

A REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEACE RESEARCH

**TASKS OF PEACE STUDIES
IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEACE RESEARCH
THE SCIENCE COUNCIL OF JAPAN**

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THE TASKS OF PEACE STUDIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

SUMMARY

1) The Background

It is well-known that the Science Council of Japan has made a unique social contribution by dealing with such international problems as nuclear weapons and war in general, tyranny and slavery, oppression and prejudice, in order to consolidate the foundation for peace. Internationally, the program of “Science for Peace” adopted at the ICSU in Budapest, the Talloires Declaration of University Presidents for “Science to Avoid Global Death” issued at Talloires, France, copious monographs and writings on Peace Research/Peace Studies documented at the UNESCO provide academic and educational attempts for building a genuinely peaceful international society which will be not only free from such direct-physical violence as war and terrorism, but from such indirect-structural violence as tyranny, poverty, and disease.

However, only an interdisciplinary research institute representing all areas of science, such as the Science Council of Japan, is capable of dealing with the broad spectrum of peace issues, including research into poverty and disease in developing nations.

The world today faces a critical problem of survival due to nuclear weapons, environmental pollution, population explosion, and poverty in spite of marvelous achievements of scientific and technological breakthrough. Successful results of Peace Research/Peace Studies which is sometimes called “the ultimate science for human survival” will ensure the basis for such human activities as politics, economy, industry, science, education, arts, sports, and entertainments. It is required, therefore, to precipitate such achievements through constant scientific efforts.

2) The State of Affairs and the Problems

(1) The world at the beginning of the 21st century, characterized by wars, terrorism, proliferation of WMD, environmental disruption, AIDS and other infectious diseases, has become “a century of violence” which seems ominously more violent than the last century.

(2) There are governments among the developed nations which pursue policies of intensifying their military power to suppress claims of the people in order to resolve the world situation of violence, but such a policy of “liddism”* will only induce counter-violence and make the resolution of problems more difficult and complicated.

(*”Liddism” means a policy “to keep the lid on insecurity without addressing the core reasons for dissent” in a given situation. Cf. Paul Rogers: *Losing Control. Global Insecurity in the Twenty-first Century*. Pluto Press, London, 2000.

(3) Because of frequent terrorist counter-attacks to challenge war and “liddism” by states, a huge number of innocent people including children, women, and senior citizens are victimized and people are driven to miserable situations without hope for the future.

3 . The Recommendation for Improvement

The solution to the problems mentioned above is closely related to the international problems which the Science Council of Japan has been addressing since its inception. The National Committee for Peace Research of the SCJ is the one assigned to delve into the root-causes of the problems and it has consistently devoted itself to the pursuit of a fundamental solution of all these problems of direct and structural violence. It behooves the scientific community to continue to deal with them from the lofty standpoint of human interests rather than the narrowly defined national interests.

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TASKS OF PEACE STUDIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

. ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON PEACE ISSUES

Now over fifteen years after the end of the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the world appears to be in an even more dangerous situation, both chaotic and unpredictable. It seems that almost anything could happen at any time, anywhere. Peace can be defined as “a state of no war and tranquility” (*Kojien*, 5th edition), but we must say that ever since the U. S. countermeasures against the 9/11 attacks, the world has become far less peaceful, with ongoing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and terrorism around the world.

The Science Council of Japan was established shortly after WW II, when memories were still vivid, and critical reflection was still deep and sobering. Therefore, the opening paragraph of the Statute of The Science Council of Japan clearly stated that the SCJ is committed to “contribute to peaceful reconstruction of Japan and welfare of the world through a general consensus of scientists” and made public its firm determination to contribute, from the objective standpoint of science, to building a human society which is “without war and tranquil” in the latter half of the 20th century and the whole of the 21st century and beyond.

Ever since then, the SCJ has devoted itself to promoting academic efforts to deal with peace issues in its program of democratization and equal educational opportunity to build a nation whose central concern is directed toward human security and welfare guaranteed by law.

Among the outstanding events in the history of the SCJ are 1) the recognition of the Liaison Committee for Research on Peace Issues (now National Committee for Peace Research) at the General Assembly in April (*1), 1973; 2) the adoption of the Position Paper “Wagakuni ni okeru Heiwakenkyuu no Sokushin ni tsuite” (On Promoting Peace Research in Japan) (Recommendation) in November, 1974; 3) and the invitation of The Fourteenth General Conference of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) to Kyoto, which was jointly sponsored by The Peace Studies Association of Japan and attended by over 400 peace researchers from 40 different countries.

In addition, the SCJ published *IPRA Yooran* (A Compendium of the Activities of IPRA) (pamphlet) in 1977 (*2), and adopted two Position Papers on peace issues, namely, the one “Heiwa ni kansuru Kenkyuu no Sokushin ni tsuite—Heiwagaku no Rekishi, Genjo oyobi Kadai” (On Promoting Research on Peace—History, Present Condition, and Tasks) in April, 1994 (*3), and another one on “Heiwagaku no Kenkyusuishin no Teigen—Nihon no Gakujutsukenkyuusha no Jisei” (Recommendation for Promoting Research on Peace Studies—Self-Reflection of Japanese Academic Researchers) in November, 2002 (*4). These academic efforts in the area of Peace Research/Peace Studies testify to the SCJ’s commitment to cooperation with other domestic and international organizations in creating a new Japan and global society with

economic and political stability based on freedom from war, terrorism, poverty, repression, environmental destruction, etc.

