My Correspondence with Bertrand Russell on Peace (III)

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

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September 13, 1963

My Lord:
Thank you very much for your kind letter of August 21. I have been doing my best to make your views publicly known. I should tell you that I already did begin to make a public expression of your views according to your letter of July 31.

(1) I read your letter, as I informed you in my last letter, on the night of August 9 before 300 persons.

(2) The newspaper "Asahi" published your letter with my brief commentary in the August 11 issue, which was enclosed in my last letter. This news was spread all over the country. My teacher and friends living in Tokyo wrote to me that they had read the news with interest.

(3) My speech about your letter and thought was twice broadcast by radio, both on August 6 and 13, being restricted within narrow limits.

(4) A chief of the organization bureau of Nagasaki Branch of the Japan Socialist Party came to see me, having read the news of the "Asahi", and transmitted to me a request of the headquarters in Tokyo to write an essay about your letter for the organ of the Party. I wrote about your thought
according to your Manifesto and "Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare". My article, which was published in the August 25 issue, was spread among the members of the Party everywhere in Japan.

(5) A newsman of the "Asahi" asked me to write something about the peace problem for its Kyushu edition. I wrote a short essay "Bertrand Russell’s distress", which was published in the August 31 issue. In it I described your thought definitely, separating you from the Japanese revolutionary peace movement. Now I began to make your view publicly known after your letter of August 21.

(1) On August 30 I telephoned to the "Asahi". A newsman told me that my article would be published, having been censored by editors, in the literary column of the paper or in the "Asahi Journal", the best weekly magazine in Japan. I do not know when it will be published in the paper.

(2) On the same day, I wrote a letter to the Iwanami Company, a famous publisher, asking my essay’s publication in the magazine "Sekai", which means the World.

(3) On August 31 I telephoned to the Nagasaki Branch of the Japan Socialist Party. A clerk answered to me that he would immediately report your letter to the headquarters of the Party in Tokyo. After several days, a chief, above mentioned, asked me to write a serial essay about you and your thought for the party organ. I consented to his request. I delivered the first part to him yesterday. In it I outlined your whole philosophy and books in order that Japanese partymen might entertain friendly sentiments to you. In the next parts I will write about your activity in World War
I and after World war II. I will, also, describe your letters to me. The 11th Congress of the World Association of the World Federalists was held for four days in Tokyo and for two days in Kyoto. Lord Attlee played the most important part in enlightenment, through telebroadcasting and contributions.

On September 1st, the largest meetings against the U. S. Nuclear-Submarines' port call were held in Sasebo and Yokosuka, where about 200,000 men and women (about 100,000 according to the announcement of the police), Socialist and Communist Parties members, trade unionists and others, gathered from all over Japan.

I deeply hope that you will publish "Unarmed Victory" very soon.

With all good wishes,

Very respectfully yours,

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

Bertrand Russell answered my letter as follows:

September 20, 1963

Dear Mr. Iwamatsu:

Thank you very much for your letter. I am surprised to learn my book Unarmed Victory has not been published in Japan as it has been published widely elsewhere. Thank you for making known my views.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell
My Lord:

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I have not made sure that your book *Unarmed Victory* has been published in Japan. I have been waiting for its coming to hand, because you wrote to me in your letter of June 7th, "I am forwarding a copy of my recent book *Unarmed Victory*".

Did anyone already offer to translate the book into Japanese? As most of your popular books were put into Japanese soon after their publication, I suppose that some publisher will propose to get a right to translation.

I wish I had enough time to translate it very soon. I am inclined to do so, if you think I have the ability to do so.

I think Professor Jun-ichi Aomi, Tokyo University, who rendered Alan Wood’s "Bertrand Russell" into very good Japanese, is the best qualified translator.

By the way, "Bertrand Russell" by Wood is very interesting. I would like to say, however, that he ought to have described your work for peace much more minutely.

For twenty days I have been writing a serial essay for the organ of the Japan Socialist Party. I have nearly finished it. Having investigated your views and activities historically, I have found your life and thought arouse my interest much more than before. I can say my essay will encourage the Socialist Party to work for peace.

The newspaper "Asahi" inserted my short essay in its September 21 issue, which will be enclosed in my next letter.
am afraid that its publication was restricted to the Kyushu island edition, for my intimates living in Tokyo have never written to me in reference to it.
I have never heard that the Council Against A. & H. Bombs has resumed its activity.
The Japan Socialist Party decided to organize its own campaign for peace.
The largest political problem in Japan is that of U.S. Nuclear-Submarines' call at ports. There are, nowadays, many other serious social problems in Japan, including the fear of the spread through Japan of cholera infection in Korea.

