

# HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

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## Towards the Convening of a Conference on the Establishment of a WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East

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On November 23, 2012, the postponement of the “Conference on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction” (hereafter the “Middle East Conference”), previously agreed to be held in 2012 at the 2010 NPT Review Conference (RevCon), was formally announced. Only ten days after the announcement, on December 3, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone (NWFZ) in the Middle East by consensus. UN resolutions on the establishment of an NWFZ in the Middle East have been adopted for almost 40 years and, by consensus, for more than 30 consecutive years. These two conflicting events symbolize the reality of where the regional states stand on the issue today: while sharing the ultimate goal of establishing an NWFZ or weapons of mass destruction-free zone (WMDFZ) in the Middle East, they remain unable to take the first step on the path towards its achievement.

The US State Department, one of the conveners of the Middle East Conference as mandated by the Final Document of the 2010 NPT RevCon, explained that the “present conditions in the Middle East and the fact that states in the region ha[d] not reached agreement on acceptable conditions for a conference” led to its decision to call it off. While no specific reasons were given, they very likely included Israel’s and Iran’s ambiguous attitudes regarding their attendance, the difficulties in how to deal with Syria which is in a state of civil war with the risk of the use of chemical weapons, and disagreements over the agenda and modalities of the Conference.

The reasons behind the delay of the Middle East Conference are closely tied to more fundamental factors that have prevented the realization of a WMDFZ in the Middle East. Such a goal can be attained only if expectations among the regional states converge, but this is far from being the case. For Islamic states in the Middle East, in particular Egypt, the principle aim of the creation of a WMDFZ is to oblige Israel—the only non-NPT state in the region—to forego its nuclear weapons option. Egypt has claimed that Israel’s nuclear problem is the greatest obstacle to the establishment of a WMDFZ in the Middle East and also to the convening of the Middle East Conference. On the other hand, Israel, whose national security relies on its recognized although not declared “deterrence capability,” has taken a stance that the resolution of the overall security situation in the Middle East, including the Iranian and other WMD issues, is a prerequisite for establishing a WMDFZ in the region. Israel has thus rejected participation in conferences and other frameworks which focused on its nuclear program.

Since the Cold War era, several countries in the Middle East, where intra- and inter-state confrontations have recurred, have opted for the possession of WMD as a vital means to ensure the survival of their regimes and the states themselves. In an environment fed by proponents of realpolitik and mutual distrust, few regional states consider that they can entrust their national security to such a zone. These states still seem to prefer relying on an independent national defense over reinforcing their security through multilateral arrangements, including mutual relinquishment of WMD. Moreover, for several Middle Eastern states, a WMDFZ is a means to prevent them from compensating their unbalanced conventional forces with WMD. Consequently, they tend to view their rivals’ proposal for creating a WMDFZ as ill-intended—and vice versa.

Furthermore, many countries in the region have been undergoing domestic political instability. The rise of the so-called “Arab Spring” and a trend to turn inward in the Middle East has reinforced the regional governments’ tendency to concentrate on their domestic affairs. Such a situation has, in consequence, weakened the leadership of Egypt, a long-time advocate of a Middle Eastern WMDFZ. It has also made it more difficult for the regional Islamic states to make compromises or concessions on the Israeli issue, for such unpopular measures may undermine the legitimacy

of their own governments. Similarly, in Israel, given its perilous security situation, it is unlikely that any concrete commitments towards renouncing its nuclear option will receive domestic support.

Thus, as it currently stands, there are very few positive factors that support a successful holding of the Middle East Conference, not least the creation of a Middle Eastern WMDFZ. However, efforts towards convening it should not be put aside since the Conference is one of the few existing initiatives that have the potential to bolster non-proliferation as well as the security environment in the region. Since the Middle East peace process was virtually frozen in the first half of the 1990s, there has been no established framework in which all states of the region can discuss regional security issues. The Middle East is a region where nuclear weapons and other WMD are present, and the possibility of their proliferation to states or non-state actors has been a significant concern. Moreover, the Middle East is acknowledged as one of the most tense regions in the world. Under these circumstances, it would surely be a great step forward if all states in the Middle East could participate in the Conference to discuss issues related to a WMDFZ and regional security.

In addition, the outcomes of the Middle East Conference will have a tremendous impact on the future of the NPT regime. The “successes” of the past NPT RevCons have been built upon compromises with the Middle Eastern NPT states which view their support for the Treaty’s indefinite extension in 1995 as a deal with the other NPT countries, particularly the United States, in adopting the Resolution on the Middle East which calls for, among other things, the establishment of a NWFZ in the region. The inclusion of the “convening of the Middle East Conference” backed by Egypt and others in the Final Document of the 2010 NPT RevCon was no exception. Egypt warns that the failure of the Middle East Conference may lead Arab states to reconsider their commitment to the NPT. Although a withdrawal en masse of Arab countries from the NPT is unlikely, such a political U-turn would certainly endanger the NPT review process and the nuclear non-proliferation regime as a whole.

