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Open the Door to Every Activity That Strives to Realize “Peace” Hiroshima Peace Institute’s History and Raison d’Etre

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Introduction

This year marks the 24th anniversary of the establishment of the Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI) at Hiroshima City University (HCU). When the HPI was founded on April 1, 1998, I was employed as the first researcher, and I am due to retire at the end of this academic year. As the researcher with the next longest career at the HPI was hired in April 2002, I’m the only one who knows about the HPI at the time of its establishment. Prior to my retirement in March 2022, I would like to review the HPI’s achievements under each of the past Directors, and consider the institute’s future role and raison d’être.

Establishment of the Hiroshima Peace Institute

The history of the HPI can be traced back to August 1982, when then Mayor of Hiroshima City proposed in the Peace Declaration that “an international institute for research on peace and disarmament should be established.” Afterward, it was decided at Hiroshima City’s planning meeting, held in July 1991, that an academic research institute on peace would be founded as an affiliated organization of HCU, which was scheduled to open three years later. After the university was opened in 1994, an establishment preparation committee, comprising researchers active on the frontlines in Japan, was formed. Under the committee was an expert committee whose main membership comprised teaching staff from the Faculty of International Studies. Four years later, in February 1998, the HPI (Tentative) Basic Concept was formulated.

The HPI was formally established in April 1998, only two months after the formulation of the basic concept. Such a quick establishment was achieved largely thanks to Yasushi Akashi’s assumption as the HPI’s first Director. He had demonstrated great achievements as Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, including those related to the UN Peace Keeping Operations in Cambodia. Believing that the establishment of the HPI would be an event symbolizing the realization of Hiroshima’s long-anticipated wish, then Mayor of Hiroshima Takashi Hiraoka was seeking a renowned Director candidate who could appeal broadly to society. The mayor believed that Mr. Akashi would be appropriate as a new representative of Hiroshima, because he knew the reality of international politics through his work at the UN, but still upheld an idealism and had a high profile in the international arena.

Director Yasushi Akashi (April 1998 – February 1999)

Every move Mr. Akashi made drew attention from the media. He

aimed to develop the HPI into a thinktank that presented policy recommendations on ongoing global issues, such as nuclear disarmament and international conflicts. Utilizing his global networks, he called international conferences attended by experts active on the frontlines both at home and abroad, served as the chair for such events, and condensed the relevant discussions before presenting recommendations. That was his style. He did not need big names but young or mid-level researchers with light footwork who could support conferences behind the scenes. Believing that research results would not reach the global arena if they were disseminated in a language other than English, he ensured that all the meetings within the HPI were conducted in English, in principle. Additionally, he employed researchers on merit and introduced a fixed-term employment system for assistants and lecturers to encourage young staff to compete to produce favorable outcomes within a limited timeframe. In the first year, four researchers were employed, including an associate professor.

For its part, Hiroshima City showed the utmost consideration to Mr. Akashi. The city ensured that the HPI could rent an office building located in the city center, and that the institute’s secretariat consisted of three city officials - the Deputy Director General, the Senior Officer, and the Officer – plus some contract workers who were fluent in English. Supported by such an excellent staff, the HPI focused on holding international symposia and issuing newsletters from its early days.

Nevertheless, Director Akashi’s tenure did not last even a year. This was because he was aggressively urged by the Liberal Democratic Party to run in the Tokyo gubernatorial election to be held in April 1999, and he accepted the offer. Behind his decision lay the fact that then Mayor Hiraoka of Hiroshima City, who was Mr. Akashi’s most trusted supporter, had decided not to run for the Hiroshima mayoral election to be held in January, immediately prior to the Tokyo gubernatorial election, and had been replaced with a new mayor. This sudden replacement apparently made Mr. Akashi, who had every confidence in Mr. Hiraoka, feel it would be difficult to fulfill his responsibilities as HPI Director. Mr. Akashi’s resignation left negative legacies with the HPI. The most serious of these was a deep-rooted distrust from A-bomb victims and citizens.

At the same time, Mr. Akashi’s stepping down also left positive legacies, including global recognition of the HPI as a research institute. In May 1998, India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests, causing then Minister of Foreign Affairs Keizo

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Obuchi to play the leading role in organizing the international conference, the “Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament.” This international conference, co-organized by the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and the HPI, continued even after Mr. Akashi stepped down as Director. All the remaining staff members were united in performing practical work. They completed a report in July 1999 and submitted it to the UN. The way they worked for the conference was recognized and highly regarded by the JIIA and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which supported the event. This evaluation boosted the HPI staff members’ confidence at a time when they were experiencing the crisis of a vacancy in the position of Director.

Director Haruhiro Fukui (April 2001 – March 2005)

Following a two-year vacancy in the directorship after Mr. Akashi’s resignation, Dr. Haruhiro Fukui, Professor Emeritus of the University of California, Santa Barbara, assumed the position of the second Director. His most important responsibilities were to increase the staff of the HPI, and place the institute’s activities on track. He believed that the HPI should become an aggregation of individual researchers, that researchers should be selected from among applicants solicited widely both at home and abroad, and that the researchers should be allowed to engage in their research topics related to peace in a broad sense. In 2001, when he took up the new position, two open calls were launched, with each drawing approximately 100 applicants from both Japan and abroad. In accordance with Dr. Fukui’s request, the HPI asked prominent specialists in Japan and overseas to form a screening committee, and organized employment interviews both in Japan and abroad.

This led the HPI to employ a wide variety of researchers from Japan, the U.S., Europe, Australia and Asia. The range of the institute’s specialized fields extended to cover not only the social sciences (politics and international relations), but also history, sociology and other fields. The number of researchers increased to nearly 10, with lively discussions held every day at the HPI. It was around this time when the prototypes of the HPI’s activities today were mostly established, such as citizens lecture series, research forums, and other events as well as lectures given by the HPI staff in turn at HCU and the HPI research projects.