With every good wish,

Very respectfully yours,

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

To this letter, Russell sent me a letter as follows:

October 3, 1963

Dear Mr. Iwamatsu:
Thank you very much for your recent letter. I am sorry to learn that the copy of "Unarmed Victory" sent you did not arrive and I enclose another together with material on the two Peace Foundations recently formed.
We hope we shall be able to secure very widespread individual financial support while large sums are being accumulated simultaneously. I hope you assist in this and contribute yourself.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell
In this letter, there were enclosed very important materials concerning the establishment of the two Peace Foundations as well as one copy of "Unarmed Victory."

One of the materials was "Statement by Bertrand Russell at Television Interview and Press Conference on launching of Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and Atlantic Peace Foundation, 29 September, 1963."

The other was an uncorrected proof of the prospectus of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

These two are both important documents which marked an epoch in the history of the resistance movement.

Russell's statement on launching two Peace Foundations was as follows:

We are announcing the establishment of two Foundations for Peace: The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the Atlantic Peace Foundation. The Atlantic Peace Foundation is now a registered charity and will conduct the research necessary for the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

The future of the movement against nuclear war depends on the ambitiousness of its aims. All the various mass movements in different countries have been seriously hampered because it has been impossible to sustain an argument before the peoples of the world. There is an unbelievable amount of ignorance among governments and peoples regarding the nature of the danger, its imminence and its magnitude. The anti-war movements have lived from hand to mouth. They have gone begging to the press and film media for a crumb of publicity. That publicity which has been achieved concerning the danger of nuclear war and the necessity
of disarmament has been distorted, inadequate and sporadic.

The problems of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100 are essentially derived from the conspiracy against the truth about the danger of nuclear war which exists in an organised mass society. The titbits about divergence and difference have no importance in comparison with the truth about the conspiracy against making the public understand the danger of nuclear war and the necessity to act quickly to prevent that danger from being realised. It is said that the Test Ban Treaty, in some curious way, invalidates the past work of the movement or makes it unnecessary for it to continue. What a gross misconception this is. The United States and the Soviet Union have stockpiled the equivalent of 320,000 million tons of TNT. In order to exhaust that arsenal of death, it would be necessary to use the total explosive power employed during the entirety of the Second World War each day for 146 years. Why has this not been made known to the public? The United States and the Soviet Union can eliminate organic life on the planet many times over in an instant. The Test Ban Treaty has done very little to remove that danger, or lessen the immediacy of the need to campaign against the delivery systems of great governments and their stockpiles.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is being brought into existence to investigate the causes of cold war and to pursue such measures as may diminish and eliminate the risk of war. We intend to develop our own media of communication — radio, press, films, journals — a community of discussion which will not depend upon establishment controlled or governmental intimidated press. I call your attention to those who are supporting these efforts. They include the Secretary-General of the United
Nations and the leader of one of the great neutral countries. We at last offer to all who sympathise with the aims of the Foundations a means of creating a voice which must be heard in the countries affected by the Cold War. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is going to develop the means of creating a climate of influence and a channel for combatting the lies in which governments and their servants indulge concerning the desperately vital issues of life and death in a nuclear age. We have already received strong indications of support from individuals in many parts of the world who are in a position to promote this work.

Essential in our plans is the Atlantic Peace Foundation, an organisation which is created to investigate and to do research in the areas pertinent to the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation: disarmament, peace and the danger of war. It is essential to create a permanent structure for the work of the peace movement and these two Foundations will seek to do just that. We can no longer allow this work to be conducted in a haphazard, hand-to-mouth, manner, with our ideas and our efforts at the mercy of those who are essentially hostile to them.

