<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>項目</th>
<th>内容</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>タイトル</td>
<td>原爆投下者を戦争犯罪者として日本の侵略戦争と ( \text{経営と経済} ) ( \text{経営と経済} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>著者</td>
<td>岩松 繁俊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>巻号</td>
<td>( \text{経営と経済} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>シンポジウム</td>
<td>( \text{経営と経済} ) ( \text{経営と経済} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10069/28601">http://hdl.handle.net/10069/28601</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NAOSITE: Nagasaki University's Academic Output SITE

http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp
Atomic Bomb Sufferers as War Criminals of Japanese Aggressive War

Shigetoshi Iwamatsu

[ I ] The Japanese people as "aggressors"

Japanese atomic bomb sufferers have been appealing "No more Hiroshima", "No more Nagasaki", and "No more war" to the world from the viewpoint of their being miserable sufferers, victims of the most atrocious and brutal weapons in the world. They have emphasized the peculiarly cruel effects of nuclear weapons, which are far beyond comparison with the effects of any other weapons.

I myself suffered because of the atomic bomb in Nagasaki at 11:02 a.m. on August 9, 1945. But I have not accepted the other Japanese atomic bomb sufferers' appeal of "No more nuclear weapons" and "No more war" from the standpoint of the "sufferers", however miserable they may be.

I have pointed out that since the Meiji era we Japanese committed war crimes against foreign countries, especially against the Asian countries. I have also emphasized that we Japanese should appeal "No more nuclear weapons" and "No more war", only after our severe self-searching and self-criticism of our own atrocious aggressions. We Japanese were first brutal aggressors and subsequently sufferers.
[II] My own personal history

My view of Japanese war crimes and war responsibility has not been shared by the majority of atomic bomb victims and other Japanese people. For a long time, I have thought about and tried to compose a historical theory of Japanese war crimes. And I have long been working for “No nuclear weapons”, “No nuclear power” and “Saving the globe from ruin”.

Before explaining my own historical theory of Japanese war crimes, I will make a brief summary of my private history.

It was in 1934 that I entered into primary school. Since 1933 the education system was reenforced by the Emperor-system and militarism. I was raised to be a patriotic and militaristic boy through my education. In those days, academic freedom and civil liberty were oppressed and the people could not criticize the authorities. When I was a fourth-year pupil the Japanese army began to make its second aggression against China since July 7, 1937. Pupils and citizens were ordered to march around streets with the Japanese flag and paper lanterns when the information of the Japanese army’s occupation of the capital Nanking reached us. The Japanese people and teachers knew nothing about the Nanking atrocities at that time, nor even after the war. We celebrated the victory of the Emperor’s army against the Chinese people with no questions.

I was a second-year pupil of lower secondary school when the Japanese military made surprise attacks against Kota Bharu, Malaysia, and Pearl Harbor, U.S.A. Near the end of the second world war, I had been working making military goods and weapons in military factories as a student. All of the students in Japan were compelled to go to the battlefields as soldiers or to work in factories for assisting the war effort.

It was in the Mitsubishi Ordnance Factory making torpedoes for navy use that I was injured by the U.S. Plutonium bomb on the ninth of August,

I was about 1,300 meters from the epicenter when the bomb exploded. My life, however, was luckily spared. I suffered from acute atom bomb disease just after the bombing. About the time of my recovery, on the 15th of August, the Emperor made a radio speech to the people of Japan. It was quite an exceptional deed of the Emperor. This radio program was broadcast, in spite of interference by some military officers. But his recorded voice was not clear. I could not understand him. Being a most patriotic and militaristic boy, I thought that Imperial Japan had to continue to fight the war until all of the Japanese were killed. At that moment, I could not imagine the surrender of Imperial Japan to the "enemy".

It took three days for me to be persuaded that Japan had been defeated. Before the war and during the war, the political and military authorities persistently clamored for the permanent prosperity of "divine Japan" ruled by the Emperor who was believed to be a descendant of God. They had been denying the Japanese surrender. At the moment of my consent to the Japanese surrender, I decided to kill myself because I thought I had to apologize to the Emperor for my poor effort toward victory.