Needless to say, it is unrealistic to pursue the creation of a WMDFZ in the Middle East without dealing with the complicated and difficult problems facing Middle Eastern countries. Nor is it likely that the conclusion of a WMDFZ Treaty in the region will bring about an instant solution to these problems. The only feasible approach would be to recognize the reality of the complex security situation in the region and pursue a practical and graded approach addressing both WMDFZ and regional security issues in an integrated manner. In a region dominated by hostility and tension, as an initial step, the Conference should allow the regional states to openly discuss issues under an agenda that accurately reflects their concerns. On that basis, the regional states should agree on, *inter alia*: the adoption of a consensus document reaffirming participants’ commitment to establishing a WMDFZ; the holding of subsequent conferences; the establishment of appropriate working groups and expert meetings on specific issues; and the identification of areas of possible cooperation.

If the regional states can demonstrate cooperation and agree on these key points, then the Middle East Conference would become the first landmark event where Middle Eastern countries could succeed in converging the regional states’ expectations. The ultimate responsibility for the success of a Middle East Conference rests on the regional countries; nevertheless, the Conference’s conveners—the United Nations and the three NPT depositary states (Russia, the UK and the US)—and the facilitator, as well as other major states, including Japan, certainly have an important role to play.

(Written on February 19, 2013)

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# Robert Jungk's Message to the People of Hiroshima:

## On the Occasion of the Special Exhibition on Robert Jungk

Makiko Takemoto



(Source: The Robert Jungk Future Library)

From February 15 to March 28, 2013, the special exhibition on the centenary of Robert Jungk, "The man who told the world about Hiroshima: For a nuclear-free future," is being held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. While some people may hear his name with nostalgia, some others may wonder who he is and why he was chosen as the subject of this exhibition. In fact, Robert Jungk is not necessarily well known in Japan today.

This exhibition is co-organized by the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the "Jungk Kaken Group." As the project leader of this group, the author will in this paper discuss his life, and in particular, his relationship with Hiroshima and the significance of the exhibition.

Robert Jungk was born in Berlin in May 1913. As a young Jewish man, during the Nazi era, he was compelled to exile himself to Paris, Prague, Zurich and London where he participated in anti-Nazi resistance. After WWII, he became famous as a journalist for his reports on the Nuremberg



Panels at the exhibition

Tribunal, publishing articles widely in the US and Europe. Even though he obtained US citizenship, he later settled in Salzburg, Austria. There, as well as in Germany, he became one of the leading figures in the anti-nuclear weapons and anti-nuclear power plant movement that spread across Europe.

Jungk made his first visit to Hiroshima in May 1957, after publishing the book *Heller als tausend Sonnen* [Brighter Than a Thousand Suns] in which he portrayed the personal lives of nuclear scientists who had participated in the development of atomic bombs such as Robert Oppenheimer. At that time, in West Germany, the issue of nuclear weapons was a highly controversial topic. In fact, while Chancellor Konrad Adenauer showed his inclination to arm Germany with nuclear bombs, 18 scientists submitted the Göttingen Manifesto opposing Germany's nuclear armament and the implementation of any related experiments.

On his visit to Hiroshima, Jungk interviewed some *hibakusha* with the help of Kaoru Ogura who later served as a city official in charge of foreign affairs and Director of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Even after Jungk returned to Europe, Ogura continued to send him articles of the local newspaper *Chugoku Shimbun* and records of interviews that Ogura conducted himself with key persons of Hiroshima, almost every week over two years.

With the support of Ogura, Jungk published the book *Strahlen aus der Asche* [Children of the Ashes] in 1959. In this book he depicted the reconstruction process of Hiroshima and the difficulties and hardship of young *hibakusha* such as Ichiro Kawamoto who was active in peace movements, establishing the "Orizuru Kai" (Paper Cranes Club). In addition to Kawamoto, Jungk met several other key Hiroshima citizens: the first publicly elected city mayor, Shinso Hamai; the first director of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, Shogo Nagaoka; medical doctors Fumio Shigeto and Michihiko Hachiya; and author Yoko Ota. The experience of meeting them had a large influence on Jungk's life.

Motivated by the success of the book, Jungk produced a TV documentary titled *Children of the Ashes*, visiting Hiroshima again in 1960 for its production. For this program, which was co-organized with Bavarian Broadcasting, Jungk filmed various scenes that he witnessed in the city, such as a demonstration against the Japanese-US Security Treaty that took place in the city center of Hiroshima, bustling streets, and a crowded department store. At the same time, the program seemed to put special emphasis on "dark" sides of the lives of the people of Hiroshima such as a jobless young male *hibakusha* wandering

around on a street, and nightlife in Hiroshima as represented by streets illuminated with neon lights, a strip show, or a bar with the staff dressed in military uniforms. It is possible that, as a Jewish person who had survived the Auschwitz concentration camp, Jungk intended to send a strong message that, despite the prosperity that was brought about by the reconstruction, the people of Hiroshima who had survived the atomic bombing, and also the entire Japanese population, should remember what happened on August 6, 1945, and develop and advocate their own messages. His words in *Children of the Ashes* deliver a strong message to us even today:

Hiroshima does not point the way towards peace because it uses the word *heiwa* (peace) as a sort of trademark which it attaches to everything and anything, but because it gives a faint indication of what the world would look like after an atomic war. We may assume that what would be left after such a war would not be totally dead desert without human inhabitants, but rather a single huge hospital, a world in which everyone was sick and wounded. For decades and even for centuries after the last shot had been fired the survivors would go on dying because of a quarrel whose origins they and their descendants would have probably forgotten long ago.