Man faces two supreme menaces to his existence. The world is racked with hatred. Wherever one looks, fratricidal violence is rampant. Cruelty is pervasive. I am, at the moment, actively appealing on behalf of political prisoners, many of them suffering torture, in 23 countries: East, West and neutral. Elementary human problems, such as the re-union of families, seem to be beyond the capability of governments. There is little time to learn elementary lessons of decency and tolerance. The Atlantic Peace Foundation will investigate the circumstances of victims of racial, religious and political persecution and all breaches of individual
human rights. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation will enlarge past efforts in the light of the investigations conducted by the Atlantic Peace Foundation. Throughout my life, and especially since 1914, I have witnessed an increase in the unbounded cruelty of authority. One is driven almost to despair by the growth of intolerance and the anguished cries which reach one from all parts of the world. Wherever one looks, whether at the condition of Africans in South Africa, the Negroes in the United States, the Jews in the Soviet Union, the Naga in India, the semistarvation of two-thirds of mankind, the fanatical conflicts which rack whole areas of the globe, one is faced with the menace of authoritarianism and the manner in which it contributes to the danger of extinction for our species. If men are unfree to question those who hold power, and if those who find the courage to do so are tormented, there is small hope that humanity will survive. The psychological distance between torturing one human being and preparing to blot out hundreds of millions of them in a moment is not as great as one might think. Each act betrays an absence of compassion and a failure of imagination.

I have strong hopes that people in all countries, rich and poor, will respond to the aims of these two Foundations with their support. This undertaking will be one of the most ambitious ever attempted by a non-governmental movement and we have every evidence that it will take the struggle against nuclear war and for human rights to a new level of activity and achievement.

The above statement clearly and definitely declares the beginning of the magnificent systematic activity for peace. We can say this is as splendid as the Russell-Einstein Declaration. The
main objects at which the two Foundations' aim may well be said to consist of two. The one is to research into the truth in the various areas such as war, conflict, disarmament, and communication, and the other to provide people with the inquired truth through its own media.

The first one of the objects is planned to be pursued by the Atlantic Peace Foundation and the second is designed by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

Bertrand Russell issued a message referring to the latter in the uncorrected proof of the prospectus above mentioned, as follows.

"We who have been working, day in and day out over a period of many years, against the threat of nuclear destruction have known the frustration of being without access to means of communicating our views or of systematically providing people with an alternative to the desperate policies pursued by governments. We have spoken, written, met and demonstrated. There are some of us, however, who do not feel that our efforts have measured up to the gravity of the situation; nor, despite the dedication of those who have joined in this work, have our efforts been co-ordinated internationally so that our numbers could be felt and our actions made effective.

"The Peace Foundation, which comes into existence after lengthy and careful preparation, intends to organise on a scale never before attempted the establishment of our own media of mass communication for the furtherance of international work against nuclear war. We shall cease to depend on those paid by authority to lie on their behalf.

"This effort and this undertaking can only succeed if it obtains the determined support of every individual sympathetic to the
cause of immediate nuclear disarmament and of human survival. The cumulative result of such support can be overwhelming: the creation of a radio station capable of covering Western Europe, without any dependence upon those who market in human destruction.

“This brochure sets out briefly the immediate work of the Foundation. We are preparing more detailed and elaborate literature reflecting the work of past months. I appeal to all in every country to support this work now.”

In the other pages of the prospectus, the recent efforts of Russell to develop a movement of international resistance to the threat of nuclear war and some of the Foundation’s projects are described.

Russell’s efforts for international resistance can be briefly summarized as follows:

(a) Russell has been instrumental in helping to ease international crises and to create the conditions for their settlement. The Cuban crisis, the Sino-Indian border conflict, the Arab-Israeli dispute, the problem of Berlin and the future of central Europe.

(b) He has sought to mobilise neutralist opinion on the side of international sanity.

(c) He has assisted the development of popular resistance to nuclear war in dozens of countries. He is an international symbol of resistance to World War III.

(d) He has aided hundreds of victims of the cold war and of arbitrary governments, both East and West. Political prisoners in many countries owe their release to his personal intervention on their behalf.
(c) He has made more widely known the facts about modern warfare.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation was established for developing Russell's excellent efforts. Russell wrote the circumstances at the time of originating the Foundation in his book "The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell", Volume III, as follows.

"All this work steadily mounted in demand. By 1963, it was rapidly becoming more than one individual could carry on alone even with the extraordinarily able and willing help that I had. Moreover, the expenses of journeys and correspondence ———— written, telegraphed and telephoned ———— and of secretaries and co-workers was becoming more than my private funds could cover. And the weight of responsibility of being an entirely one-man show was heavy ...... This (organization) should be not just for this or that purpose. It should be for any purpose that would forward the struggle against war and the armaments race, and against the unrest and the injustices suffered by oppressed individuals and peoples that in very large part caused these. Such an organization could grow to meet the widely differing demands. It could, also, reorientate itself as circumstances changed." (p.158)

such being the Foundation's objects and efforts, I would add some of its projects. The Foundation has, at present, projects of (a) newspaper to publish news which elsewhere is suppressed or ignored, (b) printing and publishing facilities free from commercial and political pressures, (c) films which speak to the imagination about the realities of the nuclear age, and (d) a radio station to serve as an international voice for nuclear disarmament.

