Garden. All of these photographic processes involved exposures that produced ghostly images of objects that survived the bombing, evoking those that vanished.

From September 17 to October 17, I had an opportunity to hold an exhibition of my works, *Hiroshima: After Aftermath*, at the former

Hiroshima branch of the Bank of Japan. The exhibition was an attempt to reshape how we think about and a protest against nuclear war and the aftermath. Like the works contained in the book *Bomb After Bomb*, those exhibited at *Hiroshima: After Aftermath* visually registered warfare and faced the irreconcilable paradox of making visible the most barbaric as witness, artist, and viewer. There are now over 30,000 nuclear weapons in this world. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not past events. They are about today's situation.



Left: *Bridge* (2009), silver gelatin contact prints of a rubbing of the A-bombed Koko Bridge in the Shukkeien Garden. Right: The Koko Bridge photographed by Robert Jacobs.

It was an honor to be able to share my work with the people of Hiroshima in such a powerful place — the former Bank of Japan that withstood the A-bomb. Even though this bank was only 380 meters from the hypocenter, it withstood the blast. It was used as a bank until 1992. Now it is a cultural center for exhibitions, such as an installation of over 1 million paper cranes from around the world, along with a chronological photographic presentation of Sadako Sasaki's life and death. But the basement — with its thick vaults and open safes, that were ironically made in New York City — and the ground floor are usually empty, displaying cracked bank teller countertops and uneven cement floors, space to be filled with how we remember what once was. I rubbed these surfaces with crayon on paper. It was critical for me to place the paper directly against the historical surface and to rub a black wax crayon on the paper to make a "negative." Tracing and touching the sites of survival, destruction, exposure and history, seemed to capture an essence of the trauma, a residual radiation, a lingering energy of such a profound event. The rubbings were then exposed in the darkroom as "paper negatives" used to make contact prints on photographic paper. The result was a ghostly trace, a negative index, as if the surface had been dusted with light or memory, or as if the subject had been x-rayed.

Susan Sontag writes in *Regarding the Pain of Others*:

Remembering is an ethical act, has ethical value in and of itself. Memory is, achingly, the only relation we can have with the dead.

Photographs of the suffering and martyrdom of a people are more than reminders of death, of failure, of victimization. They invoke the miracle of survival.

Howard Zinn gave a speech in 1999 about the meaning of the Holocaust in which he explains how he was criticized for speaking about other genocides in the context of the Holocaust. He said:

I would never have become a historian if I thought that it would become my professional duty to go into the past and never emerge, to study long-gone events and remember them only for their uniqueness, not connecting them to events going on in my time. If the Holocaust was to have any meaning, I thought, we must transfer our anger to the brutalities of our time. We must atone for our allowing the Holocaust to happen by refusing to allow similar atrocities to take place now — yes, to use the Day of Atonement not to pray for the dead but to act for the living, to rescue those about to die.

I offered this show as an apology, a memorial, a protest, and a form of witness, remembering and archive, atonement, a small contribution to the ongoing struggle of people to remember the past in the present to make a better future. May we know a better world.

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# Experiences of Anti-nuclear Movements: Differences between Japan and Germany

Makiko Takemoto

Since the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant on March 11, 2011, questions have been frequently raised with respect to why Japan has come to accept the existence of nuclear power plants despite its experiences of the atomic bombing. These questions have been heard not only within Japan but also from other countries. The Japanese media has been increasingly focusing on Japanese politics concerning nuclear power plants and also on debates relating to nuclear energy in the Japanese anti-nuclear movement. Particularly in Hiroshima, despite the powerful opposition voiced against nuclear weapons, it has been questioned with some regret as to why the A-bombed city has not opposed the use of nuclear energy and nuclear power plants in the country.

In relation to this, the case of Germany draws much attention as a good example of a country which is moving towards denuclearization. Recently, a number of articles have been written on German nuclear politics, particularly relating to Chancellor Angela Merkel's policy shift following the Fukushima accident and the victory of the Green Party in local elections. Similarly, many interviews have been conducted with German environmentalists and anti-nuclear power plant activists. In this context, the difference in policy between Japan and Germany is said to have derived from a variety of factors: the different levels of consciousness of environmental issues; in the case of Germany, the power of the Green Party and the influence of the 1968 student movement which led to the formation of that environmentalist political party; and different reactions to the Chernobyl incident, to name but a few. However, the present article will focus on the anti-nuclear movement in Germany during the 1980s, with a particular focus on West Germany, as one of the examples of the differences between the two countries.