An absolute majority of Japanese call the day of the 15th of August, 1945, as the "End of the war". They don't think of the character and essence of Japanese warfare as atrocious aggressive war against the neighboring Asian countries and peoples. For them, it was the day of the ending of a war from which they had "miserably" suffered. The Japanese people were pleased with the end of the war.

For me, and for a minority of the people, it was a day of defeat for Imperial Japan. Most Japanese regard the war from the viewpoint of "sufferers" by their logic of themselves and their families being within the coun-
try of Japan. Their fathers, brothers and sons were called away to the war. They lost the important persons who had maintained their families. They had difficulties in getting money, food, and so on. Their small children at schools in big cities were compelled to move collectively to the villages for safety. The mothers were anxious about the hunger or loneliness of their refugee children. Some of their houses in many cities were ordered to be evacuated to protect the other buildings and houses from air attacks. Boys and girls more than 13 years old were ordered to work at military factories, instead of learning at schools.

The defeat in war, for a large majority of Japanese, was the end of a troublesome war which gave them delight and relief. They have been reflecting on the war from the standpoint of "poor" sufferers, not from the standpoint of brutal assailants. They have not been concerned to think about the Japanese invasion of the Asian countries and the atrocious murder of the Asian peoples and armed forces of the belligerents. They do not know that the people of Asian countries rejoiced at the news of the U.S. dropping of two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of the Japanese surrender. The Japanese ruthless murder and persecution of the people of the Asian countries were merciless far beyond the administration of the western colonialists.

At the same time, for the ultraconservatives, the defeat was not the defeat of Japan, but only the end of the war, because Imperial Japan must be immortal and imperishable.

For my part, I could not find time to kill myself, because of an official instruction that the U.S. army would come along very soon and that all ladies and girls should at once run away to some mountains or rural districts. This instruction was curious, but, at that time was widely accepted by the people without serious questioning.

The instruction shows that the Japanese authorities had information
about cruel violations and murder by the Japanese army in Asian countries and that they conceived the U.S. army was as brutal as the Japanese army. I imagined, at that time, the Japanese authorities revealed their recognition of the actual behaviors of the merciless Japanese forces in Asian countries and that they applied their recognition of their own forces' behavior to other forces. I thought that all military forces did the same kind of cruel violations. This understanding for a long time prevented me from recognizing the atrocious war crimes of the Japanese army.

After the defeat in war, I had had a hard time to grope my way towards my own philosophy of anti-atomic bombs and anti-war. It took, however, about twelve years to thoroughly overcome my deep feeling of worship towards the Emperor. It is very easy to have the feeling and thinking of “anti-war” and “anti-atomic and hydrogen bombs” for me and for the Japanese people, from an angle of the “sufferers”. It is very hard for me to overcome my own feeling about the Emperor which had been hugged to my heart for twelve years throughout my school education. During the period of reflecting and searching my own heart, close examination, critical consideration, careful selection, severe verification, and reconfirmation were required. Emperor worship had taken root deep into my bosom for many years. It was impossible for me to abandon the worship without critically changing my fundamental philosophy concerning humanity and democracy.

The twelve years which were necessary for me to change my philosophy were almost the same number of years as my school education during war-time.

The new Japanese Constitution critically changed the royal dictatorship into democracy without abolishing the Emperor system. Therefore, the new constitution was not helpful for me in searching for the principal human philosophy.

After having overcome my Emperorism, I gradually decided to take
part in the anti-nuclear movement. At the end of 1961, I entered into the movement against the atomic and hydrogen bombs in Nagasaki.

On March 1, 1954, the Fifth Fukuryu-maru and 23 fishermen working in the boat were covered with the radioactive fallout owing to the U.S. testing of the hydrogen bomb in Bikini island. The radioactive contamination was serious, and after medical treatment, Mr. Aikichi Kuboyama died from the radioactivity. In those days, I couldn't keep my hackles from rising, because the people outside Hiroshima and Nagasaki who had been unconcerned about the atomic bombing and its victims suddenly began to work against the atomic and hydrogen bombs and to have concerns about the victims. The reason of their sudden change was that the tunnies as Japanese nourishing food were contaminated by the radioactive fallout of the nuclear testing. They were motivated by their own benefits, not by their feeling of benevolence. Accordingly, I refused to join the movement for several years. Some people condemned me as if I were very conservative.