The Foundation's plans are ambitious and necessarily need vast financial support.
November 21, 1963

My Lord:
Thank you very much for your kind letter, statement, program and “Unarmed Victory.”
I am greatly impressed by your statement on the launching of two Peace Foundations. It is my great honour to give my strongest support to them.
I have learnt that, according to your kind letter, you had already sent me a copy of “Unarmed Victory,” which I have never received. I wonder why it did not arrive.
“Unarmed Victory,” I believe, is a very momentous and attractive book, which I would like to translate into Japanese.
Since February of this year, your secretary has inserted a note on the Bertrand Russell Peace Fund, London, (Mr. Alastair Yule, Treasurer) in every letter which you have sent to me. I raised subscriptions from my intimate friends and acquaintances and collected contributions which amount to £17-10-0, including mine. What is the connection between the B. R. Peace Fund and the two Peace Foundations? Of course, I will support them financially as well as spiritually hereafter as before.
I am glad to inform you that I have been gradually recognized as a spokesman, as it were, for you in Japan. I have caught as many chances as I can to make your thinking about peace known.
The chief editor of the Japanese magazine “Today’s Focus” (Gendai-no-Me) asked me to write an essay concerning your
thought and my opinion about Japanese and the international peace movement. The magazine reported that you had sent your message to the Peace Conference held in Kansai, including Kyoto, Osaka and other places. I met, also, the editors of the organs of the Japan Socialist Party. My serial essay, of which I reported in my letter of September 28, was published in the magazine of the Party. My essay which was inserted in the September 21 issue of Kyushu edition of the nation-wide paper “Asahi” is enclosed here. I referred to your three letters of June 7, July 31, and August 21 in it. Today is the polling day for electing members of the House of Representatives.

With every good wish,

Very respectfully yours,

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

P. S. According to the announcement in the morning of 22nd, the conservative influence seems to have grown and the Japan Socialist Party seems to be unable to win one-third of all the seats which are necessary to protect the Peace Constitution.

To this letter, Russell sent me the following letter.

December 3, 1963

Dear Mr. Iwamatsu:

Thank you very much for your recent letter. I am most grateful to you for the contributions which you have collected for our work.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell
Russell was so kind that he wrote me a letter of acknowledgment to my sending donations (April 10 of this year) even after more than six months.

November 29, 1963

My Lord:
I have begun to inform the Japanese people of your two Foundations.
(1) I wrote letters to the editors of magazines “Today’s Focus”, “World”, and “Monthly Socialist Party”.
(2) I wrote letters to some young scholars with whom I have acquaintance.
(3) I went to the press club in Nagasaki City Hall on the 27th, and read your statement on the two Foundations. The newsmen had never known about them. Among the newspapers of the 28th, the nation-wide edition of the “Mainichi” (which means Everyday) and the local edition of the “Nishinihon” (which means West Japan) inserted my declaration. Both papers are no less great in circulation than the “Asahi”. The news stories explained that you had sent me a letter together with material on the two Peace Foundations, which had two different spheres of activity ———— practice and research ———— and that I intended to organize a strong supporting solidarity. These two news stories are enclosed here.
I believe that your two Foundations will be supported by many peace-loving individuals in Japan.
The peace march will start here on the 30th of November to Shimonoseki, where a west Japanese peace meeting against the U. S. Nuclear Sub. port call and for acquiring the Law of Economic and Medical Aid for the A. Bomb Victims will be held on the 8th of December, on which date in 1941 the Japanese Imperial Air Force attacked Pearl Harbor. The result of the election of members of the House of Representatives will, by some means, protect the Peace Constitution.