Director Motofumi Asai (April 2005 – March 2011)

After Director Fukui completed his four-year term, Mr. Motofumi Asai, a former diplomat became the third Director. One of the expectations placed on Mr. Asai was to bring teamwork to the HPI, which was characterized as an aggregation of individual researchers. He aimed to develop the HPI into a research institute considerate of the feelings of the A-bomb victims. While calling on the HPI’s researchers, each of whom had strong individualized research agendas, to show common cause and cooperation, he tried to make the importance of these values understood at the researchers staff meetings through dialogues.

In addition, he believed that the HPI needed to hire researchers specializing in the Constitution of Japan, the experience of the atomic bombing, peace movements, and other themes that could draw significant attention of citizens. As a result, the number of the HPI’s researchers reached 12. Mr. Asai always maintained his stance of foregrounding A-bomb victims. For example, he even decided to cancel an international symposium when a group of A-bomb victims expressed their opposition to part of the program. Before serving as HPI Director, he actively posted his comments on political, diplomatic and social issues on his own blog. He is still disseminating his opinions on Hiroshima.

Director Gen Kikkawa (April 2013 – March 2019)

The post of the fourth Director was assumed by Dr. Gen Kikkawa. Based on the recognition that the HPI’s existence was threatened, he set the following targets to be worked on as early as possible: 1) to establish a Graduate School of Peace Studies; and 2) to issue an encyclopedia on peace and security and a yearbook analyzing the nuclear situation in Asia. For 1), the necessary preparation was completed by the end of Director Kikkawa’s tenure, and the school was opened in April 2019. Regarding 2), the *Encyclopedia*

for Peace and Security was released in March 2016, while *Peace, Nuclear Weapons and Governance Issues in Asia* was released in February 2019. Director Kikkawa also actively formed a network with research institutes both at home and abroad. The HPI concluded comprehensive partnerships with the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University (RECNA), Sejong Institute in South Korea, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies of Seoul National University, the Institute of Japan Studies of Liaoning University in China, and other entities, thereby expanding the scope of its research interaction activities.

Director Ryo Oshiba (April 2019 – Present Day)

In April 2019, Dr. Ryo Oshiba assumed the position of Director, and the HPI embarked on new efforts. At the same time as his assumption of the position, the HPI launched an M.A. Program at the Graduate School of Peace Studies. In April 2021, a Ph.D. Program was also initiated. Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the graduate school is focusing on drawing not only students in Japan, but also international students and working professionals. Moreover, the HPI released *A Hiroshima Approach to Peace Studies*, the first collection of papers written by all the HPI’s researchers, in August 2021. The number of the institute’s researchers has increased to 15, with important outcomes being generated both in joint research entailing teamwork and in research by individuals.

HPI’s Raison d’Etre

I’ve made a brief review of the HPI’s history above. The earlier the period, the longer my description. This is because, as the only researcher who knows the situation right after the institute’s establishment, I would like the present staff to refer to the descriptions of the HPI’s early days. Finally, I would like to explore the roles to be played by the HPI and its *raison d’être*.

Since the HPI is a research institute belonging to a university, it should fulfill the roles that are generally expected to be fulfilled by universities, namely education, research and social contributions. Considering the background to the establishment of the HPI and from the perspective of citizens, particular focus should be placed on social contributions. Specifically, the HPI’s contributions can be categorized into two types: 1) contribution to the hometown of Hiroshima, and 2) more extensive contribution to Japan and international society. Since there are many groups working for 2) in Hiroshima, I would like to consider 1).

In Hiroshima, there are a wide variety of entities committed to peace, and they can be divided into the following groups: Hiroshima City, Hiroshima Prefecture and other local governments (peace administration); Peace Memorial Museum, Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims, and other museums (handing down the experiences and memories of the atomic bombing); Mayors for Peace, UNITAR Office in Hiroshima, and JICA Chugoku Center (international cooperation and international contribution); Hiroshima City Board of Education, elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, Teachers’ Union, etc. (peace education); media (peace coverage); and A-bomb victims’ organizations, NPOs, and NGOs (peace movements).

I believe it is the HPI’s role to support everyone who seeks advice on his/her activity related to peace. Based on this belief, since I began my career at the HPI, I have provided as much cooperation as I can, though I have done so personally in most cases, and I have learned a lot through this process. My humble experience has convinced me that this role is the centerpiece of the responsibilities the HPI is expected to discharge, and that the HPI’s *raison d’être* lies precisely in fulfilling this role. It goes without saying that education and research are important. Particularly in the field of social contributions, however, the HPI should open the door to every activity that requires consultation or support to realize peace, and ensure that all the researchers address and respond appropriately to such needs. I feel that this is the most important mission that the HPI is expected to complete.

(Professor at HPI)

Former Lieutenant Onoda Seen from a French Perspective

Hitoshi Nagai

On October 8, 2021, *Onoda: 10,000 Nights in the Jungle* was released at movie theaters across Japan. Directed by the French film director Arthur Harari, this movie depicts the life of former Lieutenant Hiroo Onoda, who continued to hide out on Lubang Island in the Philippines for about 30 years after the end of World War II, until his surrender in 1974. Opening the *Un Certain Regard* section of the 74th Cannes Film Festival, the work also drew attention in Japan.

When conceiving the film, Director Harari reportedly referred to a book written by French authors in the year of Onoda's surrender. It was *ONODA: 30 ans seul en guerre* [ONODA: 30 years alone in war], jointly authored by Bernard Cendron and Gérard Chenu. Published in 1974 in Paris, the work was the earliest biography of Onoda. Probably because the book is written in French, it has attracted scant attention in Japan so far.