The Position Paper in 1994 was revised and enlarged by members of the National Committee for Peace Research and was published as a book in 1995 (Tetsuo Saito, Hiroharu Seki, Kenji Yamashita, eds.: *Heiwagaku no Susume—Sono Rekishi, Genjo oyobi Kadai* (Recommending Peace Studies—Its History, Present Conditions, Tasks. Horitsu Bunka Sha Pub. Co., Kyoto, 1995) (*5). The Position Paper in 2002 was translated into English and adopted in the SCJ's English PR pamphlet for overseas readers *In Pursuit of Peace, Human Rights and Human Security: A Message from the Japanese Scientific Community*. The pamphlet was presented by the SCJ's Vice-President Dr. Michiatsu Kaino at the Seventh General Assembly of the International Human Rights Network in London in May, 2005, and it was reported to have received a positive response from the international community.

In cooperation with the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) which came into being half a year after the establishment of the National Committee for Peace Research within the SCJ, scientific efforts specializing in peace issues gathered momentum. Classes entitled "Heiwagaku" (Peace Studies) or "Heiwakenkyu" (Peace Research) were introduced into the curriculum of many universities in Japan, although even today there exists no organized Peace Studies course such as Department or Faculty which exists in some Western countries. As of July 2005 some 50 national, public, and private universities such as Waseda, Hosei, Rikkyo (St. Pauls), Jochi (Sophia), Yokohama City, Ritsumeikan, Kanseigakuin, Hiroshima, Hiroshima Shudo, Kyushu, Nagasaki, Kagoshima, to mention some of them, offer a class in Peace Studies. Also, books including "Peace Studies" as a part of their titles have been increasing. For example, in the five years since 2000, seventeen such books were published in Japan (Cf. bibliography at the end of this paper).

In addition, as the result of academic efforts more than 10 peace research institutes have been founded in various places in Japan: Hiroshima Peace Institute, Nagasaki Peace Research Institute, International Peace Research Institute at International Christian University, Peace Research Institute at Meiji Gakuin University, International Strategic Peace Research Institute at Tokai University, Peace Studies Institute at Waseda University, Institute for Peace and Disarmament at Meiji University, Okinawa International Peace Research Institute, etc.

As observed above, what scientific efforts have accomplished in the area of peace issues to promote international peace is remarkable and the role of the SCJ to invigorate the further development of Peace Studies provides an indispensable component.

It must be clear that such a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to peace issues can be adequately dealt with only by a scientific community like the SCJ, which is represented by leading scholars in all areas of science. There is no doubt that the result of such research will contribute not only to the security of Japan but that of the international community as a whole, not to mention the neighboring nations.

. PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

With the collapse of the bi-polar structure of the Cold War, many problems which were overlooked during the U.S.-U.S.S.R. rivalry have suddenly surfaced to change drastically the contemporary international scene. First, surrogate wars or conflicts based on ideology during the Cold War era are now replaced by more local military confrontations arising from religious, ethnic, and linguistic rivalries. During the decade of the 1990s military conflicts took place in 80 countries resulting in 150,000,000 refugees.

Powerful nations as well as the United Nations made attempts to intervene in some of those conflicts, but most military interventions have been less than successful. By military intervention the superpower overthrew both the Taliban regime and the Hussein regime, but neither in Afghanistan nor in Iraq has the social order been restructured or security restored. In contrast, successful cases and promising actions of non-military intervention and non-violent ways of conflict resolution by NGOs and grassroots citizens' actions have taken place, and some governments are positively seeking possibilities of cooperation with non-governmental organizations (*6).

Second, tasks of the UN and international politics with regard to peace have become extremely complex. When the UN started in 1945, the international framework to settle disputes among nations peacefully was limited to the Security Council of the UN. Today, however, other entities of the UN assigned to deal with peace issues in a broader sense have sharply increased both in number and in scale. For example, the UN has conducted peace-keeping operations (PKO) in 56 countries, of which 43 cases occurred after the end of the Cold War. As of 2005, 37,000 personnel are conducting PKOs in 14 countries.

At the same time, however, the UN's serious financial crisis remains unresolved. To illustrate an example of the problem of AIDS in Africa, the UN funds for combating malaria, tuberculosis, and AIDS currently amount only to \$2 billion per year, although \$7 to \$10 billion is needed to combat these diseases (Cf. Tasks of Peace Studies below).

Furthermore, the role of agencies within the UN system such as IMF, WTO, and the World Bank which are market-economy oriented, and under the firm control of the strong world powers, is markedly increasing at the expense of genuine assistance agencies like the UNDP, and inflicting considerable damage on the economies of developing nations. In addition, outside of the UN system, various global actors, notably multinational corporations (MNCs), exert enormous influence on the situation, making the international political milieu extremely complicated.