With every good wish,

Very respectfully yours,

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

Russell answered me as follows:

December 13, 1963

Dear Mr. Iwamatsu:
I was very pleased to receive your letter and to learn of your efforts to make known the two Peace Foundations. I hope very much that we get a strong response from the people of Japan.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell

December 17, 1963

My Lord:
Thank you very much for your kind letter. My contribution of £17, which was, unfortunately, too small, was restricted, in its amount, by the authorized way of sending money to
foreign countries.
I appreciate your two Foundations' importance, and, as I already wrote to you, I began to inform the public about your Foundations.
I have spoken to my students during my lectures and at the "Anti-war meeting" held at my university on the 13th of this month.
Professor Iwao Ogawa, Rikkyo University, who had been present at the Pugwash Conferences, told me that it was for the first time he was informed of the two Peace Foundations, and asked me to send a copy of your statement and prospectus on them. He added that he would show them to Dr. Tonomaga and other scholars of natural science. I have had many copies of them made, and have sent 4 copies to Professor Ogawa.
I have also sent a copy to Dr. Shoichi Sakata, Nagoya University, who is anxious about the crisis of potential nuclear war.
Most of us Japanese will, I believe, support your devoted effort wholeheartedly. But, in Japan, your devoted effort is known very little, except through my information. Some journalists are willing to know about your peace activity and any other peace movement in your country. I recognize that my role is important and my responsibility is heavy. Would you please send every kind of material on the Foundations as many as possible to me? I will do my best to let the Japanese people know of your respectable effort.

With every good wish,
Very respectfully yours,
Shigetoshi Iwamatsu
Responding to my request, Russell wrote to me as follows:

January 15, 1964

Dear Mr. Iwamatsu:
Thank you very much for your letter and your support. I am sending you by separate post twenty five copies of our literature.

With good wishes,
Yours sincerely,
Bertrand Russell

The “separate post”, being sea mail, arrived on February 14. The literature in this post was the definite edition of the prospectus which I already referred to. Afterwards, the same additional literature was sent from London on January 16, which I received on March 14.

February 16, 1964

My Lord:
I have received your kind letter of January 15 and 26 copies of your literature with much gratitude.
I have written five essays, long and short, for several magazines in order to make publicly known your great peace movement and two Peace Foundations. Two of them have already been published.
One of them, which consists of my explanation and translation of your message in your brochure and statement of September 29, 1963, is published in “Today’s Focus”, one copy of which I have received today.
At the same time, the magazine “World” has published Japanese translation of your brochure and your essay “What Threatens the Survival of Mankind.”

I expect that both “Today’s Focus” and “World” will play an important part in making known your two Peace Foundations. I have to write many serial short essays for a small magazine. I am preparing to send my contributions to your Peace Foundations.

I will send your brochures to peace-loving individuals and groups, who can be expected to send contributions to you.

We are opposing the authoritarian and feudal policy of the president of our university, who intends to remove the building of our Faculty from the present extensive site to a confined place, without regarding our unanimous opinion. The president does not give heed to self-government of the university and freedom of thought. He told some students that professors who were teaching and propagandizing communism at the university should be expelled.

The present state of the Council Against A. & H. Bombs is not satisfactory. I have just written an essay criticizing it for “Today’s Focus.”

With every good wish,

Very respectfully yours,

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

Without getting Russell’s answer, I wrote the following letter to him.

March 31, 1964

My Lord:
I have received twenty five copies of your literature, dated January 16, with much gratitude.
I sent our contributions which amount to £ 17-16-0, that is equal to 18,040 Yen, to Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation yesterday. My contribution came from my saving of the remunerations which I have received for my several writings on your peace activities.
The Japan Council and the Nagasaki Council Against A. & H. Bombs were disintegrated before Bikini Day, owing to the antagonism between the Socialist and the Communist Parties. Now the Councils are dominated by the Communist Party. Not a few members have withdrawn from the Councils. So did I.
As I told you in my letter of November 21, last year, the chief editor of “Today’s Focus” had asked me to write an essay on the peace movement. I wrote and sent an essay. To my regret, however, the editor decided not to publish it. He said that he thought it was devoid of generality in its discussion. Of course I have an objection to his opinion. I keenly feel that it is impossible for the peace movement to sustain an argument before the people as long as we beg for the mercy of the commercialism to publish our argument.
I intend in the near future to organize the people who give their support to you in Japan.

With every good wish,

Very respectfully yours,

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu
Russell's answer is:

April 9, 1964

Dear Mr. Iwamatsu:
Thank you very much for your letter. I was pleased to receive your contribution and to learn of your help. I hope you will be able to publish your article.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bertrand Russell

(June 26, 1976)