1. Bernard Cendron

Bernard Cendron, one of the authors, is a businessman who has been engaged in introducing high-end French brands to the Japanese market for more than 40 years. After serving as the President of Parfums Christian Dior Japan and the Representative of Cartier International in Japan, he currently serves as the President of BCIL JAPON.

Cendron was born in Paris in May 1946. Influenced by his grandfather and mother, he has been familiar with Japanese culture since his childhood. While studying English literature at Sorbonne University, he also studied Japanese at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Cultures. In July 1969, he made his first visit to Japan as a backpacker. He worked as a guide for the French Pavilion at the Osaka EXPO from June to September 1970. In January 1971, he visited Japan once again. He served in the PR section of the French Embassy in Japan for more than a year as an alternative to mandatory military service. Then, he returned to France the following year and began to work at the Banque Nationale de Paris [National Bank of Paris].

What prompted this banker to write a biography of former Lieutenant Onoda? Behind this turn of events lay a series of coincidences. The news of the former lieutenant surrender caused a great sensation in France as well as in other countries. One day at that time, Cendron was eating dinner at his parents' home in Paris together with Jacques Arthaud, a friend of his father and the president of a publishing company. Arthaud proposed that Cendron write a book about Onoda. This idea stirred Cendron's spirit of adventure. He accepted the proposal on the spot and soon discussed it with his acquaintance Chenu, a military expert. As a result, it was decided that Chenu would conduct research in the suburbs of Paris on the Imperial Japanese Army Nakano School and other military affairs, while Cendron would visit Japan to collect various information, using his long summer vacation from the bank. This was the beginning of his journey tracing the steps of Onoda.

2. Quest for Testimonies

On the evening of March 9, 1974, former Lieutenant Onoda appeared in front of former Major Yoshimi Taniguchi, his wartime superior, and Norio Suzuki, the first person to discover Onoda, and surrendered. Three days after, on March 12, Onoda returned to Japan. Why did the former lieutenant continually refuse to surrender for 30 years? To explore the background to this burning question that puzzled many, Cendron visited Japan around June of the same year.

In Japan, Cendron interviewed not only Onoda, of course, but also his father Tanejiro and his elder brother Toshio, as well as former First-Class Private Yuichi Akatsu, his fellow soldier, and former Major Taniguchi. Cendron also traveled to the Philippines to interview officials of the government and the military authorities, with the support of the local French embassy. He interviewed Minister of Public Information Francisco Tatad, Commander of the Air Force Jose Rancudo, and Major Humberto Kapawan, and others, and these interviews served as important information sources for the book. To investigate the actual site, Cendron extended his visit to Lubang Island, where he also interviewed

island residents and military officials.

3. *ONODA: 30 ans seul en guerre*

In November 1974, *ONODA: 30 Ans seul en guerre*, co-authored by Cendron and Chenu, was published by Arthaud in Paris. The manuscript was prepared by Cendron. After completing his research in Japan and the Philippines, he returned to France and began to write around August 1974. To concentrate on his writing, he confined himself to his friend's vacation home. In September, when he returned to his work at the bank, he continued to write into the evenings after returning home from work, as well as on weekends. In the book's preface, he writes that "The authors brought together research findings, some of which were contradictory, collated them, and sorted them out, before deciding to complete the book in one setting to simply present a story of Onoda while respecting the integrity of the relevant people and events in good faith without taking the more rigorous approach of a historian."

The book has a total of 254 pages. It comprises a short preface, a main body of 14 chapters, and a concluding chapter, as well as appendixes and a reference list at the end of the book. The book also contains photos that Fred Santamaria, a French cameraman, who accompanied Cendron took during the research. Cendron wrote based on the interviews he had conducted in Japan and the Philippines, newspaper and magazine articles, materials provided by the French Embassy, and the military information collected by Chenu. Of particular value is an overview of the interview Cendron conducted with Onoda (in the concluding chapter). The interview was conducted on June 15, 1974 at Mikasa Kaikan in Ginza, Tokyo. According to the former lieutenant, when former First-Class Private Kinshichi Kozuka, with whom Onoda had served together for many years, was shot to death in October 1972 in a gunfight with the Philippine Constabulary, Onoda was greatly upset and wanted to avenge him. Onoda sometimes dreamed of Kozuka. In the interview, the former lieutenant said that he had felt alone after losing Kozuka. He also stated that he had wanted to return to Japan. In addition, he disclosed the fear that he had felt, saying, "As I was climbing down the mountain to meet Major Taniguchi and Mr. Suzuki, I was very anxious [about his future]." Meanwhile, when asked about what had supported him for those 30 years, Onoda clearly responded, "Myself."

Why did he hold out for as long as 30 years? Now, about half a century since the interview, Cendron assumes the following: Onoda refused to surrender out of his loyalty to the Emperor, and the values of the Empire of Japan; he probably knew that the war had ended but he did not want to accept it or to surrender, and return to Japan as a loser.

Conclusion

ONODA: 30 ans seul en guerre, by Cendron and Chenu, offers significant insights based on many interviews with people concerned right after Onoda's return to Japan. The book is unusual in that the authors are neither Japanese nor Filipino, but French, citizens of a third country. The book presents various aspects that differ from those found in the former lieutenant's autobiography, making the work even more fascinating. For example, the book describes the experiences and memories of Lubang Islanders, while also revealing the human side of Onoda through the interview.

In 2020, the book was republished for the first time in 46 years in paperback by Arthaud Poche in Paris. This was to coincide with the release of the film by Director Harari. This book is a perfect document to review the war that Japan fought, as well as the post-war aftermath. In addition, it is an invaluable resource containing firsthand information. It is hoped that a Japanese translation of the book will also be published near the future.