The monumental municipal buildings are not Hiroshima's memorial, but the survivors whose skin, blood and genes are branded with the memory of "that day." They are the first victims of an entirely new sort of war, which cannot be ended by an armistice or a peace-treaty, a "war without end" which, reaching forward from the present, embraces the future as well in its circle of destruction. (Robert Jungk, *Children of the Ashes: The Story of a Rebirth*, translated into English by Constantine Fitzgibbon, London/Melbourne/Toronto, 1961, p. 301)

Jungk's next visits to Japan were made in 1970. He came to Hiroshima twice during that year: in April, during a visit to Kyoto to attend the International Futures Research Conference; and from the end of November to the beginning of December for the purpose of attending the "Hiroshima Conference." Under the theme of "essential preconditions for peace in the contemporary world," the conference was attended by a number of important figures such as physicists Hideki Yukawa and Shinichiro Tomonaga, and anti-nuclear activists Barbara Reynolds and Philip Noel-Baker. Jungk delivered a lecture in a session on peace research and held a discussion on the establishment of a peace research institute in Hiroshima.

In German-speaking countries, the anti-nuclear weapons movement and the anti-nuclear power plant movement merged into a single movement against both nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants. At the beginning, Jungk, as the leader of the Austrian anti-nuclear weapons "Easter March Movement," was not particularly opposed to the "peaceful use" of nuclear energy. However, he gradually became alarmed at its dangers in the 1970s. He was active in the anti-nuclear power plant movement, and pressed for a referendum on the operation of a nuclear power plant in Zwentendorf that took place in 1978 and led to the suspension of the plant. As a result of the referendum, this nuclear power plant remains out of service today. In 1977, a year before the referendum, he published the book *The Nuclear State* in which he discussed

not only the danger of nuclear energy but also that of a totalitarian society which can control both nuclear energy and its citizens.

In 1980 Jungk visited Japan for the fifth time. One of the purposes of his trip this time was to visit nuclear power plants in the country. From



(Source: The Robert Jungk Future Library)

January 23 through to February 15, Jungk delivered lectures and held meetings in Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, and he also visited nuclear power plants in Kashiwazaki-Kariwa (Niigata), Tsuruga (Fukui), Noto (later renamed Shiga, in Ishikawa) and Ikata (Ehime). At the same time, when he visited the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims in Hiroshima, he commented "My prayer shall go not only to the victims of the atomic bombing, but also to victims of radiation exposure who had worked for the nuclear industry, and this prayer shall convey anger to nuclear energy, too" (*The Chugoku Shimbun*, February 13, 1980). In Hiroshima, he held an open forum with citizens in which he argued that an increase in the number of nuclear power plants and that of nuclear weapons were two sides of the same coin, and implored the audiences that, "We should appeal to the world through consolidating the power of anti-nuclear power plant movement which has its starting point in Hiroshima" (*The Chugoku Shimbun*, February 14, 1980).

Following the Fukushima nuclear incident in 2011, Jungk's book *Der Atomstaat* [The Nuclear State], which was published more than three decades earlier, caught the public's attention again. From his first visit to Hiroshima in 1957 through to his death at the age of 81 in July 1994, he tirelessly advocated about the dangers of nuclear energy from the standpoint of a journalist, a researcher and a peace activist. His motivations certainly came from his experiences in Hiroshima. How people in Hiroshima perceived his messages remains to be clarified. Research on Jungk would be necessary in order to find new facets of the history of Hiroshima and also to investigate how "Hiroshima" has been perceived by people around the world. It may also be necessary to examine the often overlooked roles that were played by those key persons in the anti-nuclear efforts in Hiroshima, such as Kaoru Ogura and Ichiro Kawamoto, with whom Jungk had personal contact. It is hoped that the latest exhibition will be a first step of such an endeavor.

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The 2012 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the European Union (EU) which “has helped to transform most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace” (Thorbjørn Jagland, Chair of the Norwegian Nobel Committee). The present issue of My Approach to Peace Studies will examine “peace” in relation to the EU, with Associate Professor Atsuko Higashino from Tsukuba University as the author.

## The EU’s Winning of the Nobel Peace Prize

Atsuko Higashino

On October 12, 2012, news that the EU had won the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize hit the headlines of newspapers around the world. It may have been totally unexpected even by EU officials, as seen in the words of President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso at a press conference directly after the announcement: “When I woke up this morning, I did not expect it to be such a good day.”

The Prize Award Ceremony was held in Oslo on December 10, and on behalf of all EU citizens it was attended by Barroso, President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz and four children selected from across the continent. The prize money of 930,000 euros will be allocated to projects that support children who have been affected by war and conflicts.