From the late 1950s to the 1970s, West Germany witnessed an upsurge of anti-nuclear movements such as the "Fight the Nuclear Death" movement led by the Social Democratic Party and the Easter March movement which still continues today. However, most of these movements were often regarded as communist in nature and thus West German citizens distanced themselves from them. Nevertheless, this situation changed during the period of the "New Cold War" in the early 1980s. In reaction to the deployment by the Soviet Union of SS-20 intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Eastern Europe, the USA decided to deploy cruise missiles and intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Western Europe. Observing this situation, many people thought that the world was on the brink of nuclear war and instigated protests against the nuclear arms race between East and West, particularly with respect to NATO's nuclear policy. At the time, one of the slogans adopted was "Kein Euroshima!" (No Euroshima!), which meant that Europe should not be turned into a nuclear battlefield like Hiroshima. The protesters sought nuclear disarmament and nuclear abolition in both East and West, as well as the denuclearization of Europe.

Although similar movements existed in other countries such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the German movement attracted the support of people from a wider spectrum of fields. These people were not only members of such groups as peace organizations, political parties, trade unions or Christian communities, but were also citizens who did not belong to any particular organization: in effect, it became a grass-roots movement in a literal sense. The participants also included members of the Green Party and environmental organizations such as the Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz e.V. (the Federal Association of Environmental Action Groups), all of which were born out of the 1968 movement. Although the anti-nuclear power plant movements had been relatively active in West Germany since the late 1970s, it was during the 1980s that, by means of these efforts, environmental and peace movements joined hands for the first time in the history of the German peace movement since the late 19th century. Around this time, the peace movements were considerably diverse in terms of the issues which they addressed.

In fact, the participants opposed not only nuclear weapons but also war in general, Nazism, fascism and imperialism. They further discussed other diverse themes such as those relating to labor issues, the liberation of the Third World, and environmental protection.

The peace movements of the early 1980s were grounded not on pacifism, but rather on a consciousness of "opposition," "resistance" and "disobedience" which were prevalent ideas at the time. They also called for the elimination of the fear of nuclear war between East and West. Within these movements, the concept of "peace" was taken to mean more than an absence of war. This provided impetus to seek to overcome the East-West confrontation and the Cold War itself. This could be observed in the interactions between the citizens of East and West Germany. At that time, some activities dedicated towards peace took place in East Germany, such as the "Berliner Appeal" led by Robert Havemann and Rainer Eppelmann in January 1982. Mainly through interchanges and dialogues between churches, together with the increasing interest being shown in the peace movements taking place on the other side of the Berlin Wall, many citizens in West Germany developed an interest in these movements in East Germany. Furthermore, the central issues for the peace movements in both East and West Germany came to include the achievement of democracy and human rights in Eastern Europe.

While it is often observed that Japanese anti-nuclear weapon movements are still influenced by a Cold War mindset, their German counterparts went beyond the Cold War structure and sought "peace" across a broader spectrum which held various themes in focus, such as anti-nuclear power plants, environmental protection, human rights and labor issues. Despite the fact that less progress in discussions on "peace" has been achieved since, it can still be said that the greater intensity of the German peace movements led to the differences between Germany and Japan today. These differences can be seen in the different paths that the two countries took regarding the development of anti-nuclear movements and Germany's recent decision to abandon nuclear power plants, and even the different attitudes towards social movements in general.

In Germany, where the study of the history of peace movements is considerably more popular than in Japan (even though it has yet to establish a firm position as a recognized field within history scholarship), study of the peace movement since 1945, and particularly during the 1980s, is making progress in parallel with study of the Cold War. Outcomes of this study are being linked to the overall history of Germany from the late 19th century to 1933, and are being analyzed in a critical and constructive way. Similar efforts are also required in Japan. The history of the peace movement and the historical changes which have occurred in the concept of "peace" need to be critically analyzed in an environment which is unaffected by political power competition that is constrained by a Cold War mentality. As a part of this process, further analysis should be undertaken regarding the previous and future ideal roles of Japanese peace movements with respect to not only anti-war movements based on Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution or anti-nuclear movements in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but rather a comprehensive endeavor to realize peace in a broader sense which embraces such issues as nuclear power plants, the environment and human rights.

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The globally recognized anti-nuclear logo, the Smiling Sun. (Above is a German version.)