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(Professor at HPI)

The Atomic Bombing and My Home Town

Chie Shijo

Last year I left Nagasaki, where I had lived for 15 years, and returned to my home town of Hiroshima. Since I was involved in Hiroshima City University's extracurricular program entitled "*Ichidai Juku*" (Hiroshima City University's academy), I have been working on the development of fieldwork programs related to atomic bomb damage, and I use every opportunity to walk around the city of Hiroshima. We can find traces of the atomic bomb, dropped 76 years ago, everywhere in the streets of Hiroshima, including Hiroshima Castle and its surrounding areas, the areas along the former Ujina railway line, and the Eba district. I sometimes wonder what happened in those days to the village of Midorii in Asa-minami Ward, where I was born and raised. The former Kawauchi Village in Asa-gun, located next to Midorii Village, was seriously damaged by the atomic bombing. Of the volunteer fighting corps formed by the people of Kawauchi Village, a well-known producer of a leaf vegetable called "*Hiroshima-na*," the advance contingent was sent on August 6, 1945 to the central part of Hiroshima City to engage in building demolition work to create a firebreak belt. About 200 members of the advance contingent were killed by the atomic bomb. Only seven members were said to have returned home before they died. What was the situation of Midorii Village, adjacent to Kawauchi Village?

The three villages of Kawauchi, Yagi and Midorii in Asa-gun (at the time of the atomic bombing) were merged into Sato Town in 1955, which also ceased to exist after being merged into Hiroshima City in 1973. *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi* ("Record of the Hiroshima A-bomb Disaster") states that a volunteer fighting corps from Midorii Village was sent for work on August 5, one day before the atomic bombing, and on August 6, they were off duty. The record provides no information about their work destination. If they had been sent to the building demolition work on August 5, it means that one day became the difference between life and death. The three villages, located along one of the major routes from Hiroshima City to the northern part of Hiroshima Prefecture, served as evacuation areas, drawing a large number of evacuees. People living in the three villages desperately tried to rescue those survivors. A record says that a shelter established in Midorii Elementary School accommodated about 300 people, and that 100 dead bodies were disposed of. *The History of Sato Town*, edited by the Hiroshima municipal government after the merger of the three villages, states that since the evacuees died one after another, the three villages had to cremate the dead bodies almost every day. In addition to the volunteer fighting corps from Kawauchi Village, a large number of residents of the Sato district died because they were in Hiroshima City at the time of the atomic bombing. They include students engaged in building demolition work due to student mobilization, their teachers, and workplace volunteer corps members. These facts provide a glimpse into the influence of building demolition work conducted in the central part of the city.

Based on a photo of a memorial cenotaph I found in a photo collection entitled, "*Omoide no Sato-cho*" ("Sato Town of Memories"), I visited the old cenotaph standing by the side of Senzobo Temple (of the Hongan-ji school of the Jodo Shinshu sect) in Midorii. When I was a child, I used the road beside the cenotaph many times, but I did not know until my later visit that it was a monument erected for the war dead. The cenotaph, about four meters in height, was erected by the residents of the Midorii district in 1959. Beside it lies a memorial tablet engraved with "the names of Midorii residents who died in the war," donated by the village mayor at the time of the Greater East Asia War. On the memorial tablet, there are the names of those who died in the

Boshin War, the Sino-Japanese War, and the Greater East Asia War, as well as 56 persons who died in the course of their public duties due to the atomic bombing. I visited Senzobo Temple and asked the chief priest whether the temple had any information about the cenotaph. He said that in those days after the atomic bombing, the former chief priest was in China, and his mother who took over the temple work had performed funeral rites for those who died while on their way to a shelter. "As time passes, those who had detailed information have died," he continued.

I walked through the graveyard of the temple. There were the phrases, "Died due to the A-bombing on August 6, 1945" and "Died due to the war on August 7, 1945" engraved on gravestones. There were graves for those who died on the same day. "Died on August 6, 7, 9, and 14..." I wondered if these people had also been killed by the atomic bombing. There were also many graves of those with various titles, including a corporal in the army and a flying warrant officer in the navy. There was a gravestone engraved with detailed information on the military career of the deceased, which seemed to me to be a father's grieving cry for his son. Not even halfway through the graveyard, which was not particularly large, I had already seen many gravestones of those who died in 1945.

At present, Midorii, Asa-minami Ward has a population of 16,456, a six-fold increase from 1950 when the population of Midorii Village was less than 3,000. In the postwar period, the rural landscapes stretching in the suburbs of Hiroshima City were turned into residential districts, becoming commuter towns for the city. The graveyard of Senzobo Temple, which is too small to build graves for new parishioners, still retains poignant remnants of the war. As the chief priest of the temple said, only a few people can talk about the situation at that time. When I was an elementary school student, I saw elderly men and women bending down to plow fields and harvest rice near the Yagi irrigation channel. Since they have already passed away, it is no longer possible to ask them to describe the situation of Midorii during the war.

I used the retrieval system of the Hiroshima Municipal Archives to search historical materials related to Midorii. Among documents issued by the village office and later inherited by the Hiroshima Municipal Archives at the time of its merger into Sato Town, there were several hits for the word "Midorii," including a document related to prayer for victory in the war and a document about a ceremony announcing the end of the Greater East Asia War at the shrine and praying for the reconstruction of the nation. According to *The History of Hiroshima Prefecture: Resource Materials on the Atomic Bombing*, there seems to be a list detailing the receipt of written requests filed for pensions and condolence money for surviving families. These documents provide a glimpse into how local people were living during the wartime as reported by those immersed in the war, and how they suffered from the war and the atomic bombing. Today, it is an invaluable opportunity to directly "hear" talk of what happened around 76 years ago. Furthermore, we can find traces of the war and the atomic bombing not only in the central part of Hiroshima City, but also in its suburbs. In addition to talking to people who experienced the war and the bomb and reading such people's war memoirs, we will be able to know the history of Hiroshima by visiting memorial cenotaphs, graves and other remains, and reading history books and the remaining official documents. I would like to do my best to search for and rescue historical materials concerning the war and the atomic bombing, even if in a humble way.