Third, with the collapse of socialism the market-economy has become globalized, and combined with the development of information technology (IT), the gap between North and South is widening. On the one hand, the proportion of people living in absolute poverty (under \$1 per day) increased to 1.3 billion, a fifth of the world population, as a result of the structural adjustment policies

promoted by IMF and World Bank. On the other hand, MNCs have grown disproportionately and one of them, for example, has an annual turnover which exceeds the sum of the GNP of 600,000,000 people in 49 least developed countries (LDCs).

Increase of poverty leads to human rights violation and environmental disruption and becomes the hotbed of conflict, violence, and terrorism. Therefore, the eradication of poverty has to be the number one priority for peace and stability of the international society as a whole. In September, 2000, the UN convened the Millennium Summit and adopted a resolution called "Millennium Development Goal" (MDG), which are designed to reduce by half the number of those living in poverty by 2015. Such an action demonstrates the urgent need to solve poverty.

Fourth, international terrorism has increased since 9/11. The attacks on the WTC and the Pentagon have provided a pretext for the "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" logic of power to justify itself. The US Government defined the attacks not as terrorism but as war and resorted to military means, overthrowing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan under the suspicion that Usama Bin Laden was the ringleader of the attacks and hiding in Afghanistan.

Moreover, in June 2002 the US Government announced adoption of the strategy of "preemptive strikes" against its enemies, a further development from the retaliatory counter-measures it has hitherto employed. It is a strategy to make the U.S. ready to attack at any time Al Qaida terrorist units which are reported to exist in 60 countries, roughly one-third of the whole nations in the world. Based on the doctrine of "preemptive strike," President George W. Bush started the war against Iraq on March 20, 2003. Using overwhelming military power and high-tech weaponry, the US forces occupied Baghdad in a *blitzkrieg* and destroyed the Hussein regime. By May 1, 2003 already President Bush declared the war had ended, "the mission had been accomplished" and "a victory proclamation" was made. However, neither weapons of mass destruction (the alleged *casus belli*) were found, nor was Hussein's relation to Al Qaida proved. With the US forces' siege of Falluja, Iraqi resistance against the US troops spread all over the land, and between May 2003 and August 2005 the death toll of American soldiers approached 2,000; while Iraqi casualties since the beginning of the war are estimated to exceed 100,000.

It is natural, therefore, that in the arena of international politics strong criticism of the US' impetuous military action and unilateralism of ignoring/defying the UN decisions and treaties has been voiced in European countries and elsewhere. Members of both the Senate and the House of Representatives in Washington have begun to express doubts about the legitimacy as well as the continuation of the war and serious debates are growing about the date of withdrawal of the US troops from Iraq.

Fifth, since the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro in 1992, a transnational or global civil society, consisting of NGOs and grass-roots citizen of the world, has emerged and has exercised considerable influence on international politics. For example, the World Court Project on banning nuclear weapons, which began in the UK and New Zealand, was eventually taken up by the UN General Assembly

in 1994 and succeeded in eliciting the historic Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1996, stating, “The threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law.” The Landmine Treaty concluded at Ottawa in 1997 provides another outstanding example of cooperation between governments and civil society. Ms. Jodi Williams, who coordinated as many as 1000 NGOs in over sixty countries leading up to the treaty received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997.

Similarly, the Jubilee 2000 International Campaign conducted by civil society between 1998 and 2000 to write off debts of LDCs; the massive rise of anti-globalization sentiment following protest demonstrations against the WTO in Seattle in November, 1999; and the global campaign against war in Iraq which mobilized 20 million people on February 15, 2003 immediately before the outbreak of Iraqi war—all illustrate the growing potentialities of international civil society for peace and justice in the world. UN Secretary General [Kofi Annan](#) summed up these campaigns, stating, “There are two superpowers in the world today, namely the U.S. and the global civil society.”

Sixth, and last, to turn our eyes to Japan from the global scene, Japan’s contribution to world peace has become more difficult and complicated. For over 50 years there was a sharp tension between the Constitution of Japan, which in principle adheres to the idea of peace based on non-military means, and the Japan-US Security Treaty, which justifies Japan’s Self-Defense Forces and maintaining US military bases in Japan as a part of the Cold War strategy. But since the 1990s tremendous pressure has been placed on the Japanese Government to take an active military role in international affairs and, as a result, the peace-oriented Japanese society nurtured by the Peace Constitution has been shaken to its foundations. Such a situation seems to point out the urgent need of renewing the commitment of the scientific community to pursue peace issues from scientific and objective perspectives.

- . THE TASKS OF PEACE STUDIES

- 1) NUCLEAR WEAPONS, CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, AND SECURITY

- THE ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Japan, as the only country to have suffered the devastation caused by the use of atomic bombs, has a strong desire to achieve the total elimination of nuclear weapons in the world. The international security environment has dramatically changed since the end of the Cold War characterized by the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless much still remains to be done to achieve nuclear abolition. In spite of the reduction of U.S. and Russian nuclear arms, there still exist approximately 30,000 nuclear warheads on our planet. As long as nuclear weapons exist in the world, we cannot be sure that the international community would not undergo another tragedy like Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Non-Proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons

(NPT) is the sole international treaty on reduction of nuclear weapons, but it cannot be said to have successfully deterred the nuclear arms race.

