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RESEARCH REPORT No. 7

SUMMARY
OF THE DISCUSSIONS,
SYMPOSIUM ON DISARMAMENT

HIROSHIMA PEACE MEMORIAL HALL
19 October 1981

Editorial Committee of the symposium



THE INSTITUTE FOR PEACE SCIENCE,
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CONTENTS

Introduction

Substance of the Concluding Session

Speeches by the Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Main Points of the Discussions

Program

Editorial Committee

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the Symposium on Disarmament was to summarize the views and opinions of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the field of peace and disarmament, especially to integrate them into a universal theory. Thus, the Symposium was not intended to record directly the voices and appeals of *Hibakusha* (survivors) and those engaged in movements against nuclear weapons, rather it was intended to be an academic symposium of those engaged in peace research working from the standpoint of the entire human race.

In the Symposium, two main themes were chosen, and under each theme, two sessions were held. After the four sessions, a concluding session was held to summarize the speeches and discussions in these sessions.

In this Summary, the substance of the concluding session is given first, followed by the main points of the speeches and discussions in the preceding four sessions. The program of the Symposium is appended.

The Editorial Committee bears the entire responsibility for this Summary.

SUBSTANCE OF THE CONCLUDING SESSION

Main Causes of Today's Arms Race

1. First, one of the causes of the arms race today is the instability of the relationships between states in the modern world. Since there exists no institutionalized means for the peaceful solution of inter-state conflicts, states act on the premise that they must depend ultimately upon their own arms to resolve such conflicts. It might be supposed that this would bring about a kind of anarchy in international society, a horizontal international order based on the parity and equality of the disparate states. But, in reality, so long as arms are assumed to be the ultimate means of international conflict resolution, inter-state society cannot but be organized in terms of military power, a vertical, hierarchical, and militaristic society in which military superiority over other states, rather than parity, is to be sought and maintained. This vertical militaristic nature of international society is obviously a factor spurring the arms race today.

When arms are assumed to be the ultimate means of conflict resolution in international society, it means that the lives of people of the other states can, in principle, be sacrificed. In this sense, today's militaristic international order itself is a threat to the survival of the human race.

Moreover, the nuclear arms race which is the culmination of the vertical, hierarchical, militaristic international order resulting from the priority of arms as a means of international conflict resolution, also seriously endangers the very existence of the human race.

2. Secondly, once such a vertical, hierarchical order is formed, the states at the top of the hierarchy necessarily strive to maintain and extend their superiority over other states.

This is one of the reasons the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the gigantic military superpowers today, play predominant roles in the arms race. From the standpoint of other states in the hierarchy, this means that they are forced to comply with, or concede to, wishes of the two superpowers. In other words, the present hierarchical international order threatens the national independence and self-determination of these states, whether they belong to the "North" or to the "South". For example, Japan is under U.S. pressure to play a part in U.S. global strategy by sharing an appropriate defense burden, and also to impose self-regulation on exports of industrial products to the U.S. All these are indications of Japan's increasing dependence upon the U.S. Moreover, from this point of view, the recent rise of antinuclear movements in Europe can be seen as rooted partly in the desire for European independence and the rejection of dependence on the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

3. Thirdly, the hierarchical, vertical, militaristic international order which pervades the globe helps to create, on the top of the domestic order within each state, a class of privileged elites in the form of a military-industrial-bureaucratic complex. It is obvious that today's arms race is accelerated partly by the desire of these privileged elites to maintain and expand their vested interests. It is to be stressed here that the existence of these privileged elites not only hinders even advanced states from desirable development, but also adversely affects the desirable development of developing states on a far greater scale. This is because the formation of small elites in developing states of necessity widens the gap between the rich and the poor, and these elites must strengthen their armed rule over the people in order to secure their interests.

4. Fourthly, it is to be pointed out that in such a militaristic order, power is highly centralized. This centralization of power is one factor accelerating the self-propagating expansion of the arms race.

5. Needless to say, these four factors are very closely related to each other. But, as was pointed out with regard to each of them, all these jeopardize humanity's peaceful existence and are incompatible with the right of human beings to live a worthwhile human life. In addition, the militarization of the world sketched above hinders the political liberty of the people.

Thus, the problem now is how to stop and reverse the progress of such militarization of the world led by nuclear weapons.

Proposals

6. Measures for demilitarizing the world can be divided into two categories: measures in the sphere in which both states (governments) and the public are concerned, and measures in the sphere peculiar to the public. In either sphere, priority should be given to nuclear weapons which lead the arms race.

7. Among tasks in the sphere in which both states and the public are concerned the reduction of nuclear weapons is most important. To achieve this, unilateral reduction of nuclear weapons is more effective than reduction through negotiations between states, and in this respect, the elimination of superfluous nuclear armaments is most effective. Parallel to these efforts, measures should be taken to build confidence between states.