The award, however, instigated an international controversy as has been the case for a number of former Nobel Peace Prizes. In 2009 when US President Obama was awarded after only nine months since his first inauguration, his as yet insufficient achievements were the subject of criticism. In the case of the EU, on the other hand, it has been 60 years since the establishment in 1952 of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the forerunner of what is today the EU. This may suggest that the criticism directed towards the Nobel Peace Prize on this occasion is, unlike the case of President Obama, due to the fact that the prize was awarded to the EU despite it facing economic and social difficulties on an unprecedented scale. It is noteworthy that such critical voices are by no means a minority even within the EU itself. In this context, this paper will examine the criticism directed towards the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU, and will then expand the discussion in order to demonstrate the importance of a critical examination of European integration in relation to the concept of “peace.”

The grounds for the decision to award the prize should first be examined. The founder of the Nobel Prizes, Alfred Nobel, stated in his will that the Noble Peace Prize is to go to a person who has done “the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses.” On this occasion, the EU was recognized for its contribution towards promoting “fraternity between nations” and “peace congresses.” Although the EU is not an individual “person,” it is nevertheless not unusual for the prize to go to an organization since the United Nations (UN), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate

Change (IPCC) were awarded the prize in 2001, 2005 and 2007 respectively.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee which is responsible for selecting Nobel Peace Prize laureates commented that the most significant reason for the award decision was the EU’s contribution “for over six decades ... to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe.” Regarding more specific grounds, the committee emphasized two key achievements. The first was the “reconciliation between Germany and France which had fought three wars over a seventy-year period.” The framework for European integration was viewed as having been indispensable for the “historical enemies” to become close partners “through well-aimed efforts and by building up mutual confidence.” The second was the enlargement of the EU. Particularly important were granting EU membership to Greece, Spain and Portugal in the 1980s, and several Central and Eastern European countries in 2004 and 2007; the planned admission of Croatia in 2013; and the ongoing membership negotiations with countries such as Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. It was recognized that by means of this long-term enlargement process, “the division between East and West has to a large extent been brought to an end, democracy has been strengthened, and many ethnically-based national conflicts have been settled.”

The Norwegian Nobel Committee further commented:

The EU is currently undergoing grave economic difficulties and considerable social unrest. The Norwegian Nobel Committee wishes to focus on what it sees as the EU’s most important result: the successful struggle for peace and reconciliation and for democracy and human rights. The stabilizing part played by the EU has helped to transform most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace.

Despite these grounds, the awarding of the prize is facing criticism. There are three possible reasons for this.

The first relates to the fact that it is the current economic difficulties rather than the EU’s postwar achievements of regional peace and reconciliation that are currently drawing more attention of EU citizens. The significance of the past achievements which the Norwegian Nobel Committee mentioned, such as the reconciliation between Germany and France and the enlargement of the EU, is in itself not denied, although this should be analyzed from a critical perspective as will be discussed later.

Nevertheless, in order for the ongoing economic and social problems to be addressed, new goals and strategies rather than the achievements of peace and reconciliation are more in demand than ever. The surprise awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU, which has yet to identify some concrete solutions to its immediate problems, only served to confuse many EU citizens. This phenomenon may not be entirely unrelated to the generational shift among EU citizens. With the number of people who have first-hand experience of WWII decreasing, it is unlikely that the EU will continue to symbolize reconciliation, especially among the younger generation.

The second reason is the fact that at present the EU has yet to gain a reputation as a peace builder in international society as much as it may wish. It is noteworthy that the grounds for the award announced by the Norwegian Nobel Committee did not include the diplomatic achievements of the EU. The EU has long aspired to secure a strong presence in international society, and has made efforts in various activities such as carrying out structural reforms which include the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), providing development assistance, and developing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Nevertheless, as suggested by the absence of the EU’s diplomatic achievements in the grounds for the recent award, these diplomatic efforts may have not been satisfactorily recognized both within and outside Europe.

The third reason relates to the historical background of the relations between the EU and Norway, the latter of which being of course the home of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Norway has on two occasions rejected accession to the EU by national referendum. In the eyes of many people it may be impossible to understand or even highly ironic that the country awards the Nobel Peace Prize to an organization which it refuses to join. Further suspicion was aroused by the suggestion that the decision may have strongly reflected the political inclinations of the Chair of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Thorbjørn Jagland, who is a former Prime Minister of Norway and an advocate of Norway’s accession to the EU. Unlike other Nobel Prizes in the fields of natural sciences such as medicine and physics, the Peace Prize frequently faces criticism for the possible influence of political bias on the part of members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. The recent award has been no exception.

Jagland commented on the recent award: “There is a real danger that Europe will start disintegrating. Therefore, we should focus again on the fundamental aims of the organization.” As these words may suggest, it can be argued that the award was rather meant to be an “encouragement” for the EU which is “missing good news these days” (Štefan Füle, European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy). Or viewed more cynically, the EU might have won the prize due to its present economic and social difficulties.

Despite some negative evaluations of the EU’s winning of the prize, it is important to revisit the actual significance of the EU for the purpose of examining the relationship between peace and regional integration. In so doing, particular attention needs to be paid to two research agendas: a critical re-examination of an approach which unquestionably equates regional integration with peacebuilding; and a careful analysis of the current economic and social difficulties which places these problems within a broader historical context.

