

Characteristics of Japanese People's Attitude Towards Nuclear Problems

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0. Introduction

On August 6 and 9, 1945, many citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were killed and injured by the two atomic bombs, dropped for the first time in human history. At least two hundred thousand people died by the end of the year, and within five years after the dropping, about one hundred and fifty thousand more died because of atomic bomb damages.¹⁾ Even those lucky enough to survive have been suffering from physical or psychological injuries for these thirty years. At present there are about three hundred and seventy thousand such survivors living in Japan.²⁾

In 1947, Japan established a new constitution (often called the Peace Constitution), in which she made it her national policy to renounce war and not to possess armed forces. In addition, in 1971, the Japanese Diet passed the resolution for the "three non-nuclear principles", that is, not to possess nuclear weapons, not to manufacture them, and not to allow them to be brought into Japan. In this way, the Japanese government has maintained its anti-nuclear weapon policy, supported by Japanese public opinion.

On the other hand, the U.S. government changed its policy at about the

Originally delivered at the Moscow IPSA Congress, August 12-18, 1979.

time of the Korean War, and engaged in a policy of militarizing Japan. Since then, the Japanese political situation has been oscillating between two contradictory policies, peace and militarization.

1. Contradiction between the People's Anti-Nuclear Attitudes and the Government's Nuclear Policy

It seems that Japanese people's anti-nuclear attitudes were definitely established by the nation-wide movement and public opinion against nuclear bombs activated by the H-bomb test in Bikini on March 1, 1954.

According to the national opinion surveys,³⁾ the shifts of such anti-nuclear weapon attitudes have been as follows:

(a) Attitude toward nuclear tests

- 1) Against Nuclear tests, 79% (1954 Yomiuri Newspaper Survey)
- 2) Nuclear tests should be banned, 87% (1957 Asahi Newspaper Survey)
- 3) Nuclear tests should be stopped, 81% (1961 Yomiuri Newspaper Survey)
- 4) Against any nuclear test, 87% (1973 Sankei Newspaper Survey)

(b) The number of those who support the three non-nuclear principles

- 1) In favor of the principles, 72% (1968 Yomiuri Newspaper Survey)
- 2) In favor of the principles, 77% (1975 Asahi Newspaper Survey)
- 3) The principles should be maintained forever, 49% (1968 Mainichi Newspaper Survey)
- 4) The principles should be maintained forever, 67% (1975 Sankei Newspaper Survey)

Note the particular increase of those who think 'the principles should be maintained forever'.

(c) Attitude toward Japanese nuclear armament

As for the nuclear armament of Japan, about 60 to 80% of Japanese are against it, as is shown in Fig. 1,⁴⁾ and the number has been increasing, though gradually, with the years. Here, the numbers of those who are against nuclear

armanent vary by about 10%, depending on the different wording of the questionnaire, such as 'Will nuclear armament contribute to the security of Japan?', 'Is nuclear armament necessary?', and 'Is nuclear armament desirable?'. Throughout the surveys, about 10% have been positive supporters of nuclear armament, about 20% think that nuclear armament will contribute to the safety and security of Japan.

On the basis of such anti-nuclear attitudes of the Japanese people, the Japanese government adopted the three non-nuclear principles as its national policy,⁵⁾ and renounced nuclear armament as anti-constitutional. Recently, however, its non-nuclear policy has been markedly weakening.⁶⁾ Originally, when the Japanese government adopted the three non-nuclear principles, it intended to maintain them only under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Thus the maintenance of the three non-nuclear principles naturally presupposed that Japan should be under the nuclear umbrella of the U.S.A..⁷⁾ Therefore, the Japanese government has tacitly allowed nuclear weapons to be brought into Japan (and their passage through its territory or its territorial waters and air-space). Thus there is now a great disparity between these policies of the government and the anti-nuclear attitudes of the Japanese people.

2. Structure of Japanese Attitudes toward Nuclear Issues

In order to clarify the structure of Japanese attitudes against nuclear weapons and in favor of their abolition, we carried out an opinion survey in the four cities, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Okayama and Kanazawa, in February, July and August, in 1977,⁸⁾ the subjects of the survey being about 5,000 junior high school students and about 4,500 of their parents. Main objectives of this survey were:

- 1) To clarify the difference and similarity in attitudes toward nuclear issues between inhabitants of the atomic-bomb damaged cities (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) and those of other cities (Okayama and Kanazawa).
- 2) To clarify the difference and similarity in attitudes toward nuclear issues

between those who experienced the war thirty-two years ago (a good many citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki experienced the atomic bomb as well) and those, younger by a generation, who have no experience of war (junior high school students).