Today, international politics faces the fact that nuclear weapons have already spread to Israel, India, and Pakistan, but also the danger that “rogue states’ such as North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and Iran could manufacture and possess nuclear weapons. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) paid great attention to the extreme ill effects of radioactivity caused by the use of nuclear weapons on combatants and civilians, and handed down its advisory opinion on *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons* in July 1996. This was an important chapter in the history of nuclear weapons because the Court stated that “the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law”. In addition to this, the Court insisted that Nuclear-Weapon States have “an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament”. The United States, however, has been trying to develop a Missile Defense system, space-launched nuclear weapons, and mini-nukes as new types of nuclear weapons in the near future. A change in the security paradigm of the status quo, is therefore, an urgent priority for humankind.

- REDUCTION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS (SALW)

Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) include pistols, automatic weapons, machine guns, mortars, and mini-nukes. Landmines and grenades are sometimes included in the SALW. Unlike Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), SALW have proliferated all over the world, especially in conflict zones, due to the lack of international regulations. The actual situation of illicit trade of SALW, however, has not been fully understood. SALW have certain characteristics that allow them to be purchased by anybody, including regular armies, irregular forces, and criminal elements. In addition to this, they are easy to use, even by under-age children.

During the Cold War, most of the SALW flowed from great powers to developing countries and anti-government guerrillas in the form of “aid”, and they were stockpiled excessively as a result. After the Cold War, those arms have circulated cheaply to other countries and non-state actors. SALW are called the “*de facto* Weapons of Mass Destruction,” because they have been playing more significant roles than WMDs in recent regional conflicts.

In July 2001, the United Nations convened its Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons and adopted “A Programme of Action” to prevent, combat, and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. While the international community is moving toward the negotiation of the “Arms Trade Treaty” in 2006, it is crucial to consider how to collect and eradicate small arms in conflict zones. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been playing a leading role in cooperation with other organizations such as the Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, in England.

Furthermore, since the end of the Gulf War in 1991, depleted uranium

(DU) has been used for anti-tank small arms, which may cause wide-range radioactive contamination and long-lasting damage to human bodies. Peace studies confronts an urgent matter to develop clinical, epidemiological, and scientific research and inquiry concerning DU.

- DEFENSE IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

The concept of “nuclear umbrella” is based on the premise that a nuclear-weapon state in alliance with a non-nuclear-weapon state would use its nuclear arsenal to defend the non-nuclear state if it came under nuclear attack.

But in 1996, Joseph Nye et al proposed a similar concept they called “information umbrella” in *Foreign Affairs*(*7). They pointed out that the US, through its advanced intelligence capability of capturing a wide range of real-time information, can offer friendly nations a function similar to “nuclear umbrella.” In order to select targets with accurate information for positioning and to confirm results of military attacks, it is indispensable to have a sophisticated capability to collect and analyze information by using spy satellites, unmanned scouts, and intelligence planes for electronic warfare, etc. The security of a nation may depend on whether or not it can gain access to an “information umbrella” backed by high information technology. In addition to the military aspect, “information umbrella” has a new strategic significance in the fields of counter measures against cyber attack and interception of global communication systems.

One nation’s exclusive use of advanced information science and technology for strategic purposes raises a new problem in the field of national security.

- NATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN SECURITY

The concept of security has usually been understood in terms of “national security,” which involves using arms to defend a particular country from outside enemies. However, starting from about the time of the 1982 report *Common Security* (*8) issued by the Palme Commission, there were signs of change in the concept of security, which developed fully in the 1990s after the Cold War. People’s security was no longer threatened by nuclear war between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and there were talks about various other kinds of security. For example, people started seeing the deterioration of the global environment as a threat to security, leading to the concept of environmental security. Especially important is the concept of “human security,” which rapidly gained popularity after the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) introduced it in the 1994 *Human Development Report*. The intent of the UNDP in promoting this concept was to make a fresh appeal for the importance of sound development in the developing countries, but Peace Studies and NGOs recognized the importance of human security and quickly adopted it. This concept is also attractive to governments: The Canadian and Japanese governments began using it as a foreign policy slogan. The human security concept has always been ill-defined, for example, regarding the role of military force, and it is used in various contexts and for various purposes. Nevertheless, the significance of this concept lies in the fact that the individual — each person’s life and livelihood — is proposed as the entity

whose security is to be assured.

2) GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

When a large-scale natural disaster and/or massacre is taking place in a state and another state or a group of states intervenes with armed force to stop it without the consent of the former, it is called “humanitarian intervention”. Under current international law, there is a strong sense that humanitarian intervention is illegal because of the principle that prohibits the use of force against another sovereign state in Article 2.4 of the UN Charter. However, the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia was said to be humanitarian since it was meant to stop the widespread human rights violations and genocide of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. That claim catalyzed the vigorous argument that humanitarian intervention should be legally sanctioned. A report entitled “The Responsibility to Protect”(*9) submitted in December 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, which was established in response to an appeal from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and under a Canadian government initiative, is to date the best-thought-out position on this issue. This report starts its discussion with the responsibility of sovereign states to protect their citizens, and its position is that international society can intervene when sovereign states cannot discharge their responsibility to protect. It says that while it is important to prevent humanitarian crises, military intervention is also legitimate in cases of large-scale loss of human lives and ethnic cleansing. The report enumerates conditions that justify a military intervention. By contrast, there is an assertion from the viewpoint of many NGOs and the Peace Constitution of Japan that intervention has to be non-military and non-violent even when necessity of intervention by the international society arises to stop meaningless suffering and massacre of innocent people.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION BY NON-MILITARY MEANS

Military force, as generals well know, has limitations and cannot solve all problems, so there is a growing number of experts who claim that conflict resolution and conflict transformation by non-military means is better in achieving permanent peace and stability than using military means. Kenneth Boulding, an eminent economist and peace researcher who worked in Canada and the US, is known for promoting this thesis. Especially since the 1980s there have been practical efforts around the world to address conflicts in a non-military, non-violent way. Three examples can be mentioned here.