(Associate Professor at HPI)

Afghanistan Situation and Russia

Mihoko Kato

On August 30, 2021, the U.S. military completed its withdrawal from Afghanistan, facing fierce criticism from both in and outside the United States. On the following day, President Joe Biden declared the end of the 20-year-long U.S. war in Afghanistan, the longest war in American history. He also said that the decision meant the end of major military operations to remake other countries. On August 15, just before the U.S. withdrawal of the last troops from the country, the Taliban, overthrown by the Bush administration in 2001, seized control of the capital city Kabul, and declared the establishment of an interim government on September 7. Presently, Western nations, China and Russia have not recognized the Taliban as the new government in Kabul. However, it is evident that it will be difficult to stabilize Afghanistan and its surrounding regions without negotiations with the Taliban, which wields the real power. What should the international community do to ensure the peace and stability of the country, and how should it relate to the Taliban? The following is a discussion of the relationship between the Taliban and Russia, which was quick to initiate a dialogue with the Taliban.

USSR/Russia and Afghanistan

The northern part of Afghanistan formerly shared a border of about 2,000 kilometers with the southern part of the USSR. Following the breakup of the USSR, it now shares borders with Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. Looking back over history, Afghanistan acted politically as a buffer zone in the Great Game between the Russian Empire, which was trying to advance southward, and the British Empire, which had colonized India. After gaining independence from British rule in 1919, Afghanistan established diplomatic relations with the USSR, relying deeply on the country in terms of security and military and economic support. After taking power in a coup d'état in April 1978, Nur Mohammad Taraki of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) forced through radical agricultural reforms and concluded an alliance with the USSR, arousing fierce resistance among conservative Islamic extremist groups. Consequently, Taraki was deposed and killed in another coup by the PDPA's opposition forces in September 1979. In December of the same year, the Brezhnev administration of the USSR resorted to military intervention in Afghanistan due to fears that the new Afghan leader, Hafizullah Amin, might approach the United States and fall within its sphere, and that the Islamic Revolution in Iran might spread to Afghanistan. After that, the Soviet forces and Afghan government forces continued a protracted war against the anti-government guerrilla forces supported by the military service of the United States, known as the "Mujahideen" until the Soviet military's withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989.

After the Soviet withdrawal, Afghanistan plunged into a state of anarchy due to conflicts among various factions. Around that time, the Taliban, a strict Islamic fundamentalist group, was formed in the northern part of Pakistan. The Taliban expanded its power into the southwestern part of Afghanistan and eventually seized the capital Kabul in September 1996, establishing a reign of terror in which the Afghan people were forced to comply with Islamic Sharia law.

Putin Administration and the Taliban

Now, let's return to the present situation. Immediately after the Taliban took control of Kabul in August 2021, the Russian Embassy in Afghanistan announced that there was no need to evacuate because there was no threat to the Embassy, and the embassy officials and other staff members continued to work there. As Western nations and Japan were scurrying about in confusion to evacuate their citizens and other people who had helped them over the years, the Russian Ambassador to Afghanistan, Dmitry Zhironov, announced that the evacuation of those wishing to leave the country had been completed on August 26. The Russian Special Presidential Representative for Afghanistan, Zamir Kabulov, said that although it was necessary to coordinate their relations with the new administration in Afghanistan, Russia was relatively comfortable with the changes in the

country because it had been preparing for the Taliban's return to power for the past eight years.

Under the first Putin administration, which had a cooperative relationship in the War on Terror with the Bush administration, Russia put the Taliban on its list of designated terrorist and illegal organizations. When the Islamic State (IS) expanded its territory in the 2010s, however, Kabulov expressed the view that "the Taliban's interests objectively coincide with those of Russia" in the fight against IS. As far as I know from the news reports, Russia made official contact with the Taliban since November 2018. The Russian government has sought a role as peace mediator between the Taliban and the Afghan government by holding a meeting to provide an opportunity for representatives from both sides to engage in direct talks. The U.S. media criticized this move, stating that although Russia has shown it is back in the "Great Game" 30 years after pulling out of Afghanistan by hosting Taliban-Afghan peace talks, there have been no significant breakthroughs.

When looking back on Russia's movement over the three months since the fall of the capital Kabul, the Putin administration does not seem interested in interfering in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan or mediating in the conflicts facing the Taliban. According to a speech President Putin delivered at the United Russia party congress held in late August, major direct threats to Russia resulting from the present situation in Afghanistan are the potential expansion of conflict to neighboring nations by various terrorist groups who have found havens in Afghanistan amid the chaos left by Western countries, the expansion of drug trafficking routes, and the highly acute issue of illegal immigration. It is difficult for a country to address those transnational issues by itself. The Putin administration has declared the active utilization of multilateral frameworks led by Moscow, including the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the Expanded Troika (comprising the United States, Russia, China and Pakistan), the Moscow Format, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

Among these, the third Moscow Format Talks on Afghanistan, held on October 21, drew global attention as the largest international conference involving representatives from the Taliban since the inauguration of the provisional Taliban government. Ten countries participated, including China, Pakistan, Iran and India (the U.S. was notably absent). The joint statement issued after the meeting emphasized the importance of the participating nations considering the reality that the Taliban had come to power, regardless of whether or not they officially recognized the provisional government, and called on the Taliban to enhance its governance and establish a truly inclusive government. It also called for the establishment of an international donor conference sponsored by the UN, and referred to the responsibility of the U.S. government—although it did not directly mention the U.S. by name—by saying that the main responsibility for the economy, financial reconstruction and development of Afghanistan lay with the presence of the military actor that had been stationed in the country for the past 20 years.