- 3) To clarify the ways in which the attitudes against nuclear weapons are formed by peace education at school and at home.
- 4) To analyze the relationship between nuclear attitudes and political attitudes.

First, let us show the results of the analysis by the quantification procedure developed by Prof. Chikio Hayashi⁹⁾ performed upon the parents' responses to the fifteen questions (with 2 to 5 selections or 'categories' in Hayashi's terminology, the total number of categories being 44)^{10),*1)} concerning war and nuclear problems. The parents are mostly 35 to 55 years of age, and most of them are in their forties (because they are parents of junior high school students).

By the application of Hayashi's quantification theory, the 44 categories or responses are classified into the four types shown by the dotted lines in Fig. 2. In Fig. 2, the first (horizontal) axis indicates the degree of orientation toward admission or rejection of war and nuclear weapons, while the second (vertical) axis indicates the degree of orientation toward change or preservation of the (political and social) status quo. Type A in Fig. 2 is a group of responses or categories oriented towards the rejection of war and nuclear weapons and towards change of the status quo. Type B is a group of categories characterised by orientation towards the rejection of war and nuclear weapons, though the degree of rejection is not so great as in Type A. Type C is a group oriented towards the admission of war and nuclear weapons and toward the preservation of the status quo. Lastly, Type D is oriented toward the admission of war and nuclear weapons and toward change of the status quo. Here it is important to note that though types A and D are both orien-

ted toward change of the status quo, Type A is characterized by peace-oriented change while Type D is characterized by militarization-oriented change.

Now, the plotting of case scores (which are numerical values assigned to each case by the quantification procedure) shows that the majority of cases fall within the area encircled by the solid line in Fig. 2. Thus the encircled area can be considered to represent the place where the majority opinion lies. As is clear from Fig. 2, this majority opinion has an anti-war and anti-nuclear orientation. On the other hand, the government's policies concerning nuclear issues can be said to lie mainly in the left half of the area representing Type C. Moreover, the government sometimes adopts policies corresponding to Type D. Thus the government's nuclear policies are contradictory to the people's anti-nuclear attitudes, but they are maintained only by appealing to the status quo-preserving orientation of the majority of people.

3. Roles of Peace Education and Peace Research and Anti-Nuclear Attitudes

In what follows, we will present some characteristic features of the responses of junior high school students and their parents to the individual questions. Let us first examine attitudes toward the dropping of the atomic bombs by the U.S.A. on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6th and 9th in 1945.

As is clear from Table 1, the percentages of those who select "(the dropping) cannot be forgiven" range from 53 to 58%, with little regional difference, in the case of parents. On the other hand, in the case of junior high school students, the percentages range from 35 to 47%, with no small regional difference. Generally speaking, the percentages of those who select "cannot be forgiven" are lower among junior high school students than among parents in all the four cities, but it is noteworthy that the percentage is particularly low among junior high school students in Okayama. This low percentage in the students of Okayama can be accounted for not only by the characteristics of the city, but by the fact that peace education at school and at home is not

so widely spread in Okayama as in other cities. In fact, the percentage of the schools which give a "special class", that is, an intensive class on the problems of peace and nuclear bombs, is 66% in Hiroshima, 29% in Nagasaki, 10% in Okayama and 32% in Kanazawa.

In the question concerning the reason why the atomic bombs were dropped, we gave five selections and let a subject select at most two of them. And the five selections*2) were: 1. as an experiment with a new weapon, 2. to prevent further sacrifice of American lives, 3. to gain an advantage over the Soviet Union after the war, 4. in retaliation for the Pearl Harbor attack, and 5. to lower the morale of the Japanese people. We extracted four patterns of responses out of the combinations of the two selections. The patterns and their respective percentages are given in Table 2. Note here that the 'strategy-oriented' and 'compromise' types have relatively low percentages. Japanese political and historical science as well as the mass media and education are responsible for this. For instance, many of the junior high school textbooks give no consideration to the international political situation toward the end of the World War II in explaining the reason for the dropping of the atomic bombs.¹¹⁾ Nor was it till 1978 that the Japan Science Council held the first symposium on the reason for the dropping of the atomic bombs.¹²⁾