The first example is a method of non-violent intervention by NGOs. A team of unarmed but trained multinational citizens goes to a conflict area upon request and makes efforts to keep conflict from turning violent by providing surveillance and escorts. This can be regarded as deterring violence under the very eye of international society. Peace Brigades International, which was founded in 1981, Nonviolent Peace Force, founded in 2002, and other organizations practice

nonviolent intervention of this sort.

The second example is that of the Civil Peace Service of Germany and other European countries. In such programs governments fund the sending of “peace workers” to conflict areas, where the workers help build peace through non-military and non-violent means. This is a joint NGO/government project in Germany, which was the first to launch the Civil Peace Service in the late 1990s. A number of European countries have Civil Peace Services of various kinds.

The third example is that of the UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs), where the role of civilians instead of the military is increasing. In the composite peacekeeping operations of the 1990s, civilian police officers, lawyers, and other non-military personnel played very big roles.

GLOBALIZATION AND THE AGGRAVATION OF POVERTY

With the introduction of Neo-Liberalism in 1980s, globalization was promoted by the initiative of “mega-industries”, and after the end of the Cold War in the 1990s the world economy underwent large-scale globalization.

Whereas “internationalization” means a market economy open to foreign investment and its expansion within the unit of the nation state, globalization means the expansion of a market beyond the nation-state in a borderless world. There is an undeniable aspect of Americanization or the “internationalization of the American standard” in globalization, and some fear that economic conflict between the U.S. and E.U. may result from an expanding euro economy that could threaten the dollar economy.

The world economy in the 21st century has been steadily expanding, with the growth of 1.0 % in 2001, 1.9% in 2002, 2.6% in 2003, and 4.1% in 2004. In spite of this we note increasing poverty and a widening of the income gap. A *casino economy* has been emerging on the other hand. In facing the globalization of the world economy, Japan cannot be confident about its own situation. However, the primary victims of globalization are people in developing countries, and it is possible that their political and economic poverty might reach a point of no return.

GLOBAL TERRORISM

In general the increase of both poverty and inequality, especially the widening gap between the rich and the poor, provides a fertile breeding ground for terrorism. The purpose of terrorism is to assert political claims and ideals by causing psychological fear, which is characteristic in the time of revolution and civil war. In recent years terrorism can be seen frequently not only in areas of conflict but also in other areas. Therefore it is a matter of great urgency to investigate the causes of terrorism and research the means to prevent it. Professor Jan Schreiber, an expert in criminal law at Harvard University, called terrorism “the ultimate weapon” and pointed out the impossibility of dealing with it adequately(*10). If this is true, there is a similarity between terrorism and nuclear weapons—there is no adequate defense against either one. At the peak of the fierce nuclear arms race between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. the two

countries possessed almost 70,000 nuclear weapons, and the only “defense” against nuclear weapons was the mutual threat to use nuclear weapons. In the same way, if terrorism is fought using force, violence will prevail in all societies, which would create unstable conditions. Furthermore, fundamental human rights would be violated daily in the name of “war against terrorism” and democratic systems could collapse. If globalization continues to transform international society and aggravate economic inequalities among the nations of the world, terrorism would be also globalized. Hence it is necessary to analyze the causes of terrorism scientifically and make scientific efforts to build societies in which people can live without fear.

THE PROBLEM OF UNILATERALISM

After the end of the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. the United States became the only superpower and adopted a policy of unilateral action, abandoning the framework of solutions based on multilateralism generally agreed upon by the international society. This “Bush doctrine” proposed by the powerful group of neo-conservatives in the U.S. administration includes taking forceful military measures by special units or aerial bombardment by the navy or the air force against various targets in violation of United Nations resolutions and international law. Examples of U.S. unilateralism are: rejection of the Kyoto Protocol for the prevention of global warming, the denial of the ratification of the CTBT, and the war against Iraq without U.N. approval. The question “Are you with us or with terrorists?” was repeatedly asked by the US as it carried out preemptive attacks against enemy states branded “rogue nations” or accused of being part of the “axis of evil” and possessing weapons of mass destruction (WMD) without sufficient evidence being offered. One cannot avoid the suspicion that the U.S. wishes to control the oil resources in Iraq. The United States, the world’s most powerful nation, shows no intention of abolishing nuclear weapons but rather increases the dangers of nuclear war by promoting the missile defense program and developing “usable nuclear weapons.” This is a departure from the policy that refrained from using nuclear weapons in combat after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is one of the important subjects in modern Peace Studies to analyze U.S. unilateralism scientifically and clarify its importance in addressing global issues in cooperation with the international society.