Conclusion

Continuing interest and support from the international community are indispensable to putting an end to the history of the power game repeatedly played by the great powers, and helping Afghanistan achieve self-reliance and stability. Japan, together with various Western countries, needs to call on the provisional Taliban administration to protect the rights of women and children, and promote the participation of various types of domestic forces in politics. At the same time, Japan should help Afghanistan work in harmony with the whole international community by keeping its eye on multilateral talks led by Russia and China, participating in such talks in areas where it can cooperate, and thereby preventing a specific great nation from gaining power in Afghanistan.

(Lecturer at HPI)

From War to Peace (Or, From Nagasaki to Hiroshima)

Toshiya Umehara

In the spring of 2021, I left The Asahi Shimbun Newspaper where I had worked for 33 years, and drew an end to my career as a journalist (for the time being at least) to make a fresh start as a Doctoral Degree Program student at the Graduate School of Peace Studies, Hiroshima City University. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, I never imagined I would become a doctoral student. In retrospect, this is one example of how my life's destiny felt to me to be occurring by chance.

It was the spring of 2001 when I faced a first crossroads. In those days, I was living in Vienna as a correspondent responsible for the Balkans, and visited Skopje, the capital of Macedonia (currently North Macedonia), a state of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to provide news coverage.

After the Cold War ended, the former Yugoslavia continued to see ethnic conflicts, but only Macedonia managed to stay out of such wars. At that time, however, ethnic Albanians formed an armed guerrilla group in some areas of northwest Macedonia and often engaged in armed clashes with the government security forces. In 1998, violent ethnic conflicts broke out in neighboring Kosovo between ethnic Albanians and Serbians, which resulted in an intervention for humanitarian reasons by NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) forces, led by the United States, in the following year. Consequently, Kosovo was virtually separated from Serbia. Milosevic, the dictator of Serbia who controlled the former Yugoslavia, was forced from office by a popular uprising in 2000. Just when calm was about to return to the Balkan region, tensions flared up in Macedonia, driving the region to the brink of renewed fierce conflicts.

Macedonia lagged economically behind the other nations of the former Yugoslavia. Only a few hotels had fully developed communications infrastructure and good access to transportation. One day, I was staying in one such hotel, and as I was passing the front desk I was stopped by a Japanese man who seemed worried about something. He told me that he had been refused accommodation at the hotel due to overbooking. At that time, media crews from around the world, including the American network CNN, had flocked to the hotel to cover the deteriorating situation of the country. Regrettably, I could not be of much help. All I could do was provide him with information on other hotels. I exchanged business cards with him and learned that he was a scholar of international politics specializing in European security. We agreed to share a meal to exchange views on the recent regional situation.

That was my first encounter with Prof. Gen Kikkawa. If I had passed the front desk a few minutes earlier or later, I do not think I would have met him. A chance meeting with him changed my life and led me to study in Hiroshima. At that time, Prof. Kikkawa gave me information about Mr. Ryocho Umeda, with whom his father, who had been a military attache stationed in Bulgaria during World War II, had been connected. Based on this information, I proceeded with my coverage and wrote a book.

Another catalyst that changed my life was that the place of my first assignment as a newspaper reporter was Nagasaki. This was also the result of a chance event. Before formally entering the company, I was notified of my assignment to a different prefecture. However, I was sent to Nagasaki due to other people's

convenience. I think that the important starting point that led to my current life was that in 1990, on the 45th anniversary of the atomic bombing, I was assigned to cover the realities of the bombing and issues concerning support for atomic-bombing survivors.

After entering the field of international reporting, I visited various places for coverage, including nuclear tests by Pakistan, which became a concrete example of nuclear arms proliferation, and damage to civilians caused by U.S. airstrikes on Serbia and Kosovo. In 2007, I was embedded with the U.S. Marine Corps to provide battlefield reports on how the Bush Administration, which toppled the Saddam Hussein regime, was struggling to maintain security in Iraq. Although I often experienced mentally challenging times, I had many opportunities to gain real-life experience of changes in international society in the post-Cold War era.

As a company employee, I was not allowed to choose my work focus. After returning from London in the summer of 2016, I was appointed to a managerial position in the newsroom of the Tokyo Head Office of The Asahi Shimbun. It was a challenging job, but I no longer had opportunities to go out in the field. Since I did not have to work irregular hours, I decided to study again to systematically organize the knowledge I had accumulated. I was admitted to the online Master's program of the Department of War Studies, King's College London. As a remote international student, I studied after returning from my regular work and on weekends.

In mid-2019, I was freed from managerial work at the company and, as a journalist, started to cover the U.S. presidential election. Less than one year later, however, the COVID-19 pandemic broke out around the world, making it difficult to engage in journalistic activities, not only abroad but also in face-to-face interviews for coverage in Japan. This gave me an opportunity to embark towards new horizons, including participating in online seminars, but it was hard not to feel frustrated.

At that time, I learned that doctoral programs had been launched in the Graduate School of Peace Studies, Hiroshima City University. I had previously visited the campus to see Prof. Gen Kikkawa and Prof. Kazumi Mizumoto, a former colleague at the Asahi Shimbun Company, both of whom were working for the Hiroshima Peace Institute. Since studying at KCL I had written a Master's thesis on norms of non-use of nuclear weapons and Japan's national security, I wanted to engage in research in Hiroshima as a continuation of my studies. At KCL, where I received a Master's degree, I studied in the Department of "War." I thought it would be nice to enter the Graduate School of "Peace" Studies to gain a doctoral degree. If realized, it would mean I could see a transition of my studies from "war" to "peace." Since my company was inviting applications for early retirement, I decided to leave the company and enter the university.