Fig. 3. shows the correlation between these patterns of understanding of the reason for the dropping of the bombs and the attitudes towards the dropping itself. The percentages of those who select "cannot be forgiven" differ by about 30% between the 'hasten the end of the war' type, a wrong understanding which many Japanese still have, and the 'compromise' type understanding, which comes nearer to the historical truth, though held only by a small number of people. By the way, it is because of peace education that the percentages of 'compromise' types are relatively high among junior high school students in Hiroshima and Nagasaki compared with both parents in the four cities and students in the other two cities.

Next, Table 3 shows the types of nuclear issues individuals are interested in.* 3) As is evident in the table, the percentages of those interested in the question of the atomic bomb sufferers and those interested in anti-nuclear movements are lower among junior high school students than among parents, but the percentages of those interested in nuclear weapons issues proper and those interested equally in the three kinds of problems above are higher among junior high school students.

Here it is important to note that, generally speaking, those who are interested in nuclear weapon problems proper have a greater tendency to admit the necessity of nuclear weapons. It is very suggestive that those who are interested only in the gigantic and powerful nuclear weapons without paying any attention to sufferers or to anti-nuclear movements are more inclined to admit the need for nuclear weapons.

As for the three non-nuclear principles, nearly 70% of the Japanese people (70% in Hiroshima, 68% in Okayama, 64% in Kanazawa and 63% in Nagasaki) wish them to be legislated on and strengthened.

With a view to attaining the Japanese people's earnest wish, movements have been carried on since 1954 for the abolition of nuclear bombs. Questions were put as to the effectiveness of the movements in the following six ways:* 4) 1. in prevention of the use of nuclear weapons, 2. in prevention of nuclear armament of Japan, 3. in prevention of nuclear tests, 4. in prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, 5. in promotion of help and service to the sufferers, and 6. in dissemination of knowledge of the horror of nuclear weapons and of atomic bomb experiences. Fig. 4 shows the result. The low evaluation of the movements by the citizens of Hiroshima (and Nagasaki) with respect to their international aspects (points 1,3,4 above) can also be regarded as their severe criticism of the movements, and as their criticism against the present state of international politics.

4. A Proposal for an International Comparative Survey of Nuclear Attitudes

We propose here on international survey on nuclear issues, with the following aim. It should find the way to form and promote international public opinion for the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the way to organize peace education on a world-wide scale, (which is closely related to the formation of international anti-nuclear public opinion).

Here let us cite the results of four such surveys.

The first is the result of the survey conducted by the Yomiuri Newspaper in 1970 to compare the attitudes of Japanese students (in Tokyo) with those of eleven South-East Asian countries.¹³⁾ According to this survey, there is a considerable difference in their attitudes towards war between Japanese and Asian students. While 86% of Japanese students are against a nuclear war, only 59% (on the average) of the students of South-East Asian countries are against it. Moreover, the average percentage (29%) of those Asian students who are against a non-nuclear, conventional war is only one third of the percentage (77%) of Japanese students who are against it.

The second is the survey carried out in 1977 on our advice by students of Hiroshima University Motorcar Club in Australia.¹⁴⁾ According to this, 30% of people are in favor of a nuclear war (56% are against it), and 67% are in favor of a conventional war (25% are against it).

The third is our own survey. While the preceding two surveys asked two different questions about two types of war, we asked one question, allowing three selections in answer.*⁵⁾ The result shows little difference between generations (junior high school students and their parents), and between localities (the four cities). 2 to 6% of those questioned said that nuclear war might be necessary under certain circumstances, 8 to 11% believed that conventional war might be necessary, and 85 to 89% are against any kind of war (in any situation). Apparently, this result is quite different from those of the preceding surveys.

The fourth is the opinion survey concerning the understanding of Japan

conducted in 1977 by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs through a private opinion survey institution in five West European countries (the U.K., West Germany, France, Italy and Belgium).¹⁵⁾ Based on the results, Fig. 5 shows the extent of the knowledge and understanding of the non-nuclear policy of Japan. Even in West Germany (which shows the highest percentage), no more than 30% know that Japan has adopted and maintained the three non-nuclear principles, and in Belgium, the percentage shows a surprising fall (10%). On the contrary, the percentage of those who think that Japan now possesses nuclear weapons is 18% in West Germany, and it amounts to no less than 38% in Belgium and Italy.