More specifically, the first research agenda is to analyze closely the extent to which the EU has contributed to peacebuilding in Europe. An issue which has been widely discussed among experts on EU politics and EU officials is whether the absence of war in postwar Europe can be attributed to regional integration.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the causal relationship

between peace and regional integration, two perspectives exist: whether the latter led to the former, or the other way round. A similar interpretation exists regarding whether the reconciliation between Germany and France came about as a result of not only regional integration but also through “democratic peace theory” which holds that democratic states are reluctant to engage in armed conflicts with each other. The role played by international organizations has also been far from insignificant. Commenting on the recent award to the EU, Sir Malcolm Rifkind, a former British Foreign Secretary, stated that “until the end of the Cold War, it was NATO more than anyone else that kept the peace.” Moreover, if the establishment and dissemination of human rights and democracy are to be taken into account, it is vital also to examine the significance of the roles that have been played by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe. However, such an objective analysis of the actual contribution of the EU to peacebuilding in postwar Europe has been more often than not considered something of a taboo. In this respect, some of the words in the address delivered by Van Rompuy at the Prize Award Ceremony may be illuminating: “Of course, peace might have come to Europe without the Union. But it would never have been of the same quality—a lasting peace.” As these various perspectives suggest, it may be an important task for Peace Studies to examine the extent of the (possible) contribution of regional integration towards peacebuilding both within and beyond Europe.

The second research agenda is, as stated earlier, to undertake a careful analysis of the current economic and social difficulties by placing the problems within a broader historical context. The process of integration in Europe has come up against difficulties on many occasions in the past. Nevertheless, Europe’s political leaders have overcome these difficulties as a result of their unwavering belief that integration is vital for Europe. These past difficulties were often related to differences in specific methods and future visions for the integration among the member states of the EU. However, on each occasion, the member states have “perfected the art of compromise” (Van Rompuy), acquiring the techniques to resolve such differences in opinion somehow or other. Through these techniques, the ECSC, and later the EU, have over the past 60 years succeeded in establishing a huge common market encompassing 500 million citizens, and also achieved “Europeanization” which has reached almost every aspect of people’s lives. There have been some media reports anticipating that the current crisis will lead to the end of the EU. However, it should be remembered that the EU has faced a series of crises throughout its integration process, and every time it has encountered difficulties, the integrated community has succeeded in overcoming the crisis.

It may be something akin to a suspension of thought to naïvely equate regional integration with peacebuilding, or to abandon all hope for the future of the EU simply as a result of the current crisis. Such a suspension of thought cannot bring about any benefit to the pursuit of peace. What is required instead is to analyze the achievements and problems of the integration process of the EU and its relationship to peace from an objective and reasonably critical standpoint.

<sup>1</sup> For example, Professor Anne Deighton of Oxford University has commented that it is impossible to say whether European integration prevented further wars. (Jack Ewing, “Despite prize, European Union loses much of its appeal as unity eludes continent,” *The New York Times*, October 12, 2012.)

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# Myanmar's Rohingya Dilemma

Moe Thuzar

In late May 2012, several Muslim men raped and murdered a Buddhist woman in Rakhine, a strongly nationalistic state of Myanmar, a crime that later led to communal violence fraught with racial and religious undertones that continue to simmer today. Many inflammatory views on the issue of Rohingya—a Muslim community inhabiting in Rakhine—have since been expressed on social media platforms, revealing many underlying and deep-seated prejudices. This threatens the yet unconsolidated stability in Myanmar under President Thein Sein's reform-minded administration.

This is not the first time the Rohingya issue has brought Myanmar under international scrutiny. The present government now has to deal with a complex problem, compounded by decades of indifference by successive administrations, and a history of broken trust experienced by both Buddhist and Muslim communities in Rakhine State.

## The historical context

Muslims have been known to have settled in the then Arakan kingdom since around 1430. They preserved their own heritage within a Buddhist environment for many centuries, maintaining an identity distinct from the majority Buddhist Arakanese.

The porous western border facilitated cross-border migration between British India (mainly Chittagong which is now part of Bangladesh) and Burma's Arakan (now Rakhine) State in the colonial era. A rebellion flared up in April 1948, months after Burma's independence. Migration from Bengal continued throughout Myanmar's post-independence years, and was sometimes even encouraged during the parliamentary period (for political expediency). The "othering" process (i.e. us vs. them) was perpetuated by both Buddhists and Muslims. Several small armed groups emerged under the banner of self-determination for the Rohingyas. They used the exoduses of 1978 and 1991-92 to internationalize the Rohingya cause.

The 1978 and 1991-92 exoduses were treated as an immigration issue between Bangladesh and Myanmar by the military governments of the time. On both occasions, the foreign ministers of both countries negotiated the repatriation process. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), whose presence highlighted the humanitarian aspect of the situation, coordinated the process.