# The 2011 Thai General Election and Its Implications

Narayanan Ganesan

Thai citizens went to the polls on July 3, 2011, to elect a new parliament comprising 500 MPs. The Pheu Thai Party led by Thaksin's younger sister Yingluck Shinawatra won an outright majority of 265 seats and quickly announced the formation of a coalition government with four smaller parties, for a total of 299 seats in parliament. The confirmation of a few seats was delayed by the Election Commission, but to all intents and purposes Pheu Thai has formed the new majority coalition government in August, with Yingluck Shinawatra as the first female Prime Minister of Thailand. She is new to the political scene but has the support of Thaksin's constituencies and loyal MPs. Thaksin's populist policies benefitted the poorer rural areas in the country's north and northeast which also voted strongly for Yingluck's party.

The election had been long overdue and had been postponed by the previous Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva from the Democrat Party. The reason for this is that his majority in parliament had been obtained only after the earlier defection of one of the faction leaders of the now defunct People's Power Party (PPP) which was previously allied with Thaksin. The PPP was a metamorphosis of Thaksin's own Thai Rak Thai Party which was dissolved by court order after he was ousted in a military coup. Consequently, Abhisit's parliamentary majority was held to be suspect since it was not obtained by means of an election, but rather from a parliamentary political defection.

The Abhisit government had also faced widespread public protests from the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD: Red Shirts) which is allied with Thaksin and his supporters in parliament. The UDD felt a sense of grievous injustice for the manner in which Thaksin had been removed from power and for how his party and the subsequent metamorphosis in the PPP had been dissolved by the courts. Additionally, two more Prime Ministers after Thaksin had been removed by the courts. And finally, the army-led political violence against the Red Shirts in April and May 2010 resulted in the deaths of some 90 people, while another 2,000 more were injured. The Red Shirts and the government have pointed fingers at each other for the violence.

The new government will certainly have its work cut out. It has a large number of campaign promises to fulfill which will cost the state dearly. These include providing free education, highly subsidized medical care, removal of the current levy on fuel, higher prices for rice purchases, a significant increase in the minimum wage to 300 Baht per day and significant outlays for infrastructure development. These seemingly populist policies will likely put severe pressure on the new government's finances.

In addition, there are also more sensitive political issues to address. Thaksin's former populist policies have led to the

empowerment of the rural constituencies in the north and northeast of the country which had not benefitted from the country's ongoing development. Whereas these areas provided rich pickings in terms of banks of voters and seats in parliament, the constituencies themselves remained very poor and subject to the vagaries of nature, such as droughts and floods. This community which now provides the backbone of the Red Shirt movement is anxious to expand its political leverage and reach.

The Red Shirts are in turn up against the traditional elite based in Bangkok from where political power has traditionally been obtained. These include elements of the monarchy, the military and the bureaucracy which are united by a common goal to maintain established power structures and practices in order to continue their control over the country and exercise power which is disproportionate to their numbers. The traditional elite also had its own equivalent of a mass movement in the form of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD: Yellow Shirts) which was involved in widespread public protests against the Thaksin government and its subsequent manifestations. In fact, elements of the PAD called for a boycott of the recent election and for a return to a more traditional form of government based on the monarchy.

One of Yingluck's first tasks will be to rein in these social movements which have become highly distrustful of each other and to provide some middle ground. In doing so she will have to be careful not to alienate the military which is keen to avoid being blamed for the large number of deaths and injuries that occurred during its breakup of the Red Shirt demonstrations in 2010. Interestingly, the Army commander actually called on Thai citizens to vote in support of the monarchy. The commander, General Prayuth Chan-ocha, is extremely political unlike his predecessors. Consequently, police and military appointments and their accompanying assignments will also be carefully watched with the ever-present threat of another coup. Related to the management of this schism and tension is how Yingluck deals with her brother Thaksin's legal case. He was previously found guilty of corruption and sentenced to two years in jail in absentia. The traditional elite is opposed to Thaksin's return and amnesty. However, both the Red Shirt movement and Yingluck are clearly indebted to Thaksin for their recent victory and current political standing.

There are also a number of high profile international developments which will have to be addressed by the new government. These include how the country deals with Cambodia in its ongoing dispute over the Preah Vihear temple complex. International arbitration has called for a joint withdrawal of troops and demilitarization of the area. This spat has been subjected to rather nationalistic rants, especially from the Thai military which is interested in utilizing bilateral channels in which it has greater leverage. Cambodia has rejected this approach and has sought international mediation for a more neutral resolution. Moreover, ASEAN-sponsored Indonesian attempts to try to defuse the situation by means of the deployment of monitors have so far been frustrated.