Items in the questionnaire of the proposed international comparative survey should be discussed and elaborated by a research group that should be organized in the near future. But from the results of our survey sketched briefly above, we believe that at least the following points should be included as items.¹⁶⁾

1. extent of the awareness of Hiroshima and Nagasaki
2. knowledge, attitudes and opinions concerning the nuclear arms race
3. attitudes towards (or evaluation of) the theory of deterrence and the nuclear policy of one's own country
4. attitudes towards wars (admission-rejection) and images and perspectives of the future world
5. attitudes towards the experience of World War II
6. evaluation of the movements for the abolition of nuclear weapons and intention to participate in one of them
7. opinion on the promotion or the rejection of nuclear power plants and evaluation to them over the four problems, that is, nuclear proliferation, energy, environment and safety from radioactivities.
8. understanding of the necessity of peace education — especially peace education with an emphasis upon nuclear weapons and Hiroshima and

Nagasaki

In concluding, we should like to say that it is our earnest wish to realize a comparative survey of attitudes of citizens and students (high school and university) in each nuclear country (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., France and China), and in more than one country at least in the following regions; Northern Europe, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, North America, South America, East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, Oceania and Africa.

We ask for the understanding and cooperation of the researchers and research institutions concerned.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1) *Reports of "International Symposium on the Damage and After-Effects of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" – A Call from HIBAKUSHA of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, Asahi Evening News Ltd, 1978.
- 2) From the surveys of the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Japan Council of Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Victims' Organizations.
- 3) In nation-wide opinion surveys in Japan (they are usually conducted by such newspaper companies and broadcasting companies as the Asahi Newspaper, the Yomiuri Newspaper, the Mainichi Newspaper and NHK), about 3,000 samples are chosen by multi-stage stratified random samplings out of the population of the whole electorate (that is, all those who are twenty years old or older), and they are interviewed. The rate of error is estimated to be about 5%.
- 4) See Ch.II, *Kaku To Heiwa* (Nuclear Problems and Peace) – *Nipponjin no Ishiki* (Japanese Attitudes), ed. by Naomi SHOHNO, Hideaki NAGAI and Hirohisa UENO, Horitsu-Bunka Sha, 1978.
- 5) Speech by Sunao Sonoda, Japanese Foreign Minister, at the UN Special Assembly for Disarmament (May 30, 1978).
- 6) The Government submitted to the Budget Committee of the House of Councillors a "supplementary explanation of the interpretation of Article 9 of the Constitution with respect to the possession of nuclear weapons" (April 3, 1978), in which the Government says that "the possession of nuclear weapons is conformable to the constitution".
- 7) The Government's replies in the Diet during 1968–71.
- 8) The city of Okayama is the seat of the prefectural office of the prefecture of the same name which neighbours Hiroshima prefecture. The city of Kanazawa is on the Japan Sea in the middle of the Japanese mainland. It is one of the few big cities that remained intact from air raids by B29s.

Little known is the fact that about one hundred major cities on the main land of Japan were turned to debris and cinders by B29s, and approximately ten million

people were injured or killed or rendered homeless at the end of World War II (in the period 1944 to 1945).

- 9) See, for example, Chikio HAYASHI (1954), "Multidimensional Quantification with the Application to Analyses of Social Phenomena", *Annals of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics*, vol. 5 no. 2.
- 10) See Ch. IX, Shohno et al (1978).
- 11) See Ch. II, sections 1 and 2, of *Hiroshima de Oshieru* (To Teach in HIROSHIMA) (ed. by Hiroshima Specialist Committee of the NGO Symposium on the Damage and After-Effects of the Atomic Bombing, and Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education, Rodo-Kyoiku Center, 1977).
- 12) P.M.S. BLACKETT, (1948), *Fear, War and the Bomb — Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy* — and Ariatsu NISHIJIMA (1971) *Genbaku wa Naze Toka Saretaka* (why the Atomic Bombs were Dropped) argue that the atomic bombs were dropped mainly to gain an advantage over the Soviet Union in the U.S.A.'s post-war policies.
- 13) This survey by the Yomiuri Newspaper was carried out in September and October, 1970, in eleven Asian countries (Australia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, South-Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, South Vietnam and Thailand) and in February, 1971, in Tokyo.