In 2009, groups of Rohingya refugees reached by boat the shores of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, after several days at sea. ASEAN turned to the Bali Process—created in 2002 to move regional cooperation on human smuggling and trafficking—as a "viable option" to discuss the issue. Since the government of Myanmar stated that anyone who could prove their citizenship would be readily accepted back, the ASEAN Secretariat was tasked with conducting a census of Myanmar Muslims in countries such as Indonesia, India and Thailand.

The 2012 clashes have refocused the world's attention on the Rohingya issue. The razing of residences and public buildings prompted President Thein Sein to appeal directly to the country on June 10, 2012. The President also declared a state of emergency in Rakhine State. The government of Myanmar and UN agencies such as the World Food Programme (WFP), UNHCR and the UN Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) have been in Rakhine since June/July 2012. The government of Myanmar showed no reluctance in admitting Vijay Nambiar, the UN's Special Advisor on Myanmar, and Tomas Quintana, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights,

to visit the affected areas in Rakhine on June 13. Meanwhile, the government of Bangladesh has maintained its position of keeping the border closed.

These clashes have been characterized in the international media as sectarian violence between Buddhists and Muslim Rohingyas, depicting the Rohingya as a minority ethnic group. The Burmese social media forums have accused the international press of biased reporting while the local press was seen as adhering to factual reports.

The essence of the Rohingya issue can be described as a clash of two contending interpretations over the perceived "overwhelming" presence of Muslims in Rakhine. The clashes and periodic exoduses highlight the current "illegal" status of the Rohingyas in Rakhine.

## The Rohingya and the citizenship laws

In post-independence Burma, the 1948 Union Citizenship Act specified the indigenous races of Burma as "Arakanese, Burmese, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon or Shan race and racial groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the Union as their permanent home from a period anterior to 1823 AD (1185 BE)." (Note: BE stands for the Burmese Era.) The 1948 Act allowed naturalization applications, but was not effectively implemented. It was replaced in 1982 with a new Citizenship Law, which categorizes citizens into: 1) full citizens who are either descendants of those residing in the country since before 1823, including the indigenous races listed in the 1948 Citizenship Act, citizens at the time of the legislation's entry into force, or those born of parents at least one of whom were citizens at the time of birth; 2) associate citizens who had applied for citizenship under the 1948 Citizenship Act; and 3) naturalized citizens comprising persons "who have entered and resided in the State anterior to 4th January 1948, and their offsprings born within the State[, and who] may, if they have not yet applied under the Union Citizenship Act, 1948, apply for naturalized citizenship to the Central Body, furnishing conclusive evidence." After three generations, descendants of associate or naturalized citizens would be considered full citizens. Under the current legal framework, the Rohingyas have limited access to citizenship status.

## Challenges ahead

The Rohingya issue is a serious test for Myanmar's reform process. The rule of law requires addressing corruption, and developing clear and precise laws with regard to citizenship. The Rohingya issue may well prompt a revisiting of the 1982 Citizenship Law. A window exists in the nation-wide census planned for 2014. This would enable Myanmar's reformers to address the gaps and omissions of past administrations.

However, the deep anti-Rohingya sentiments in the country need to be overcome first. The simmering tensions indicate a deep division within the population that could worsen. Conflicts of this nature highlight the need for "bridge-builders" and for building the capacities of such individuals and organizations. While awaiting the findings and recommendations of an investigation commission (appointed in August 2012), humanitarian needs continue in the areas affected by the violence. The Myanmar government continues to work with the UN OCHA to address these needs. Beyond the immediate relief requirements, the government (and international partners assisting the process) must also tackle broader concerns for rebuilding trust, and developing the affected areas, especially regarding access to education, health and livelihood opportunities. The role of political parties in Rakhine State and legislators of these parties in the regional and central-level parliaments is also crucially important.

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## Seeking Peace in Okinawa

In 2012 Okinawa celebrated the 40th anniversary of its reversion to Japan. The latest HPI Lecture Series which was held last fall focused on this southern-most prefecture which was under US administration for 27 years until 1972. Each of the five lectures shed light on various issues concerning Okinawa, such as the Battle of Okinawa in 1945, the issue of the US bases in the prefecture, and Okinawa as viewed from the perspective of Japanese modern and contemporary history. The event as a whole offered participants an opportunity to gain new insights into the prefecture which is unique within Japan both historically and culturally.

### Lecture 1 (October 19)

#### A Perspective on the Modern and Contemporary History of Ryukyu/Okinawa: Issues Surrounding Okinawa

Masanao Kano, Professor Emeritus at Waseda University

In the first lecture, the origin of the expression “prejudice against Okinawa” was examined based on three main historical experiences of Okinawa. The first relates to the fact that, before and during WWII, Okinawa was treated as the most backward prefecture in Japan following the dismantlement of the Ryukyu Kingdom. The people of Okinawa struggled with a dilemma over their identities of “Ryukyu” and “Okinawan,” and consequently developed their own philosophy as a guidepost for carving out their own way to the future. The second was the fact that during the war, Okinawa was utilized as a bulwark against the Allied Powers in order to protect the Japanese mainland, and as a consequence a large number of local people were drawn into the Battle of Okinawa. The third relates to the period of US occupation and that since Okinawa’s reversion to Japan, during both of which Okinawa has been the US military’s keystone in the Pacific Ocean since several US bases are concentrated within the prefecture. This again has influenced the development of an “Okinawa philosophy.” Kano emphasized that the most important concept throughout the development of this “Okinawa philosophy” has been the right to life, or more specifically, resistance to any form of violation of human life.