3) ASPECTS OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

- ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION/POLLUTION AND PEACE

Environmental destruction and pollution often cause disputes among communities or broader conflicts based on the widening of the economic gap between rich and poor. In other words, as is often the case with acquisition of wealth, economic activity often results in the destruction of natural resources,

which must be treated as the shared heritage of all human beings (*11). Industrial activities causing, such as deforestation, mining of underground resources, and overexploitation of fishery resources, cause not only the depletion of natural resources but also the environmental destruction of local resources. Destruction of natural resources in particular, could endanger the survival of human beings, widen the disparity in wealth, and then finally evolve into the social antagonism or armed conflict. Illegal dumping, for example, is another way of destroying the natural environment, and jeopardizing the fairness of society. The fact that the illegal dumping is eliminated taxation means that people who are not responsible for such injustice are forced to compensate for others.

(*2) Hardin, G. (1968), The tragedy of the commons, *Science*, 162.

AIDS AND OTHER INFECTIOUS DISEASES

HIV/AIDS became a threat to humanity in the 1980s for the first time. As of today, approximately 60 million people have been infected, and about 3 million people die every year. It is feared that 45 million people in 126 low and medium income nations may become infected between 2002 and 2010, unless prevention efforts are reinforced on an international scale. In particular, as many as 29 million infected persons, which corresponds to more than 70% of all the infected persons in the world, live in Africa. Any nation with as many as one fifth of its total population infected by HIV/AIDS may be in danger of collapse.

Nevertheless, because no vaccine against HIV/AIDS has been developed at present, education is the most important way of preventing its spread. Special consideration is therefore required for the young and women in the nations where education is traditionally difficult to carry out.

In addition, malaria is prevalent in more than 90 nations and regions, and approximately 300 million people are infected every year. Every year 8 million people are newly infected with tuberculosis, which is the greatest cause of death of adults in developing nations(*12).

Such infectious diseases have become a social problem that not only developing nations but also advanced nations cannot overlook, because of increasing mobility of populations and increasing globalization. The United Nations has set up the “Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria” (GFATM), and has requested financial contributions from each nation. However, nations’ failure up to now to support the program makes it impossible to mount an adequate campaign against these deadly diseases.

• PROBLEMS OF RELIGION, RACE, AND ETHNICITY

Differences between religions, races, and ethnicities were potential elements of conflict even during the Cold War period, but they have emerged more urgently since its end. So-called ethnic identity has become one of the most troublesome elements of conflict in the world today.

Of course, if commonality of religions, races, and ethnicities (“factors of civilization”) takes on politically exclusive and competitive character, it tends to

become the element of violent confrontation. And the social system of any nation has, more or less, an inseparable relationship with the inherent factors of civilization.

For that reason, mutual exchange and understanding in the areas of politics, economy, and culture are a vital necessity, particularly in addressing the violent conflicts related to the Islamic nations in recent years. The importance of dialogue can be seen in the UN's designation of the year 2001 as "The United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations" following the proposal of a "Dialogue of Civilizations" made by the former Iranian President Hatami in contradistinction against the "Clash of Civilizations" by Samuel Huntington, an American political scientist.

Although some conflicts may appear as "clash of civilizations", it is necessary to dig beneath the surface and uncover the structural violence of the so-called North-South problem epitomized by such social issues as unemployment, poverty, and class discrepancies. Problems of religions, races, and ethnicities cannot be grasped superficially as conflicts and misunderstanding between heterogeneous cultures. Scientific investigation of their extreme complexity is of an utmost importance for world peace.

• GENDER ISSUES AS STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Peace Studies tries to eliminate structural violence, and it is obvious that it also should deal with gender issues from such a perspective. In the 1990s, the United Nations held mammoth conferences and adopted action plans on children, the environment, human rights, population, social development (abolishing poverty, increasing employment, and social integration), shelters, and education. It may be the political will of participating governments to work toward the achievement of such action plans, but at the same time, it is the women in the world who finally determine the result. Women are the chief victims of wars and carry the real burdens of poverty; they are also the people who must play the pivotal role in peace-building and sustainable development. Therefore women's rights, abilities, and dignity should be fully recognized and developed.

For that reason, it is important that everyone, regardless of sex, should become sensitive to the gender issues and understand the process through which people customarily accept "the theory of exclusion" which makes them intolerant toward people who are different, and systematize that intolerance socially, especially as regards the suppression of women. Peace Studies should analyze, criticize and work to address the problems of "power politics" in human social structure concerning sex and gender. By doing so, we all will learn to critically reassess our way of thinking and attitudes, and improve our behavior patterns.

4) MEMORIES OF WAR AND THE PROBLEM OF RESPONSIBILITY

WAR RESPONSIBILITY AND COMPENSATION

In recent years conflicts surfaced in different interpretations of history

between Japan and the neighboring nations. However, already in 1986 Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone gave up his visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, saying that if an official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine where particular leaders responsible for the war of aggression were enshrined results in offending national feelings of the people in the neighboring nations in Asia, it ought to be avoided. In 1993 Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa expressed his deep remorse and apology to the countless people for their unbearable sufferings because of Japan's past war of aggression and colonization. Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, also in the similar tone in 1994, expressed the importance of objective understanding of history and transmitting it to the future generation. These careful utterances by successive Japanese Prime Ministers to our neighbors show very clearly what kind of behavior Japan should exhibit in Asia, where it has become one of the economic powers of the world.