In my first year in Hiroshima, it would be difficult to say I could take full advantage of living in Hiroshima, a city struck by the atomic bomb, due to the prolonged COVID-19 pandemic. However, I take various opportunities, including jogging around the Peace Memorial Park, to think of Hiroshima's tragic history and further boost my motivation to conduct research here. Reflecting on where I have been, I would like to live a productive life as a researcher.

(PhD Program Student at HCU Graduate School of Peace Studies)



“Peace and Governance in Asia”

Gen Kikkawa

Today, the deterioration of freedom and democracy has been observed in various parts of the world. A Freedom House survey has found that in Asia there has been an increase in the number of countries rated as “Not Free,” while military tensions have escalated in the region. East Asia now finds itself in a critical situation, mainly due to a potential crisis in the Korean Peninsula resulting from the nuclear development of North Korea, China’s rise as a military superpower, and the mounting crisis in relations between Beijing and Taipei. Asia is in need of peace without nuclear weapons at this juncture. It must be the type of peace that can achieve both peace and human security without nuclear weapons. This is because compatibility between peace and human security cannot always be ensured. What challenges do we need to address to create a peaceful Asia in which human security is ensured and freedom and democracy are guaranteed?

Based on interest in these issues, the Hiroshima Peace Institute published a book entitled *Peace and Governance in Asia* (Yushindo Kobunsha) in March 2022. The purpose of this book is to question relations between the structure of international relations—the keynote for Asia, which is heading for nuclear development—and the national governance of existing nuclear powers. This book consists of five parts. Part I “International Relations in a Radically Changing East Asia,” discusses the structure of crises in international relations in East Asia, with a focus on America’s East Asia diplomacy, Japan-China relations, and Japan-Korea relations. Part II “Nuclear Development and International Relations,” clarifies the background to the nuclear development of nuclear powers and other nations, showing the movement of nuclear development from the perspective of international relations surrounding those nations. At the same time, it also examines recent trends in the civilian use of nuclear energy. Part III “Human Security and Governance,” explores the characteristics and current status of domestic politics that come to a deadlock in promoting democracy, by looking at the governance trends of existing nuclear powers, with a focus on freedom and democracy. Part IV “The Organizing of Peace and International Agencies,” reveals the recent trends and current status of Asia’s international organizations for creating peace by looking at important roles played by international organizations in creating peace and ensuring human security. Part V “Japan in Asia,” analyzes the role played by U.S. nuclear weapons in Japan’s national security, the relations between Japan’s security environment and the norm of disuse of nuclear weapons, and the role played by Japanese anti-nuclear movements.

I hope this book will provide a clue to learning the structure of crises in Asia and provide an opportunity to consider measures to create an Asian peace zone that ensures compatibility between international peace and human security. This book has been published as a sequel to *Peace, Nuclear Weapons and Governance Issues in Asia: Nuclear Development and Governance from the Perspective of International Relations* (Kyodo News, Feb. 2019). Please refer to the new publication in conjunction with this book.

(Specially Appointed Professor at HPI)

“Nuclear Bodies: The Global Hibakusha”

Robert Jacobs

My new monograph titled, *Nuclear Bodies: The Global Hibakusha*, will be published by the Yale University Press at the end of March 2022. (URL: <https://yalebooks.yale.edu/book/9780300230338/nuclear-bodies>) The title “Global Hibakusha” refers to the millions who have been exposed to fallout radiation since 1945. These exposures come from nuclear testing, nuclear power plant accidents, and the production of nuclear fuel. Exposures have happened on every continent, including Antarctica. The book traces the impact of these exposures on the health of the global hibakusha, the disruption of families and communities that follow close behind exposures, and contamination of the global ecosystems.

The fact that there wasn’t a direct full-scale nuclear war between the Cold War superpowers is often presented by scholars and politicians as proof that the Cold War never turned “hot,” that is, it would never lead to a nuclear war, and American historian John Lewis Gaddis described it as the “long peace.” In a chapter titled “Selecting the Irradiated,” I detail how the nuclear weapons states were fully aware of the nature and danger of radioactive fallout, which dictated their choice of test sites, such as colonial, postcolonial spaces, or adjacent to marginal populations far from political centers. The book points out that the Cold War was a limited nuclear war conducted by technologically advanced against the politically powerless.

The decades of nuclear weapon testing have spread fallout worldwide. A 2011 study found more radiation from global testing 2 km from ground zero in Nagasaki than from the 1945 atomic bombing. In addition, some high-level nuclear waste, so-called nuclear waste, is planned to be buried in deep geological repositories 500 m below the surface of the Earth, and thousands of future generations will be forced to coexist with the waste we leave behind.

Research for this book was conducted in more than 20 countries by myself and my collaborator, Dr. Mick Broderick. Funding of this work came from the Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and multiple other sources.