In conclusion, both internally and internationally, the new Thai government clearly has its hands full, and will have to chart a skillful course of action which will sustain its hard-won legitimacy and prevent it becoming trapped in domestic political maneuverings. It remains to be seen whether Yingluck will be up to this challenge.

*Professor at HPI*



# Thinking about Nagasaki

The recent Lecture Series examined problems related to the atomic bombing in Nagasaki from various points of view. All of the lecturers but one were from Nagasaki, and they provided a valuable opportunity to consider these problems. The five lectures were aimed at strengthening the solidarity between the two atomic-bombed cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**Lecture 1** Introduction of Public Lecture Series:  
"Hiroshima" and "Nagasaki" in comparison and relation  
(May 27) Taeko Kiriya, Assistant Professor at HPI

Kiriya first examined the differences between Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and identified two problems peculiar to Nagasaki: i) the "spatial problem" in which the hypocenter was located some distance away from the center of Nagasaki; and ii) the "temporal problem" in which in narratives of the atomic bombings, Nagasaki always comes after Hiroshima as the second atomic-bombed city. She then emphasized an important point in relation to the issue of the atomic bombings which is that a significant psychological gap exists between *hibakusha* and non-*hibakusha*. This gap is felt more strongly among *hibakusha* than non-*hibakusha*, behind which lies insufficient understanding about, and prejudice and discrimination against, the former by the latter. Kiriya further examined the "reconstruction" of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as seen from the point of view of *hibakusha*, and also the local administrations, the Japanese government, GHQ/SCAP and the surrounding international political climate. She concluded the lecture by stating that non-*hibakusha* should view the issue of the atomic bombing as being their own and learn from the "philosophy" of *hibakusha* which is born out of the latter's A-bomb experiences.

**Lecture 2** The A-bomb experience and our responsibility  
for peace: a philosopher's view  
(June 3) Shinji Takahashi, Visiting Professor at Nagasaki University

Takahashi first cited an episode of a *hibakusha* with whom he is personally acquainted, upon which he introduced the contribution made by Robert J. Lifton and Tadashi Ishida as examples of the "philosophization" of A-bomb experiences. Research carried out by Lifton, who introduced a new concept of "death guilt," was pioneering in the study of the transition of *hibakusha*'s states of mind. In the meantime, Ishida described *hibakusha*'s ways of life as "a leap from drift to resistance," and later advanced this concept in order to prove sociologically that there were certain patterns in *hibakusha*'s comprehension of their A-bomb experiences. Takahashi then presented the definition of "peace responsibility" which is a new concept that he advocated at the turn of the millennium based on an analysis of global war and A-bomb experiences. According to Takahashi, the definition of "peace responsibility" consists of five factors: i) inscribing the dignity of human beings in our minds; ii) being conscious of declarations and goals for action which are announced by international society; iii) giving thorough consideration of new concepts of peace studies; iv) standing up for the "right of peoples to peace" (as introduced at the UNGA in 1984); and v) bearing the responsibility to improve the "quality of peace" both domestically and internationally. He also mentioned peace movements in Nagasaki which represent an example of "bearing the peace responsibility," although he did not go into detail about this. To conclude the lecture, he cited the words of Jody Williams who stated that if we ordinary citizens come together and work together on one issue, we really can change the world.

**Lecture 3** Descriptions of the experience in post  
A-bomb literature in Nagasaki  
(June 10) Toshihiro Tanaka, Professor at Kwassui Women's University

The focus of the third lecture was the characteristics of A-bomb literature from Nagasaki and the development of its underlying philosophy. Tanaka first explained the background to the birth of the cliché "Nagasaki of prayer." He stated that this came about due to the fact that Takashi Nagai's famous book *Bells of Nagasaki* was well-received by a wide readership who perceived Nagai's Christian-influenced attitude to life as representing that of Nagasaki citizens, which added to the wide recognition of the cliché. Tanaka noted that the hypocenter, Urakami, was an area where a large number of Christians lived. He also explained that A-bomb literature began to be produced in Nagasaki later than in Hiroshima due to the fact that major writers from Nagasaki were still young teenagers at the time of the atomic bombing, and so they began writing at a later date. Furthermore, he

examined how writers deepened their thoughts in relation to the atomic bombing. From her early to later works, Kyoko Hayashi revealed the development of her thinking about the issue, while Kan Yamada developed a global perspective by expanding the motif of his work from Nagasaki/Hiroshima to Auschwitz. Tanaka also analyzed Japanese poems by Hiroshi Takeyama and Atsuyuki Matsuo. To conclude the lecture, Tanaka examined how works of A-bomb literature produced by the postwar generation, such as Yuichi Seirai, have introduced new perspectives and the possibility of further development and transmission of the philosophy of Nagasaki to the next generation.