With regard to war compensation China, Taiwan, and Korea renounced the principle of national reparations. However, it should be noted that in recent years over 70 cases of victims of the war such as the "comfort women" and "forced laborers" sued the Japanese Government, claiming that an individual right of compensation remains still valid.

In order for the Science Council of Japan to contribute to establishing peaceful relationships with the countries concerned, it is important to develop a common understanding of history in cooperation with the equivalent academic organizations of our neighboring countries. In this connection, historical processes of the Tokyo Military Tribunal, the San Francisco Treaty, and dyad diplomatic relations in the region as well as Japan's uncompleted war responsibility, a scientific view of the Allied Forces historical responsibility for the aerial bombings of over 60 Japanese major cities beginning with Tokyo, and the issue of Japanese POWs in Siberia held by the Soviet Union should be brought to light.

5) TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF PEACE

SYMBIOSIS OF MULTI-ETHNICITY AND PENETRATION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

On the one hand, the world in the 21st Century is experiencing a staggering integration as is seen in the example of the borderless European Union with its unified currency and the symbiosis of many different ethnicities and cultures, but on the other, even among the EU nations, there has been a reactionary surge of racism, xenophobia, and ethno-centrism, which threatens the realization of a harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-cultural human society. However, the quintessence of democratic society is a full guarantee of the human rights of racial, ethnic, sexual, cultural and linguistic minorities, and this is also the foundation of peace and social stability. The extent to which ethnic minorities, including foreign laborers, refugees, and indigenous people can pursue their rights as citizens of society without persecution and exclusion provides the true measure of human welfare at community, national, and international levels.

This is also an urgent task that we need to address now when the war on terrorism and globalization exacerbate the life of the minorities and people with the lowest income. Symbiosis of multi-ethnicities and multi-cultures has to grow in quality in the very process of pursuit of such a goal. At individual, social, organizational, national, and communal levels, a social structure full of the spirit of generosity and tolerance should be pursued and created through mutual dialogue.

THE ROLE OF ARTS IN PEACE-BUILDING

In recent years, with the spread of research and education of Peace Studies, the theme “art and peace” has become popular in such academic associations as the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ), the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), and the International Conference of Peace Museums (ICPM). As the world appears more interrelated in the 21st Century, Peace Studies must enrich itself through cooperation with various disciplines and the wide front of activities in order to diversify and reinforce soft power to create world peace.

To accomplish such an aim, efforts have been made to coordinate the various areas of arts and activities with Peace Studies in which the theme of arts existed in the past only as a peripheral field. The integration of Peace Studies, Peace Education, and Peace Movement constitutes a trio in the new direction by liberating Peace Studies from the ivory tower and enriching civil society. All genres of arts from Music to literature, drama, dance, films, architecture, painting, sculpture and photography need to be evaluated from a scholarly point of view for enhancing the quality of peace.

PEACE CULTURE

Diverse lifestyles and various institutions which human beings created by way of exploiting nature for food, clothing, and shelter are called “cultures”. Also a society where conflict resolution by violent means is prevalent is considered to be artificial and not a given in human nature. To understand the state of nature as a “war of every man against every man” (Hobbes) merely reflects the age when such a thought was natural and can hardly be said to provide a scientific explanation of human society. There are also prominent research findings which falsify the proposition (*13).

Apart from research findings, a simple comparison of the American society, where alleged rationale of self-protection justifies gun ownership with the ensuing result of high crime rate, and other advanced societies reinforces the argument against the Hobbesian view of human nature. That the human beings are essentially peaceful and wars and violence are a distortion of human nature was advanced by the classic writings by J. J. Rousseau as well as by the “Seville Statement on Violence” (*14) endorsed by contemporary scientists.

The United Nations General Assembly designated the year 2000 as “The

International Year of the Culture of Peace” and the years from 2001 to 2010 as “The Decade of the Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World” in an effort to achieve world peace. The “Seville Statement on Violence” denies even the theory of violent instinct (violent drive) in human nature from the scientific point of view. It would be one of the responsibilities of the Science Council of Japan to join the controversy and positively contribute to the scientific clarification of the issue in close cooperation with such international organization as the UNESCO.

PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education is education that aims at a critical review of war in the past and building peace by peaceful means thereby cultivating inward peace such as gentleness and thoughtfulness toward others at the same time. Peace education includes, therefore, the critical study of such social phenomena as militarism and imperialism as well as Social Darwinism, which encourages the survival of the fittest in human society. In contrast peace education is based on the “philosophy of symbiosis”.

Peace education aims at fostering the ability of imagination and creativity and to use them in promoting peace in the areas of social sciences and arts in school education. However, education of arts, language and history should be protected against abuse by particular politics that encourages violence.