8. The next tasks in the sphere in which both states and the public are concerned are the non-use of nuclear weapons, and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, especially in the Northeast Asia. What is important here is that plans, agreements or treaties on these matters should be properly assessed and evaluated from a long-range disarmament perspective.

9. The first and most important task of demilitarization for the public to be concerned with is the delegitimatization of nuclear weapons. Here, it is incumbent to disclose the fallacies inherent in the view that nuclear weapons are of use or that they can be a deterrent to a nuclear war. Moreover, with respect to the theory of the balance of power which is invoked to justify the arms race today, it needs to be pointed out that "power" is impossible to measure exactly, and ultimately can only be measured by its use in war. With regard to the theory of nuclear deterrence which provides the theoretical support for the nuclear arms race, it needs to be pointed out that it contradicts basic human rights since it is a theory that sees people of other states as hostages.

10. Such international agreements as treaties or international laws on the non-use, or the prohibition of, nuclear weapons will contribute to the delegitimatization of nuclear weapons.

11. The second task of the demilitarization of the world for the public to undertake is the demilitarization of their own society. One of the main tasks here is the prevention of the development of, or the dissolution of, a military-industrial-bureaucratic complex. In this connection, the institutionalization of disclosure of information on military forces and military industries will be an effective preventive measure. Another measure is to convert today's development aid to the developing countries into "human rights aid" which helps to create within recipient countries a situation compelling development desirable for the people. This is a measure which undermines the very foundation of the present hierarchical world order, and should, therefore, be given the same priority as nuclear disarmament.

12. In this sense, the demilitarization of the world is not merely a matter of arms, but

also a matter of human beings. Movements for the demilitarization of the world will be long-term ones, and should be carried out not by the existing states or governments, but by the people independent of their governments.

SPEECHES BY THE MAYORS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

13. Speech by the Mayor of Hiroshima

It is much to be regretted that despite the resolution passed at the first Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, the nuclear powers, with the United States and the Soviet Union in the forefront, are continuing an ever-expanding arms race which serves only to strengthen their rivalry. It is evident indeed that mankind will face self-extinction, unless we hurry to find effective means to reduce armaments, above all nuclear arms.

Currently, nuclear weapons possess unbelievable powers of destruction, powers estimated to be approximately one-and-one-half million times as great as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. What is worse, they are becoming increasingly sophisticated and diversified for strategic or tactical use, and are ready to be deployed on the ground, in the air and at sea. Such weapons, ready at any time, lead to dangerous confrontations between nations. With the increasing possibility of one side mounting a preemptive strike against the other, we can no longer depend for the security of the human race upon nuclear weapons. Only complete nuclear disarmament can guarantee security and thus pave the way for peace. We must recognize this truth.

14. Speech by the Mayor of Nagasaki

As Mayor of an A-bombed city, I regret to say that the world situation is currently very critical owing to the deployment of theater nuclear weapons in Western Europe, the production of neutron warheads, and other vital problems.

It was once believed that the balance of power, especially between the United States and the Soviet Union, acted as a deterrent. The prodigious progress of nuclear weapons

has exploded this accepted theory, although the theory that military superiority will maintain peace is still dominant. Huge military supplies to the Third World, the deployment of theater nuclear weapons, the conception of limited nuclear warfare, etc. are representations of this theory.

The idea of keeping peace through military superiority has resulted in the expansion of nuclear armaments, and moreover, it has eroded the people's standard of living. The economic problems of the advanced nations have kept the developing countries from further growth. The solution to the problems lying at the foundation of our life – the problems of population, food and education – has thus been delayed.

In the meantime, we can see hope from the fact that many people well aware of this stalemate have initiated antinuclear movements. The movements include a West German protest against the U.S. deployment of theater nuclear weapons in their own land and peace gatherings held in the Netherlands, France, Belgium and the United States, to mention only a few examples.

It is true that the peace-keeping theory founded on power still predominates, but the number of people who point out the danger and the limits of this theory is increasing.

In view of this situation, *Hiroshima* and *Nagasaki* which experienced the horror of nuclear weapons should play an important role. The United Nations has made some effective achievements leading to the pursuit of peace, for example, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere and under water. In addition, the Third World countries have come to acquire greater influence in the arena of world diplomacy. The influence of their opinions will be of great help in the realization of peace. I therefore think that *Hiroshima* and *Nagasaki*, deep in sorrow because of the

horror of nuclear weapons, should place their "sorrow" on the conference tables of the United Nations.