The wordings of the questions were; 1. "Do you think there is a value, goal or ideal which you should pursue even by appealing to a war so long as you refrain from using nuclear weapons?" and 2. "Do you think there is a value, goal or ideal which you should pursue even by appealing to nuclear weapons?". And each question was provided with three selections; "Yes", "Perhaps Yes" and "No".

These questions were originally included in the questionnaire of the survey proposed by Prof. J. Galtung and entitled 'Future Image Survey of A.D. 2,000', which was carried out in about ten countries.

- 14) From the opinion survey on nuclear problems appearing in the report of Hiroshima University Motorcar Club's excursion to Australia in 1977.

In this survey, the wordings of the questions were the same as those of the Yomiuri survey above. Note that the percentages of those who are in favor of a war quoted in the present paper are the sum of "Yes" and "Perhaps Yes".

- 15) Masamori SASE, 'Renunciation of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles?', *Voice*, September, 1978.
- 16) Nearly all of these items are suggested in Ch. X, section 3 of SHOHNO *et al* (1978).

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Attitude toward the dropping of the Atomic Bombs by the U.S.A. *)

Selections	Hiroshima		Nagasaki		Okayama		Kanazawa	
	Students	Parents	Students	Parents	Students	Parents	Students	Parents
1 †)	21.3%	20.7%	22.5%	21.9%	22.9%	24.0%	27.3%	21.3%
2	47.6	55.9	45.2	58.4	34.9	53.5	38.7	53.0
3	31.6	23.4	32.2	19.7	42.2	22.5	33.9	25.7

Notes: *) The exact questions are shown in Q3 of Appendices *).

†) 1 is 'it was inevitable', 2 is 'it is unforgivable', and 3 is 'I don't know',

Table 2. The reason why the Atomic Bombs were dropped*)

Types of Selections	Hiroshima		Nagasaki		Okayama		Kanazawa	
	Students	Parents	Students	Parents	Students	Parents	Students	Parents
1 †)	35.9%	49.0%	27.3%	45.0%	40.1%	50.8%	41.3%	49.7%
2	17.9	9.0	24.1	12.0	15.1	9.5	15.9	11.5
3	24.2	29.0	24.7	28.2	30.8	27.7	31.4	28.5
4	21.9	13.0	24.0	14.9	13.8	11.9	11.4	10.3

Notes: *) The exact questions are shown in Q4 of Appendices *2).

†) 1 is the 'experiment-oriented' type, 2 is the 'strategy-oriented' type, 3 is the 'to hasten the end of the war' type, and 4 is the 'compromise' type.

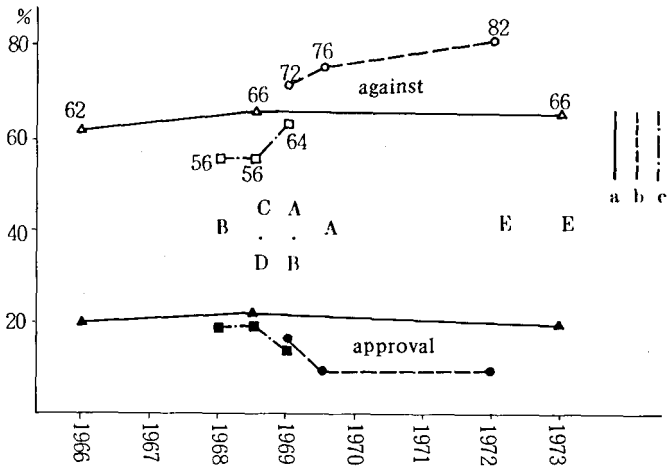
Table 3. The types of nuclear issues one is interested in*)

Types of Selections	Hiroshima		Nagasaki		Okayama		Kanazawa	
	Students	Parents	Students	Parents	Students	Parents	Students	Parents
1 †)	13.8%	19.3%	16.3%	22.2%	13.6%	12.0%	14.9%	10.1%
2	20.8	27.5	18.2	24.5	17.9	26.0	20.3	23.5
3	31.0	15.5	28.9	12.8	33.8	16.1	32.9	18.0
4	27.2	15.8	28.3	14.9	26.4	19.2	21.8	19.0
5	7.2	21.9	8.3	25.6	8.3	26.7	10.1	29.4

Notes: *) The exact questions are shown in Q5 of Appendices *3).