The big powers which developed the nuclear weapons made nuclear tests in succession. My feeling of anger to the successive testing overcame scrupulousness about the difference of the motivations among the people who were against nuclear arms and testing. At the end of the year 1961, I proposed to join the Nagasaki Council Against A. and H. Bombs, which is a local organization of the Japan Council Against A. and H. Bombs. The Council had, at first, been founded by the people, irrespective of political standing, who were against nuclear weapons and testing. But soon after the formation, the conservatives withdrew from the council owing to the difference of their political opinions.

At the time of my joining, the council was governed by the progressive parties and labor unions.

Just after my participation, I was nominated as a member of the standing committee in charge of propaganda campaigns. After considera-
tion, I decided to do three kind of campaigns. (1) Sending letters to presidents or prime ministers of nuclear big powers, whenever they did nuclear testing, for protesting to them in order to suspend further testing and to abolish nuclear weapons. (2) Sending letters to the editors of the newspapers of the world for appealing to the people of the world about the cruel effects and influence of the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki. I thought that a great majority of the world's people knew very few of the real effects and influence of the bomb, and that understanding them was the first essential for abolishing the satanic weapons and suspending nuclear testing. (3) Sending letters to the peace-workers who had tried hard to bring about the peace of the world for international solidarity.

I began to undertake those kind of activities in March of 1962. My letters of type (1) produced no effect on the attitude of the governments doing testing, as was expected, but had the effect of the declaration of our intention.

My letters of type (2) had a very strong effect on me. The “New York Post”, the “Los Angeles Times”, and the “Toronto Daily Star” published my letters in May of that year. Some readers responded promptly to me. Some of them sent me their good wishes of fraternal solidarity to fight against nuclear testing. The others protested against me fiercely. Those letters, I thought, represented the very common opinions of a majority of the American people. Their protest was thought, at first, as provocative, but, after due consideration, I was convinced that it was very good advice to me and to us Japanese. I will describe the meaning of the good advice in chapter IV.

Among the letters of type (3), there was included my letter to Bertrand Russell. It was unexpected that Russell wrote a reply to me. I received his first letter, dated April 4, 1962, with great delight. After that, our correspondence started. Russell wrote to me often. His letters were very in-
structive and gave me valuable direction when I stood at the crossroads. In the following chapter, I will write about his direction when I faced two ways in 1963.

[III] Bertrand Russell’s lesson

The Japanese peace movement had been confronting a situation of deciding whether it should oppose all nuclear testing of every country or only that of the U.S. For two years, this was the most disputed point inside the Japan Council. The Japan Communist Party and its followers opposed only the American testing and approved the Soviet Union’s testing, because they insisted on blaming imperialism for every political and economic evil. The Japan Socialist Party and most of the progressive labor unions opposed all testing of both East and West. I stood at the crossroads, whether to choose the idea of the Communist party or that of the Socialist party. I asked Russell for his idea.

His idea was very clear for many years. Even his letters of 1962 definitely show his idea:

On the subject of nuclear tests, I have recently been sickened beyond measure by the hypocrisy of the power politicians. When the Soviet Union decided to resume its nuclear tests, the leaders of the west spoke in terms of the mass murder by the radioactivity which the tests involved and of the Soviet Union’s disregard for human rights all over the world. I agreed with them. Their silence when they themselves decided to do the same makes the very words and sentiments which they used completely meaningless.

This is a part of his letter, April 4, 1962, to me. I will quote another letter from him.

I think it is a tremendous pity that the peace movement in Japan has been compromised by those who are partisans to the Soviet Union.
Nuclear annihilation is an imminent danger, because of the behaviour of both East and West... When you are putting your position to your colleagues in Nagasaki and in the Council, please make clear that you have my support in what you are trying to achieve.

This is a part of his letter, September 14, 1962, to me.

The next is a part of his letter of June 7, 1963, which replied to my letter of May 7th.

I am distressed to learn of the difficulties in your movement due to the failure of many Japanese to oppose all nuclear tests irrespective of those who author them.