**Lecture 4** Multi-culturalism and other challenges facing Nagasaki  
(June 17) Kouichi Funakoe, Professor Emeritus at Nagasaki University

Funakoe began his lecture by identifying an important issue currently facing Nagasaki which is that of the "peace or war" dilemma. This derives from the paradox in which, while appealing to international society for peace without nuclear weapons, the atomic-bombed city has in reality become a major city in the country's military industry and it also accommodates a large US base. He also attributed the reason that Nagasaki became the target of the atomic bombing to the history of the city since the 16th century when it was opened to the outside world during the era of the country's self-imposed seclusion. Nagasaki subsequently prospered as a multi-cultural city, however, the modernization and wars in which Japan became engaged soon brought militarism to the city. Consequently, it was transformed into a center of the military industry and of xenophobia, later making it the target of the atomic bombing. Funakoe stated that Nagasaki should abandon the military industry and aim to become a city of multi-cultural coexistence. In conclusion, he emphasized that in order to achieve true peace, it is not enough to abolish nuclear weapons or abandon war unless spiritual liberty is also achieved.

**Lecture 5** Peace movements in Nagasaki  
(June 24) Hideo Tsuchiyama, Former President of Nagasaki University

In the final lecture, Tsuchiyama presented the historical background of the development of peace movements in Nagasaki. He first emphasized the fact that Nagasaki being at one time the only port city in the country aided the development of the generous-hearted and open-minded temperament of the local people, which in turn aided the development of active peace movements in the city. He also examined the philosophy developed by Tatsuichiro Akizuki which stressed that the inhumanity of the atomic bombing laid the foundation for peace movements in Nagasaki, and contributed towards the departure from the cliché "Nagasaki of prayer." His efforts created the momentum for active peace movements today which are led by citizens and also the younger generation, as seen in the "signatures of 10,000 high school students" movement. He also described the Global Citizen's Assembly for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons in Nagasaki as another example of the active peace movements in the city. Tsuchiyama then stressed the importance of adopting an attitude which sought not to exclude those who have different ideas, but to listen to them and learn from their ideas as long as they are looking towards the same ideal. At the end of the lecture, he described the ideological conflict that exists in Hiroshima, and suggested that in order for Hiroshima and Nagasaki to strengthen their solidarity, middle-aged and older generations need to create an environment in which the younger generation can collaborate successfully with each other, and that the two atomic-bombed cities should foster momentum for cooperative and collective action towards their shared ultimate goal.

All of the five lectures were attended by a large audience which may reveal that Hiroshima citizens are highly interested in issues relating to Nagasaki. Crucial issues for the future are how the postwar generation should address issues related to the atomic bombings, and what should be passed on to future generations. At the same time, problems faced by humankind living in the nuclear age should be addressed based on perspectives derived from both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Only by doing this will it become clear what should be done in order to move towards a truly peaceful future.