action of the Japanese government which had ordered the governor to accept the use of local lands by US forces on behalf of individual municipalities of the prefecture. Kawakami analyzed that this order and the subsequent lawsuits contested between the then Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama and Ota shed light on the following three issues which have yet to be solved: i) the unconstitutionality of the Japan-US Security Treaty and the expropriation of land by the US; ii) the nature of “discrimination against Okinawa” which is represented by the excessive concentration of US bases in Okinawa Prefecture; and iii) problems pertaining to the “agency-delegated function system” which obliges local governors to act as agents of the central government.

### Lecture 4 (November 9)

#### Hiroshima and Okinawa: A Perspective from Hiroshima

Takuma Higashi, Freelance Writer

The fourth lecturer was Takuma Higashi who is a freelance writer based in Hiroshima and author of *Hiroshima Dokuritsu-ron* [Essay on the Independence of Hiroshima] (Seidosha, Tokyo, 2007). He raised the question of whether a perspective from Hiroshima actually only concerns the issue of nuclear (weapons) abolition, and emphasized the importance of holding perspectives which are oriented towards Okinawa. According to Higashi, through the experience of Okinawa we should investigate and remember issues that are shared by both Okinawa and Hiroshima, such as those related to war experience, the US bases and sexual assaults committed by US soldiers. By means of this, we can and should connect Hiroshima and Okinawa, thereby making our joint voices heard. He also presented a film of the dancer Ms. Tari Ito performing in front of the A-bomb Dome which was aimed at warning people that sexual assaults committed against Japanese females by US soldiers are being forgotten. Through this film, as well as other films and musical works by other artists, Higashi introduced efforts to connect Hiroshima and Okinawa which convey *chimugurusa*, or “agony” in the Okinawan language.



### Lecture 2 (October 26)

#### US Military Bases in Okinawa: Their History and Present Situation

Toru Aketagawa, Adjunct Instructor at Hosei University

In the second lecture, Toru Aketagawa examined the current political and social environment surrounding the US bases in Okinawa. The Japanese media and public tend largely to focus on the nuclear issue when discussing the negotiations over the return of US bases to Okinawa. However, the main concerns for the US have centered on whether they could retain a free hand in their use of the bases and how they could minimize their own financial burden. The US’ demands regarding these concerns were negotiated and agreed between the US and Japanese governments. Similarly, the deployment of Osprey, military tilt-rotor aircraft, to the Futenma Base in Okinawa had been a desire of the US for 20 years, and this was achieved through an agreement between the two governments. According to Aketagawa, the entire 20-year negotiation process illustrates a denial of Okinawan people’s right to self-determination and also “structural discrimination against Okinawa.” The deployment of Ospreys will obviously compel Okinawan people to become more directly involved than ever in possible emergencies in Northeast Asia. Aketagawa concluded the lecture by stating that the year 2012 marked not only the 40th anniversary of Okinawa’s reversion to Japan, but also the most difficult period in relations between Okinawa and the Japanese mainland during the last four decades.



### Lecture 5 (November 16)

#### Okinawa’s Position in Postwar Japan

Moriteru Arasaki, Professor Emeritus at Okinawa University

The final lecturer was Moriteru Arasaki who is an expert on the contemporary history of Okinawa. He first examined Japanese-US relations and Okinawa in the postwar period within a framework of “systematic discrimination against Okinawa.” He identified a trinity of factors which have together imposed US bases on Okinawa, and as a result stabilized Japanese-US relations at the cost of the people of Okinawa: i) the utilization of the Emperor as the symbol of the state; ii) the demilitarization of and the subsequent alliance with Japan initiated by the US; and iii) the separate military control imposed on Okinawa. He then analyzed how this systematic discrimination against Okinawa has been reinforced in Japan through the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty and revisions to the Japan-US Security Treaty. With reference to important issues such as the coming to power of the Democratic Party of Japan and problems relating to the Futenma Base, he also illustrated how the people of Okinawa have resisted these circumstances particularly following the end of the Cold War. Lastly, he introduced recent exchanges between the peoples of Okinawa, South Korea and Taiwan, in order to emphasize crucial roles in efforts towards peacebuilding that can be predicted from cross-border, regional efforts and exchanges within a broader cultural sphere.



### Lecture 3 (November 9)

#### An Analysis of the Lawsuit over Proxy Signatures for Land Use for US Bases (1995-1996)

Akihiro Kawakami, Assistant Professor at HPI

Kawakami examined the history of Okinawa after WWII and stated that the construction of the US bases in Okinawa was a violation of the Hague Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, and also the Constitution of Japan. According to him, it is this violation which led the then Governor of Okinawa, Masahide Ota, and Okinawa Prefecture as a whole to resist the



## HPI moved to HCU campus

At the end of January, the Hiroshima Peace Institute moved to the campus of Hiroshima City University (HCU). We are now located on the 4th floor of the Annex of the Faculty of Information Sciences. (See the HCU website: <http://www.hiroshima-cu.ac.jp/english/category0029.html>) Our new contact information is shown at the bottom of this page.