In my letter of May 7th, I wrote the Japanese peace movement as follows.

On February 28, the day before Bikini Day, the executives of the Japan Council Against A. & H. Bombs (including Mr. Kaoru Yasui, the Chief Director) resigned at the meeting of standing directors. The cause of their resignation was that they failed to solve the vexed question since the last “World Conference”... whether they should oppose or accept the Russian nuclear testing, i.e., whether they should oppose any nuclear testing by every nation or only that by Western Imperialistic nations. Although the Council is based on the naive humanism of the whole nation, which oppose all nuclear testing, the antagonism of ideology between Socialist Party and Communist Party makes it difficult to settle the subject. To this day there is no sign of agreement. The Nagasaki Council, also, has scarcely been active since last summer, except for the Bikini day meeting and my writing letters to some Americans. . . .

I informed Russell about the latest confused situation of the Japan Concil in my letter of July 9th, as follows:

The Japan Council Against A. & H. Bombs, at the 60th board of stand-
ing directors on June 21, after the deadlock of about 100 days, decided to hold the 9th World Conference against A.& H. Bombs in Hiroshima for several days before and after August 6. At the same time, it demanded to prepare for holding a conference in Nagasaki on August 9. It was settled in Tokyo not to touch and to reserve the disputed point which had resulted in the split in the Council last year, whether we should oppose all nuclear testing of every country or only that of the U.S.

Russell worried about the Japanese confusion of the peace concept and replied to me in his letter of July 31, 1963, as follows:

I am deeply disturbed to learn from your letter that the Japan Council believes that it can continue its work without settling the matter in dispute, namely, opposition to Soviet nuclear tests. There can be no effective movement with integrity which does not maintain a comparable attitude to the testing of nuclear weapons by any nation. It is not possible for me to send a message which does not make it clear that I have opposed Soviet nuclear explosions as firmly as those of the Western powers. If it is decided to censor any reference to this matter, I should be shocked. I deeply hope that this will not be the case.

This letter gave me a great shock. It clearly expressed Russell’s solid belief of pacifism, which the Japan Council decided to censor. It was on the evening of August 9 that I got this letter. I introduced this letter to about 300 people at a social gathering surrounding the A. Bomb sufferers after the declaration of breaking off of the World Conference in Nagasaki.

I was shocked by the fact that 90% of the audience did not receive my introduction of Russell’s letter with a clapping of hands. I clearly recognized the dominant influence of the Japan Communist Party and its followers, for the party had consistently opposed the comparable attitude to the
testing of nuclear weapons by any nation. The Japan Communist Party was in fierce opposition to Bertrand Russell.

I wrote a letter to Russell on August 13 reporting the detailed situation of the antagonism between the Communist and the Socialist Parties in the Council. Conclusively, I described the situation as follows:

The most dominant idea in the Council is as follows; the unity of the peace movement is a supreme order, and in order to unite the movement, we should wait to settle the matter in dispute, namely, whether opposing the nuclear testing by any nation or by the imperialist nations. We should unify our activities in resolving the concrete problems in which we can agree with each other.

Russell answered to my letter on August 21 as follows:

Thank you for your letter. My own view is that of the Socialist Party. I oppose tests and nuclear weapons of any country. Please make this publicly known.

After the antagonistic summer meeting, the Japan Socialist Party and dominant labor unions took leave of the Japan Council and, after some preparation, formed another peace organization, the Japan Congress Against A.& H. Bombs.

I myself began to devote my effort to support Russell's peace activity. He established two Peace Foundations on 29 of September, 1963. One is the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the other the Atlantic Peace Foundation.

According to Russell's statement on launching two Peace Foundations, "the Atlantic Peace Foundation will conduct the research necessary for the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the latter 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 develope our own media of communication — a community of
discussion which will not depend upon establishment-controlled or govern­
mental intimidated press”. “Man faces two supreme menaces to his exis­
tence. The world is racked with hatred. Wherever one looks, fratricidal
violence is rampant. Cruelty is pervasive. I am, at the moment, actively ap­
ppealing on behalf of political prisoners, many of them suffering torture, in 23 coun­
tries: 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.” “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.”