Pope John Paul II said, "War is the work of man." The pursuit of peace, in the long run, involves the rousing of the conscience of the world public. Differences in race and national power can produce egoism, which may cause us difficulty in the attainment of peace. However, I am convinced that the people of Japan, not to mention the citizens of the A-bombed cities, are under an obligation to find the right way to overcome this difficulty and awaken the public conscience.

In my August 9 "Peace Declaration" I proposed that the territory of Japan and the surrounding area should be kept free from nuclear warheads. We should take every possible opportunity to appeal to all the U.N. member states urging that such peace efforts be taken up for discussion and agreed upon at the second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament.

MAIN POINTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS

15. In the Symposium, the two main themes were: "The Significance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for Mankind", and "Global Demilitarization and Development". The choice of the two themes was due to the recognition that today the problem of the arms race and the problem of development are rooted in the same cause, and to solve these problems, thought and theory based on the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will play an important role. Here, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki" represent not only the tragedy of the first atomic bombings in human history, but also the desire and will to abolish nuclear weapons, attain general and complete disarmament, and achieve the enduring peace in order that the tragedy may never be repeated.

The first theme aims to deepen the meaning of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for mankind into a universal thought or theory. In view of the progress of militarization led by the nuclear arms race, it is obvious that the demilitarization of the world, one of the key concepts of the second theme, has a very close relationship to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As for development, the other term in the second theme, it is evident, as has been made clear in the General Assembly of the United Nations and in other places, that the militarization of the world today hinders desirable development. Thus, the second theme "Global Demilitarization and Development" seeks to reorient development in a desirable direction by the achievement of demilitarization.

Under the first theme, two sessions were held, "Nuclear Weapons and Man" and "Nuclear Weapons and International Law". Under the second theme, two sessions were also held, "Disarmament, Peace and Development", and "Measures for the Promotion of Disarmament".

What follow are the main points of discussions in these four sessions. Many issues and proposals were brought forth in the sessions, but only those points will be recorded here which have direct bearing on the above summary.

Nuclear Weapons and Man

16. Today, the theory of a limited nuclear war has come into prominence in U.S. nuclear strategic thought. This theory argues that use of nuclear weapons can be confined within certain limited targets and target areas. The theory lowers the threshold for the use of nuclear weapons, and enhances the danger of a nuclear war. In addition, since there is no guarantee that the use of nuclear weapons can be controled with respect to targets and target areas, there is always the danger of a limited nuclear war escalating into a total nuclear war.

17. The U.S. decision on the resumption of the production of neutron bombs and the deployment of theater nuclear weapons in Europe, coupled with the theory of a limited nuclear war, heightens the danger of nuclear war. However, this criticism of the U.S. Government does not on any ground exempt the U.S.S.R. from responsibility for the nuclear arms race.

18. The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Northeast Asia will constitute an important first step towards halting and reversing the nuclear arms race.

19. The "three non-nuclear principles" (that is, not to possess, not to produce, and not to allow the introduction of, nuclear weapons into Japan) which Japan maintains will be a point of departure for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Northeast Asia. It must be noted here that the three principles form one of the four basic policies of the Japanese Government on nuclear issues, the other three being the maintenance of the Japan-U.S.

Security Treaty, the promotion of disarmament, and the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Japanese Government maintains that these three non-nuclear principles do not conflict with the so-called American nuclear umbrella under the Japan-U.S Security Treaty. The three non-nuclear principles would lead to a nuclear-weapon-free zone if they were extended across national borders. In order to create a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region, therefore, every effort should be made both to confirm and strengthen the three non-nuclear principles within Japan and to extend them over the region by multilateral negotiations among the states concerned.

The nuclear-weapon-free zone would cover the Korean Peninsula, Japan, and Taiwan, and ideally would cover mainland China and the coastal region of, or the whole of, Siberia. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has advocated "the five non-nuclear principles" which add the two principles of non-stockpiling and prohibition of nuclear weapons tests to Japan's three principles. (The problem of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone was also discussed in the sessions "Nuclear Weapons and International Law" and "Measures for the Promotion of Disarmament". But all the main points of discussions on this matter are for convenience' sake given in this paragraph. See 26, 33, and 34).

20. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs can be seen as a tragic precedent for the destruction of cities in a limited nuclear war, such as is often talked about today. Whether they are tactical or theater nuclear weapons, or whether they are neutron bombs, nuclear weapons to be used in a limited nuclear war should be sharply distinguished from conventional weapons. As is clear from the precedents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, their destructive power and the adverse effects of residual radiation as well as their inhuman nature distinguishes them clearly from conventional weapons. It is to be stressed here

that the vast amount of residual radiation will reduce to a minimum the possibility of survival even by means of nuclear shelters.

21. In order to prevent a nuclear war and to achieve the reduction, and ultimately the abolition, of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to spread and disseminate this knowledge and recognition to people all over the world. Peace education will play a special role in this sphere.