## DIARY

November 1, 2012 – February 28, 2013

- ◆ **Nov. 1** Makiko Takemoto gives presentation “Floyd Schmoer and the ‘Houses for Hiroshima’” for a public lecture which she, as part of a research project led by herself, co-organizes with Hiroshima City and the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Nov. 5** HPI Vice-President Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture “International Contribution towards Peace from Hiroshima” at the “Human Resource Development for Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Course” of the Youth-Exchange Project with Asia-Oceania and North America (Kizuna [bond] Project), organized by the Japan Overseas Cooperative Association (JOCA), held in Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Nov. 12** Mizumoto participates in the 3rd meeting of the Hiroshima Prefecture-entrusted “Project for Promotion of the NPT” organized by the Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, the Japan Institute of International Affairs, held in Tokyo.
- ◆ **Nov. 14** Taeko Kiriya gives lecture “Reconstruction after the Atomic Bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki” to a group of students from the Lower Secondary School affiliated with the School of Education, Nagoya University, held at HPI.
- ◆ **Nov. 19** Mizumoto serves as the Vice-Chair at the 13th meeting of the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the museum.
- ◆ **Nov. 29** Mikiyoung Kim gives presentation “Japan-Korea Co-registration of the Joseon Diplomatic Procession as World Heritage” at the Economic, Trade and Tourism Forum, organized by the Consulate-General of the Republic of Korea in Hiroshima, held at RIHGA Royal Hotel Hiroshima.
- ◆ **Dec. 2** Mizumoto gives report “An Analysis of Recent Trends and Debates on Nuclear Weapons” at a public lecture meeting organized by the Advisory Research Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the museum.
- ◆ **Dec. 7** Robert Jacobs presents paper “Networking Pacific Hibakusha: Connecting Radiation-Affected Communities Cross-Generationally through New Social Media,” at the 20th Pacific History Association Conference, held in Wellington, New Zealand.
- ◆ **Dec. 7-8** Mizumoto gives presentation “Japanese Perspectives” at the International Workshop “Developing a Comprehensive Approach to a Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone” and an affiliated public symposium, organized by the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University, and other organizations, held in Nagasaki.
- ◆ **Dec. 7-17** Narayanan Ganesan conducts research and interviews on civil society movements in Bangkok, Thailand, and Yangon, Myanmar.
- ◆ **Dec. 19-20** Mizumoto conducts field trip to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum in Nagasaki, Nagasaki Prefecture, and the Kyushu National Museum in Dazaifu, Fukuoka Prefecture, organized by the Exhibition Review Committee of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Dec. 20** Hitoshi Nagai gives lecture “The Institute for American Studies of Rikkyo University during the Second World War” at Rikkyo University, Tokyo.
- ◆ **Dec. 27, 2012-Jan. 10, 2013** Ganesan conducts field research in Yangon and other cities in Tanintharyi Region of southern Myanmar.
- ◆ **Dec. 28** Kim participates as a panellist in the panel session “Leadership Changes in East Asia” during the annual conference of the 21st Century Political Science Association, held at Pukyong National University, Busan, Korea.
- ◆ **Jan. 20, 2013** Mizumoto gives lecture “The Current State of Rehabilitation and Educational Tasks for Cambodia” at a preparatory training course for the Study Tour to Cambodia, organized by the Hiroshima International Center (HIC) and JICA Chugoku, held at HIC.
- ◆ **Jan. 31** Mizumoto gives presentation “Prospects for Future Disarmament and Non-proliferation Education” at Session VII “Disarmament and Non-proliferation Education” during the 24th United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues in Shizuoka, organized by the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) and the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD), held in Shizuoka.
- ◆ **Feb. 15** Ganesan gives presentation “Recent Political Developments in Myanmar” at the New Zealand Asia Institute of the University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- ◆ **Feb. 15-Mar. 28** Takemoto, as part of a Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (KAKENHI)-funded project led by herself, co-organizes the special exhibition in the centenary of Robert Jungk, “The Man Who Told the World about Hiroshima: For a Nuclear-free Future,” with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, held at the museum.
- ◆ **Feb. 17-23** Mizumoto conducts visit to Cambodia for several projects including the Cambodia Reconstruction Support Project, co-organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.
- ◆ **Feb. 24** Kim participates as a panellist in the research forum “The Past, Present and Future of Towns on the Route of the Joseon Diplomatic Procession,” held in Fukuyama, Hiroshima Prefecture.

### —Visitors—

- ◆ **Nov. 5** Prof. Hiroshi Fujimoto and students from Nanzan University.
- ◆ **Nov. 8** Director Yoshiko Shimabukuro and two staff members from the Himeyuri Peace Museum, Itoman, Okinawa Prefecture.
- ◆ **Nov. 14** Students from the Lower Secondary School affiliated with the School of Education, Nagoya University.
- ◆ **Dec. 5** Mr. Yasuyoshi Komizo, former Ambassador of Japan to the State of Kuwait.

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