Peace education promotes the principle of non-violence sought in a wide variety of areas from the proliferation of nuclear weapons, to “an eye for an eye” kind of violent conflicts using physical force, violent exchange of military operations and counter attack by suicide bombers, murder by secondary school students, indifference to poverty, and disorder in developing countries. Thus, the necessity for peace education inside as well as outside of school premises is increasing both at home and overseas.

Also the role of peace museums in peace education has been newly re-evaluated in recent years, and Japan may expect to make an international contribution as “the only country where a peace museum movement exists” (Peter van den Dungen). Of over 100 peace museums in the world today more than the half are found in Japan. Accordingly, Japan has been playing an important role in “The International Network of Museums for Peace”.

PEACE MOVEMENT

The peace movement is not only an indicator of maturing democracy and a mechanism to rectify defects of a law-abiding state, but also assumes a similar role in the international community. The grassroots peace movements have contributed so much to making the world a safer place by opposing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the spread of militaristic ideology, the military-industrial complex. President Dwight Eisenhower used the term for the first time and warned people of its escalation in his famous farewell speech, arms trade, militarization of ocean and space, covering up war crimes, and the like.

U.S. peace groups have been remarkably successful in turning Americans

against nuclear weapons. In 1945, 69 percent of Americans thought that the development of the atomic bomb was a good thing and only 17 percent thought that it was a bad thing. But, thanks to the peace movement's education of the American public about the horrors of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, these attitudes were gradually reversed. By 1998 (the last year for which there is polling data), only 36 percent of Americans thought the Bomb's development was a good thing, and 61 percent thought it was a bad thing (Gallup 1999, 77)" according to Lawrence S. Wittner, Professor of History at the State University of New York(*15). Furthermore, peace movements sprang up at various places in the world even before the war on Iraq started. There was even a change of a regime in Spain.

Originally Peace Studies started from a peace movement in search of a peaceful world. Therefore, most issues dealt with in Peace Studies reflect various issues already addressed in peace movement. The anti-nuclear movement in Japan is a case in point and well known internationally. Also important are other activities for peace such as recording U.S. air-raids on various cities, preserving war-related sites, dealing with Japan's war responsibility, and international exchanges for friendship with other countries. These activities are important subjects of Peace Studies. The peace movement is the most important and last bulwark to prevent war, and its theoretical research is one of the urgent and important subjects to deal with in Peace Studies.

. INHERITANCE OF HISTORICAL LEGACY AND THE NEED FOR ITS FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

As described above, it is clear that despite the spectacular progress in science and technology the perpetual prosperity of the world is not only threatened, but even faces the question of its very survival due to the menace of nuclear weapons, environmental pollution, population explosion, and poverty caused by uneven distribution of the world's wealth. Enter Peace Studies that is said to be "the ultimate science for human survival". Such a science has to be further developed by means of unceasing interdisciplinary cooperation among scholars, as it is the necessary condition for consolidating the foundation of all human activities—politics, economy, industry, education, arts, sports, entertainment, etc.

Unless we can firmly lay such a foundation, the prosperity of nations and the security of the globalized world would remain a castle in the air, a mere illusion. It goes without saying that we must make every effort in education for peace in order to achieve the ideal of peaceful human coexistence. Thus, Peace Studies/Peace Research and Peace Education must work together and contribute to the peace and security of the international society. It is also the historic responsibility of the Science Council of Japan, which has clearly committed to "contribute to the peaceful reconstruction of Japan and the welfare of the world through a general consensus of scientists," and it should be passed on as an important scientific legacy to the future administration of the Science Council of

Japan.

SCJ's vigorous pursuit of investigating "causes of war and conditions for peace" ever since its inception is based on the aforementioned historic legacy and is inseparably related to international problems which the Committee for Peace Research of the SCJ has continuously been dealing with. As a scientific community, the SCJ has a special responsibility to overcome both direct and structural violence to build world peace from a higher perspective of human interests rather than national interests and to establish a breakthrough in the struggle for peace and security of the world.

NOTES

- *1) Position Paper (Recommendation of the IX. Science Council of Japan) "Wagakuni ni okeru Heiwakenkyuu no Sokushin ni tsuite" (On Promoting Peace Research in Japan) November, 1974
- *2) IPRA Yooran (A Compendium of the Activities of IPRA) (pamphlet) , Overseas Research Material of the X. Science Council of Japan, 1977.
- *3) "Heiwa ni kansuru Kenkyuu no Sokushin ni tsuite—Heiwagaku no Rekishi, Genjoo oyobi Kadai" (On Promoting Research on Peace—History, Present Condition, and Tasks) , Position Paper of the XV. Science Council of Japan, April, 1994.
- *4) "Heiwagaku no Kenkyuusuishin no Teigen—Nihon no Gakujutsukenkyuusha no Jisei" (Recommendation for Promoting Research on Peace Studies—A Self-Reflection of Japanese Academic Researchers), Position Paper of the XVIII. Science Council of Japan, November, 2002. Adopted in the SCJ's English PR pamphlet for overseas readers In Pursuit of Peace, Human Rights and Human Security: A Message from Japanese Scientific Community, 2005.
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- *6) Ayako Miyoshi, Susumu Wakai, Tomomi Kozaki, Yoshinori Ikezumi (eds.): Heiwa, Jinken, NGO (Peace, Human Rights, and NGO), Shinhyouron, 2004.
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