22. The nuclear arms race is based on the view that the state is permitted to use any and all means to achieve its ends and the rights of individuals, even the right to live, are subordinate to the goals of the state. The view is clearly incompatible with a person's right to live as a human being. To overcome this kind of view, further promotion of peace education is urgently required.

23. In order to demilitarize today's hierarchical, militaristic world order which culminates in the nuclear arms race, it is necessary to arouse wide international public opinion, and the role of peace education will be very important also in this respect.

Nuclear Weapons and International Law.

24. Nuclear weapons run counter to the principle codified in international law which prohibits weapons of mass destruction which cause unnecessary suffering. There have been many agreements reached on the prohibition of the use or testing of nuclear weapons themselves, in the form of bilateral or multilateral treaties or resolutions of the United Nations.

The United Nations adopted a resolution on the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction in 1961. The Japanese Government voted in favor of this kind of resolution

at that time. The United Nations has since adopted many similar resolutions. As for treaties, the treaties on such regions as the Antarctic, outer space, the sea bed, etc. have been concluded, and a Partial Test Ban Treaty and a Non-proliferation Treaty have also been concluded.

25. In Japan in 1963, the district court of Tokyo ruled that the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki constituted a violation of international law.

26. Plans for, and treaties on, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones are effective measures for the denuclearization of the world. Among these plans and agreements, the Tlatelolco Treaty (1967) which established Latin America as a nuclear-weapon-free zone is an important precedent. (See 19).

27. In terms of international law, treaties, and U.N. resolutions, international consensus has been reached at least on the non-use of nuclear weapons. This kind of international consensus will greatly facilitate the codification into international law of the prohibition of nuclear weapons as a link in the laws of humanity. But to achieve this goal, it is necessary to overcome the claim that the use of nuclear weapons can be justified in self-defense.

Disarmament, Peace, and Development

28. As the arms race has progressed on the basis of relationships among the sovereign states, so development in the present world has been that of sovereign nation states. The structure of the world today is a vertical, hierarchical order of states, a structure which is the cause of the international and domestic division into "centers" and "peripheries", with the result that the former dominate the latter, and the latter depend upon the former. Development up to the present day has, far from narrowing, widened the gap between the center and the periphery, and between the North and the South. Such "structural violence"

has made even poorer the thousands of millions of the poorest in the world.

29. Faced with this state of affairs, peace research should aim not only to prevent a nuclear war, but also to change the vertical, hierarchical world order.

30. As was seen above, development and demilitarization are inseparably related, and cannot be dealt with by any one state alone. It is, therefore, imperative to form a world-wide network for development and demilitarization which will include research workers.

31. Since the Second World War, the notion of "one world" has gained ground at least as an ideal. This provides a basis for world-wide cooperation for development and demilitarization.

32. Development aid up to the present has been carried out according to the national interests of donor countries, and too much emphasis has been placed, to the detriment of the recipient countries, on such results of aid as the "enclosure" of recipient countries and the acquisition of resources and markets. This is the result of aid on a bilateral basis. Development aid in the future should be either on a multilateral basis or through an international organization.

Measures for the Promotion of Disarmament

(Many of the points discussed in this session were given in 19 above for convenience' sake.)

33. The most urgent task in disarmament and demilitarization is the denuclearization of the world, nuclear disarmament. Among important measures for achieving this, priority should be given to regional denuclearization as is exemplified by the Tlatelolco Treaty, as well as a nuclear freeze and unilateral reduction of nuclear arms. Northern Europe and

Northeast Asia are important areas for denuclearization.

34. A nuclear-weapon-free zone will require, as a guarantee for its existence, consensus on an international or regional inspection (verification) system, especially the establishment of an inspection system by means of satellites. An international satellite monitoring system was discussed in the Pugwash Conference this year (1981) and a resolution recommending such a system was passed.

Shoichi Yamashita, Associate Professor of Hiroshima University

2. Measures for the Promotion of Disarmament

Chairman : Seiji Imahori, President of Hiroshima Women's University

Speaker: : Toshiyuki Toyoda, Professor of Nagoya University

Discussants : Manzaburo Yanaga, Associate Professor of Kochi Junior College

Hiroshi Shishido, Minister of Oshima Church, the United Church
of Christ in Japan

Closing Discussions

16 : 00 – 18 : 00

Chaired by Ohtori Kurino, Professor of Hiroshima University

Speakers : Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Professor of the University of Tokyo

Seiji Imahori, President of Hiroshima Women's University

Kanesaburo Gushima, Director of Nagasaki Institute of Peace
Culture, Nagasaki Institute of Applied Science

Makoto Kitanishi, Professor of Hiroshima University

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