I was impressed by the humanistic objectives and ambitious plan of
Russell. I continued to work for supporting Russell in Japan, by translating
the materials from him, circulating his information, organizing a circle for
learning his ideas and speaking about his pacifism to the people who have
the same concerns as he. I myself formed the Japan Information Center of
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which circulated his information and
ideas on the peace of the whole world.

Soon after his launching the Foundations, he began to concentrate his
effort to criticize the U.S. aggression against Vietnam and atrocities against
the Vietnamese people. Japan Information Center circulated the informa­
tion concerning the cruel acts of the U.S. army in Vietnam which had never
been reported in Japan.

I publicized my correspondence with Russell in my article “The
Beginning of my Correspondence with Bertrand Russell about Peace” and “My Correspondence with Bertrand Russell on Peace (I), (II), (III), and (IV)”, in the organ of the Faculty of Economics, Nagasaki University, “KEIEI TO KEIZAI”, 1975–76, and in my book written in the Japanese language “Prosecution for Peace”. I also published a book entitled “The Conscience of the 20th century — Bertrand Russell’s Thoughts and Activities — ”, Rironsha Co. Ltd., 1968, which deals with my contact with him and his penetrating thoughts and vigorous activities against conflicts, discrimination, prejudice, persecution, cruelty, slaughter, genocide, aggression, war, weapons’ testing, and so on. And I dealt with the reason and proceedings of his organizing the International War Crimes Tribunal, in Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1967.

It was about 1971 that the Nagasaki Congress Against A. & H. Bombs asked me to take part in it. I accepted its proposal. My peace activity through an organization started again.

[IV] Taking recognition of Japanese war crimes

The International War Crimes Tribunal in Copenhagen condemned Japan as guilty of complicity in the aggression committed by the United States Government against Vietnam in 1967. “The American army, in utilizing the land, naval and air bases of Okinawa, in disposing of all Japan for the movement of its troops, in taking advantage of Japan’s highly developed technical capacity and abundant equipment for the repair of its war and merchant fleets and planes and for all kinds of supplies and equipment, has made Japan, with the complicity of its government, one of the essential elements of its strategic system in its struggle against Vietnam.” (John Duffett ed., “Against the Crime of Silence — Proceedings of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunal — , O’Hare Books, 1968, p.644.)

In the period of the American aggression against Vietnam, there
arose an enthusiastic anti-war movement all over Japan all well as in the U.S. and in Europe. The Japanese anti-war movement was originated partly because of recognizing the Japanese war crimes of complicity with the U.S. government.

As to the previous Japanese own war crimes, however, a great majority of the Japanese people had long been unconcerned.

In 1962, I received letters from some American people who were in opposition to me. One of them was written by R. T. Kendall, Sr., Bess Kendall, and R. T. Kendall, Jr, as follows:

We read your letter in the May 6 issue of the Los Angeles Times on your protest of our (the U.S.) nuclear testing and how, quote: “furious you Japanese are with anger at us” unquote. You also ask us why we don’t listen to your voice as the God of Peace? (Your voice for the last 75 Years has been the voice of the God of War? Against Russia, Korea, China, England, Dutch, Philippine, etc., etc., not excluding the U.S.)

We herein give you our family’s opinion and we are sure this opinion is shared by many Americans.

It makes no difference to me or mine if we are killed by nuclear weapons in a war; death by any weapon whether nuclear, guns, knives, microbes, or starvation is just as definite and undesirable and we are just as dead. As far as we are concerned, any weapon which prevents war is justified, but to prevent war one must be the strongest with the best weapons and be able to deliver them; this is our deterrent philosophy (the motto of our Strategic Air Command is “Peace is our Profession.”) Any weapon which ends a war the quickest, that is, in the shortest period of time, is desirable and our will to use such weapons is mandatory. Any war of any kind is abhorrent and terrible and should be prevented if possible; but, not at the
cost of our freedoms. If a war is unpreventable then any weapon is justifiable to end the war as quickly as possible, but with victory required in order to maintain our constitutional republican form of government and self-determination for the free world.

To us here in the United States of America, slavery is far worse than death from war. Death from war caused by defending our freedoms is definitely more desirable than the chains of slavery, of surrender and loss of all of our cherished freedoms, the degradation of us as human beings, the slow death of starvation, prison camps, executions, etc., that goes with slavery under Communism.