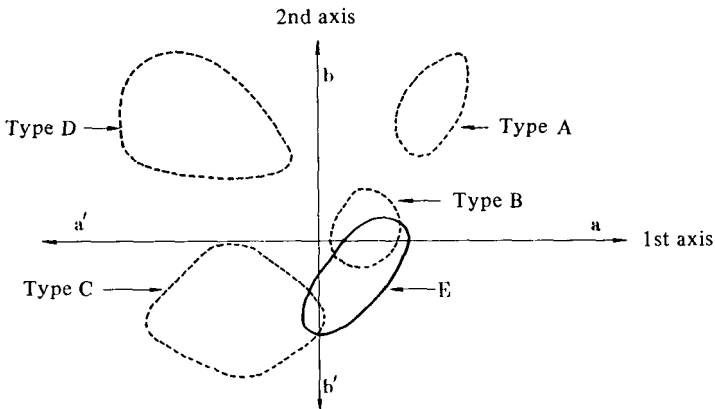
†) 1 is the 'question of the atomic bomb sufferers', 2 is the 'anti-nuclear movement', 3 is the 'nuclear issues proper', 4 is the 'equally in the three kinds of problems' and 5 is the 'nonspecific' type.

Fig. 1. Attitude toward Japanese nuclear armament.



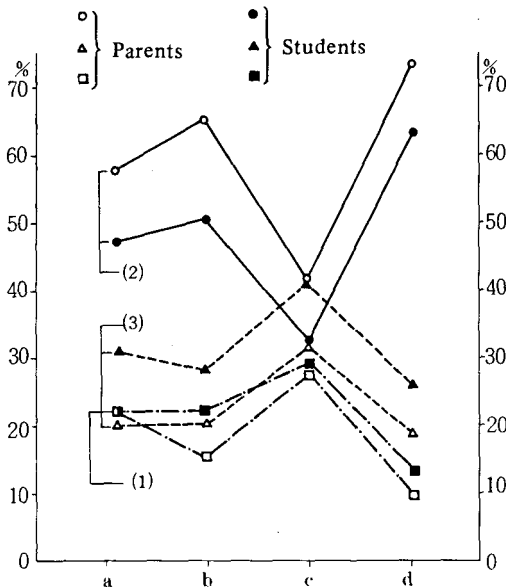
- A; Yomiuri Newspaper Survey
- B; Kyodo Tsushin Survey
- C; Asahi Newspaper Survey
- D; Tokyo Newspaper Survey
- E; Sankei Newspaper Survey
- a; Is nuclear armament necessary?
- b; Is nuclear armament desirable?
- c; Will nuclear armament contribute to the security of Japan?

Fig. 2. Classification of responses to the problems of war and nuclear weapons.



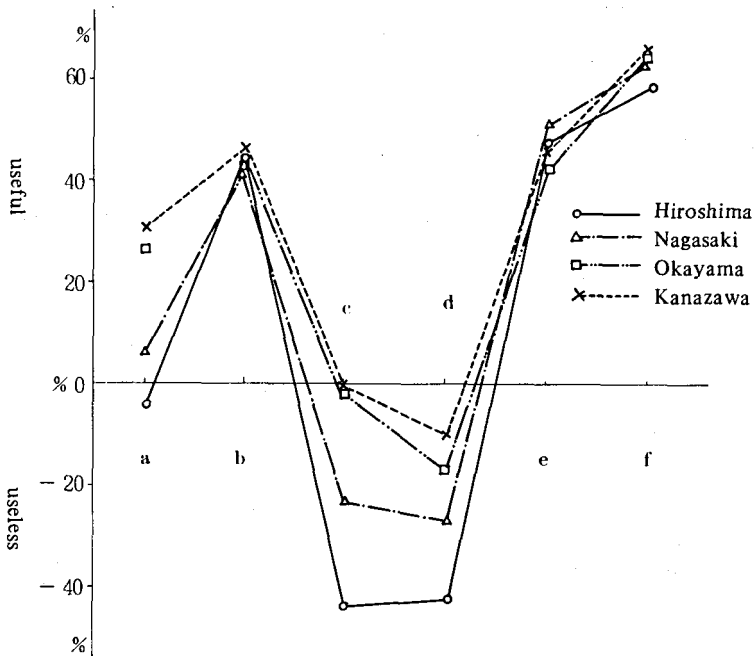
a is rejection of war and nuclear weapons
 a' is admission of war and nuclear weapons
 b is orientation toward change of the status quo
 b' is orientation toward the preservation of the status quo
 Type A is responses oriented toward the rejection of war and nuclear weapons and peaceful change of the status quo.
 Type B is responses oriented toward the rejection of war and nuclear weapons.
 Type C is responses oriented toward admission of war and nuclear weapons and status quo preservation.
 Type D is responses oriented toward the admission of war and nuclear weapons and militarized change of the status quo.
 E is the region of majority opinion.