(Professor at HPI)

2021

- ◆ **Jun. 6** Kyungjin Ha participates in the Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication 2021 Spring Conference as a moderator of the symposium, “The Media Structure of Discrimination?: The Public Sphere in the Age of SNS,” held online.
- ◆ **Jun. 20** Tetsuo Sato attends the Board of Councilors of the Japanese Society of International Law, held online.
- ◆ **Jul. 5** Robert Jacobs presents a lecture titled, “The Global Hibakusha and post-Cold War Nuclear Humanities,” at the University of Gour Banga in Malda, West Bengal, India, via Google Meet.
- ◆ **Jul. 8** Kazumi Mizumoto attends the 3rd meeting on the Peace Declaration organized by the City of Hiroshima, held at the Hiroshima City Hall.
- ◆ **Jul. 18** Sato’s article, “International Legal Order and Non-State Actors in the Globalized International Society: An Analysis of a Work Experience at the International Law Association” (in Japanese), printed in, *International Relations and the Rule of Law: Festschrift for Judge Owada Hisashi in commemoration of his retirement from the International Court of Justice* (Iwasawa Yuji and Okano Masataka eds., Shinzansha Publisher Co., Ltd, 2021).
- ◆ **Jul. 19** Chie Shijo contributes an article based on an interview, “Importance of Historical Materials to Supplement the A-bomb Experience,” to the Chugoku Shimbun.
- ◆ **Jul. 24** Jacobs presents a lecture titled, “Being Present with the Past and the Future at Nuclear Weapon Test Sites: A Challenge for TPNW Effectiveness,” as part of the ongoing series of seminars focused on the implementation of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons at Soka University in Tokyo, Japan, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Aug. 7** Mizumoto presents a lecture titled, “The Inhumanity of Nuclear Weapons and the Inhumanity of the War,” to high school students attending “Future Leaders’ Program for Global Peace,” organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held online.
- ◆ **Aug. 19** Mihoko Kato presents a lecture titled, “Introduction to Russia’s Foreign Policy Studies,” in the summer school organized by the Japan Association for Russian and East European Studies, held online.
- ◆ **Aug. 31** Shijo presents a lecture titled, “Where is ‘The Boy of Cremation Site’ Going: Building of Collective Memories of Atomic Bomb Damage Seen in Photographs,” at the Society for Nagasaki Atomic Bomb History, held online.
- ◆ **Oct. 6** Xianfen Xu presents a lecture titled, “Sino-Japanese Relations in Asia,” to the students of the School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences of Nagasaki University, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Oct. 16** Hitoshi Nagai presents a lecture titled, “The A-bombing and Reconstruction in Hiroshima,” at the “Hiroshima Peace Forum” organized by the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, held at the Memorial Hall of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
- ◆ **Oct. 18** Mizumoto attends the meeting of “Hiroshima for Global Peace” Plan Promotion Committee, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, held online.
- ◆ **Oct. 20** Narayanan Ganesan presents a lecture titled, “Political Developments in Southeast Asia,” to the Estoril Political Forum, Lisbon, Portugal, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Oct. 22** Jacobs presents the keynote talk titled, “Nuclear Memory Effects: Remembering Hiroshima and Forgetting Fukushima,” to the Troubling Anniversaries Conference, held jointly by Queen’s University Belfast and the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Oct. 29** Ryo Oshiba participates, as a discussant, in the panel titled, “Methodological Developments in the Studies of SDGs,” at the Annual Convention meeting of the Japan Association of International Relations (JAIR), via Zoom.
- ◆ **Oct. 30** Tadashi Okimura participates, as a discussant, in the environment subcommittee at the 2021 Annual Convention meeting of the Japan Association of International Relations (JAIR), via Zoom.
- ◆ **Oct. 31** Oshiba participates in the Roundtable: Japan’s Foreign Policy under the New Administration, at the Fall Convention meeting of the Japanese Association of Political and Legal Studies of Japan, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Nov. 5** Akihiro Kawakami presents a lecture titled, “Article 9, the Constitution of Japan and Peace,” to the Christian Aishin High School in Gotsu City, Shimane Prefecture.
- ◆ **Nov. 8 & 29** Ha participates as a judge for the PR Awards Grand Prix, organized by the Public Relations Society of Japan, held at the International House of Japan, Tokyo.
- ◆ **Nov. 11** Hyun Jin Son and Makiko Takemoto held a discussion with students of Nagoya University Affiliated Lower Secondary Schools who were visiting Hiroshima on a school excursion, at Hiroshima City University.
- ◆ **Nov. 12** Kawakami presents a lecture titled, “The Pacifism Provision of the Constitution of Japan and HIROSHIMA,” to students of Meito Senior High School visiting Hiroshima on a school excursion, at Hiroshima City University.
- ◆ **Nov. 12** Mizumoto attends a meeting for revising the Peace Education Program for the junior and senior high schools, organized by the Hiroshima Municipal Board of Education, held at Hiroshima City Education Center.
- ◆ **Nov. 27** Jacobs presents a lecture titled, “Greenwashing Plutonium: Transforming US Nuclear Weapon Legacy Sites into Nature Preserves,” as part of the “Hiroshima, America, and Nuclear Legacies” symposium presented to the 49th annual conference of the Chugoku-Shikoku Association of American Studies, Hiroshima, Japan, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Dec. 4** Okimura serves as moderator for the panel discussion in an online symposium titled, “East Asia on the Move,” held by the Hiroshima Peace Institute and others, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Dec. 6** Ganesan presents a lecture entitled, “AUKUS and its Impact on ASEAN,” at the 174th Diplomatic Roundtable meeting of the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) and the Council on East Asian Community (CEAC) in Tokyo, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Dec. 10** Takemoto presents a paper titled, “Japanese Peace and Pacifism: a Comparative Study between Japan and West Germany” to the international conference, “Trails of Peace Between History, Memory and Communication,” held at Università IULM in Milan, Italy, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Dec. 14** Okimura presents a paper titled, “Climate Crisis and International Regimes,” at the Japan-Korea Security Forum “Global Security Issues and Japan-Korea Cooperation,” hosted by Sejong Institute, via Zoom.
- ◆ **Dec. 20** Gen Kikkawa publishes an essay entitled, “Conflict between Human Rights and Security,” *INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*, No. 704, December 2021, pp.1–4.

※For other entries of the DIARY, please visit our website.

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