Taeko Kiriya, Assistant Professor at HPI

- ◆ **Jul. 11** HPI Vice-President Kazumi Mizumoto attends the Task Force Meeting of “A Hiroshima for Global Peace” Plan, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held at the Tokyo office of Hiroshima Prefecture.
- ◆ **Jul. 13** Mizumoto attends the 3rd meeting of the Drafting Committee of the Peace Education Program organized by the Hiroshima Municipal Board of Education, held in Hiroshima City.
- ◆ **Jul. 14** Mizumoto gives lecture “The Atomic Bombing Experience of Hiroshima and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” at the “Peace Education” Course of Hiroshima International University.
- ◆ **Jul. 16** Mizumoto gives lecture “How Should We Link the Atomic Bombing Experience to World Peace?”, and chairs group discussions, at the Hiroshima Peace Forum organized by the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and other organizations, held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Jul. 21** Mizumoto gives lecture “Current World Situation of Nuclear Weapons and Hiroshima” at the “Peace Education” Course of Hiroshima International University.
- ◆ **Jul. 24** Hitoshi Nagai presents paper “The Battle for Manila as a Symbol: An Analysis of US War Crimes Investigation and Its Aftermath,” at the international symposium “The Truths and Memories of the Battle for Manila 1945,” held at Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo.
- ◆ **Jul. 28** Mizumoto gives lecture “On Hiroshima and Peace” for a training course for journalists organized by Hiroshima City, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Jul. 29** Mizumoto attends as a panelist the special session “Dialogue with High School Students on Peace and Disarmament” during “The 23rd UN Conference on Disarmament Issues in Matsumoto,” organized by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific, held in Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture.
- ◆ **Jul. 31** Mizumoto gives presentation “What Is Expected from Japan Now?” at “The International Symposium for Peace 2011: The Road to Abolition — What Civil Society Needs to Do Now,” organized by Hiroshima City, the Asahi Shimbun and other organizations, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Aug. 2** Mizumoto attends the Task Force Meeting of “A Hiroshima for Global Peace” Plan, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held at the Grand Prince Hotel Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Aug. 3** Mizumoto gives presentation “The Meeting of ‘A Hiroshima for Global Peace’ Plan,” organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and other organizations, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Aug. 14-15** Narayanan Ganesan presents paper “East Asian Regionalism: Drivers and Directions” at the conference “Community Building in East and Southeast Asia,” held in Manila, the Philippines.
- ◆ **Aug. 16** Ganesan attends the Executive Committee meeting of the Asian and International Studies Association (APISA), held in Manila, the Philippines.
- ◆ **Aug. 22** Mizumoto serves as the Vice-Chair at the 7th meeting of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Aug. 25** Mizumoto attends an extraordinary general meeting of the Advisory Research Group of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the museum.
- ◆ **Aug. 28** Robert Jacobs presents paper “Radioactive Fallout and Global Ecosystem Awareness” during the conference “Legacies of the Cold War” held at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research in Hamburg, Germany.
- ◆ **Aug. 29-31** Ganesan chairs two roundtable discussions on Asian/Area Studies and International Studies at a training workshop for young Asian scholars, organized by APISA, held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- ◆ **Sep. 1** Mizumoto attends the Task Force Meeting of “A Hiroshima for Global Peace” Plan, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held at the Tokyo office of Hiroshima Prefecture.
- ◆ **Sep. 2** Mizumoto gives lecture “Contribution to International Peace” at a training program for Level III Certified Nursing Administrators organized by the Hiroshima Nursing Association.
- ◆ **Sep. 6** Jacobs participates in panel discussion “Nuking New York: Relocating Ground Zero from Hiroshima to New York City in the American Imagination” at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, US.
- ◆ **Sep. 6-16** Jacobs co-curates exhibition “Nuke York, New York” in the John Hartell Gallery at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, US.
- ◆ **Sep. 16** Mizumoto gives lecture “Hiroshima and the Danger of Nuclear Weapons” at the California University Program of Meiji Gakuin University, held at Aster Plaza, Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Sep. 20** Taeko Kiriya gives lecture “The Damage from the Atomic Bombing and the Reconstruction of Hiroshima in the Postwar Era” at the Public Meeting for Peace, organized by and held in Daisen City, Akita Prefecture.
- ◆ **Sep. 22** Mizumoto gives lecture “How to Live in the International Age: Pursuing Nuclear Abolition and International Contributions from an A-bombed City” at a seminar on human rights, held at Hatsukaichi-Nishi High School, Hatsukaichi, Hiroshima Prefecture.
- ◆ **Sep. 29-30** Ganesan coordinates and hosts an international workshop “Civil Society in Democracy and Democratic Transitions in Southeast Asia,” held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- ◆ **Oct. 17** Mizumoto attends a meeting on “A Hiroshima for Global Peace” Plan, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held at the Grand Prince Hotel Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Oct. 18** Mizumoto attends as a panelist the international symposium for peace “Towards the Realization of ‘A Hiroshima for Global Peace,’” organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and the Japan Institute of International Affairs, held at the International Conference Center Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Oct. 22** Mizumoto gives lecture “The Atomic Bombings in Hiroshima & Nagasaki and World Politics after WWII: Part 1” at a lecture of the University Consortium Kanmon, held in Kitakyushu, Fukuoka Prefecture.
- ◆ **Oct. 26** Mizumoto gives lecture “How to Live in the International Age: Pursuing Nuclear Abolition and International Contributions from an A-bombed City” at a seminar for international understanding, held at Hatsukaichi High School, Hatsukaichi, Hiroshima Prefecture.
- ◆ **Oct. 29** Mizumoto gives lecture “The Atomic Bombings in Hiroshima & Nagasaki and World Politics after WWII: Part 2” at a lecture of the University Consortium Kanmon, held in Kitakyushu, Fukuoka Prefecture.

## —Visitors—

- ◆ **Sep. 16** Mari Amano, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Delegation of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament

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