Fig. 3. Correlation between understanding of the reason for the A-bomb dropping and attitudes towards the dropping itself.



- a; 'experiment-oriented' type
- b; 'strategy-oriented' type
- c; 'to hasten the end of the war' type
- d; 'compromise' type
- (1); it was inevitable
- (2); it is unforgivable
- (3); I don't know

Fig. 4. Evaluation of anti-nuclear weapons movement. (samples from Hiroshima)



a, b, c, d, e and f are same as those of Q16 of Appendices *4).

Fig. 5. EC-five nations' understanding of the non-nuclear policy of Japan.

	a	b	c	d
Belgium	38%	16%	10%	36%
U.K.	27%	17%	20%	37%
West Germany	18%	17%	30%	35%
France	34%	20%	18%	27%
Italy	38%	13%	15%	34%

- a; Japan possesses nuclear weapons at present.
 b; Japan doesn't have nuclear weapons but will have them in future.
 c; Japan maintains the three non-nuclear principles.
 d; I don't know.

APPENDICES

*1)

Q3. What do you think now about the fact that the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

1. It was inevitable.
2. It is unforgivable.

Q7. At present, the Japanese Government has passed two laws for A-bomb sufferers. One is "the medical treatment law for A-bomb sufferers" to support the health checks and medical attention. The other is "the specific measure law for A-bomb sufferers" to supply specific allowances and health checks under certain limitations.

On the other hand, the A-bomb Victims' Association and others have been demanding both to improve the application of those laws and to make a new law "the relief law for A-bomb sufferers" — as national compensation.

How do you appraise the present measures for A-bomb sufferers by the Government and local government?

1. It is sufficient.
2. It is fairly sufficient.
3. It is still insufficient.
4. It is quite insufficient.

Q10. Do you think it's necessary to make the damage and after-effects caused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki known to the coming generations and peoples of the world?

1. necessary
 2. unnecessary
- Q11. What do you think about current nuclear tests (many of which are underground)?
1. All nuclear tests should be banned.
 2. Nuclear weapons testing above ground should be banned but testing underground is unavoidable.
 3. It should be permitted for peaceful purposes.
- Q14. The Japanese Diet has passed a resolution that we shall not possess, produce and introduce any nuclear weapons — the so-called three non-nuclear weapon principles. Regarding the following opinions about the three non-nuclear weapon principles, please circle the number which is closest to your point of view.
- The government: —
1. Should make law the contents of the three non-nuclear weapon principles.
 2. Should leave the three non-nuclear weapons principles as a resolution of the Diet.
 3. Should not make such restrictions as the three principles on nuclear weapons.
- Q15. There are three policies (a, b, c) on the nuclear weapons. Do you think these policies are necessary or unnecessary for Japan, respectively?
- a. The policy to possess nuclear weapons.
 1. necessary
 2. unnecessary
 - b. The policy to allow them to be brought into Japan.
 1. necessary
 2. unnecessary
 - c. The policy not to allow them to be brought into Japan but to depend on the power of U.S. nuclear weapons.
 1. necessary
 2. unnecessary
- Q17. If a nuclear power-plant or mother port for a nuclear powered ship were built in the city that you live in, what would your attitude be?
1. to approve of the plan
 2. to feel uneasy but not to be against the plan
 3. to be against the plan with uneasiness
- Q18. Different opinions are presented on nuclear power plants and nuclear powered ships promoted in Japan. From the following opinions, please select one which best describes yours.
- b. The opinion that they are linked with the production of nuclear weapons.
 1. Yes
 2. No
- a (environment problem), c (energy problem), d (safety problem) are omitted.
- Q19. Do you think, concerning “the right to strike” of labourers, that

1. No restrictions on it should be set up?
 2. The restrictions on the type of occupation in which strikes are permitted should be mitigated?
 3. The restrictions on the type of occupation should be left as they are?
 4. The restrictions on the type of occupation should be made more severe as compared with the present state?
 5. The right to strike should be abrogated?
- Q20. The following are several opinions about the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty. Please select the opinion which best coincides with your opinion. Japan should:
1. Firmly maintain the Treaty and promote friendly relations with free nations.
 2. Maintain the Treaty for the time being, but dissolve it step by step toward establishing a collective security system.
 3. Dissolve the Treaty through diplomatic negotiation and conclude peace and friendship treaties with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China.
 4. Notify abrogation of the Treaty to the U.S. Government with an approval of the Diet, and conclude non-aggression treaties with the U.S.A., and China.
- Q21. Which of the following is the closest to your own point of view on war in general.
1. Wars should be completely banned.
 2. Wars are necessary under certain circumstances but nuclear weapons should not be used.
 3. In some cases, the use of nuclear weapons is necessary.
- Q22. What do you think about the future of the self defense army in Japan?
1. The military forces should be greatly reinforced.
 2. The military forces should be left as they are.
 3. The military forces should be substantially reduced.
 4. They should be disbanded.
- Q24. Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution states that Japan shall not enter any wars nor possess any military forces. What is your opinion about Article 9?
1. It is the pride of Japan and nations all over the world should follow in her foot steps.
 2. It is appropriate for the present Japan.
 3. It is not appropriate for Japan and should be revised.
- *2)
- Q4. What do you think were the reasons why the U.S. dropped the A-bomb in Japan? Choose 2 from the following.
1. To test the power of atomic bombs as a new weapon.
 2. To prevent further American war casualties.
 3. To attain superiority over the U.S.S.R. in their post-war Asian policies.
 4. To make reprisals for the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Armed Forces.
 5. To crush the Japanese fighting spirit and to reduce Japanese casualties.
 6. I don't know.

We extracted four patterns of responses out of the combinations of two selections (cf. Table 2): "New weapons test" is selection 1 and one other (except 3). "Strategy" is the selection 3 and one other (except 1). "To hasten an end of the war" is any combination apart from selection 1 and 3. "Compromise" is selections 1 and 3.

*3)

Q5. On what points does your interest lie regarding the A- and H-Bombs? Choose 3 from the following.

1. Government support for A-bomb survivors.
2. Problems of the second generation born to A-bomb survivors.
3. Movement for nuclear disarmament.
4. To inherit the A-bomb survivors' experience as one's own (Including education)
5. Japan's nuclear armament.
6. The developing arms race in nuclear weapons and nuclear tests.
7. Bringing nuclear weapons into Japan by the U.S. military force.
8. Others ()

We can divide these selections into three groups by their import, thus: — 1 and 2 concern the sufferer problems, 3 and 4 concern the movement problems, and 5, 6 and 7 concern the nuclear weapons problems. First three types of selections in the Table 3 are the elective patterns of people who selected two questions and over from the special group. The fourth type is the pattern selected one question from three groups. And the fifth type is the remaining selections.

*4)

Q16. For what purposes do you think that the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs (nuclear weapons) has been useful or useless? Select from the following purposes.

- a. To prevent the use of nuclear weapons.
 1. use ful
 2. useless
- b. To restrain Japan from nuclear armament.
 1. useful
 2. useless
- c. To prevent from nuclear explosion tests.
 1. useful
 2. useless
- d. To prevent the proliferation of nuclear powers.
 1. useful
 2. useless
- e. To make the Japanese Government take legal measures to aid and support the atomic bomb victims.
 1. useful
 2. useless
- f. To make known the cruelty of nuclear weapons and the experiences of the A-bomb survivors all over the world.
 1. useful
 2. useless

In the Figure 4, we show the sum of two percentages, that is, the selection of "useful" (+) and "useless" (-).

*5) As for this question, see you Q21 of the Appendices *1).