You Japanese people should never forget Pearl Harbor; we won’t. What has happened before could happen again with the Communists instead of Japanese. The freedoms we in the United States of America enjoy today were bought with much blood and treasure time after time; these freedoms are not ours by gift or free by reason of birth, they are ours only as long as we are willing to fight and die for them. You Japanese people now enjoy freedoms you never had before only because we the United States of America won that terrible war you started at Pearl Harbor.

The United Nations guarantees freedom to no one, it is dominated by the Communist countries and socialist (Communist leaning) neutrals. If freedoms are to be maintained outside Communism’s areas of control it will be because the War Potential and power of the United States is greater than that which the communists have and if we are attacked, we the United States, should use that power immediately and to the best of our ability, so as to bring the war to the quickest successful end.

To maintain our leadership in nuclear weapons or any other war potential we must test and test and test, whatever testing is
necessary regardless of the cost or temporary inconvenience, so that we, you, and the rest of the free world will not be forced against our wishes into the slavery of World Communism.

This letter insists on two important points. One of them is that we Japanese have no right to appeal for the peace of the world and to criticize the nuclear weapons and testing, because we had attacked many foreign countries and deprived them of their liberty and other human rights. The other point is that the freedoms are the highest virtues which the U.S. has ever protected with power and that the nuclear testing and strongest weapons are necessary for maintaining the freedoms against the slavery system.

The second point is the logic of power politics from the side of the west. This logic is antagonistic to that of peace. The logic of peace is that we oppose the testing of nuclear weapons by any nation with a comparable attitude and that the human survival under any social system is far beyond the human extermination by the nuclear explosion during the war between the powers of the East and the West.

The first point was a big shock to me. Of this point, I wrote a letter answering the Kendalls, dated September 4, 1962, as follows:

According to your letter, it is natural that we Japanese should have been attacked by the A. Bombs. Besides, it is because of those bombs that we are now able to enjoy freedom and economic prosperity. Therefore, we have neither the right to dwell upon the damage from the A. Bombs nor the right to protest against nuclear testing. Please, however, understand the inner life of the earnest Japanese people.

It was only a few Japanese — the militarists and plutarchy supported by the Emperor System, which is the symbol of feudal absolutism — that brought on that war. These advocates of war sup-
pressed critical persons by anti-democratic laws and thereby forced
the whole Japanese people into the war. In order to rationalize it,
they took every occasion to educate the people, especially the young,
with the following ultra-patriotism. "The Emperor is God, offspring
of the highest God Amaterasu-oomikami, and so Japan is the country
governed by God. Therefore, Japan is by far the noblest and highest
country in the world. The Japanese public must devote themselves to
the Emperor, making light of their their lives as feather and without
regarding their own happiness." The suicide airmen "Kamikaze"
were originated by this devotion to the Emperor.

Most of us were school-children during the war. As soon as we began
to think by ourselves, we sincerely reflected upon the course of that
terrible war. After doing so, we now take a definite standpoint
towards the war. We oppose the sudden attacks on Lukouchiao and
Pearl Harbor. We oppose the then Japanese leaders who started the
attacks and the following war both in China and in South-East Asia.
We deeply reflect upon the blame for the war. It should be attributed
to Japan. We enacted the constitution, referring to the suggestion of
General MacArthur, and swore that we would never appeal to arms
for the settlement of all matters of dispute between nations and that
we would renounce all military arms. This oath is based on self-con-
sciousness of sin which we Japanese committed through the war.

At present, however, there are signs of the revival of militarism,
ultra-patriotism and anti-democracy and the army, which is forbidden
by law, is about to be furnished with nuclear arms, strongly sup-
ported by the U.S.Government.

Therefore we advocate against the present Japanese Government
and the U.S.Government that we should abandon arms and check the
revival of militarism. It is owing to such a deep reflection on the
cause of the war that we advocate absolute pacifism and general and total disarmament. It is, on the contrary, the Japanese who do not like to reflect on the cause of the last war that accept it and approve the present nuclear testing and nuclear arms.

At the time of my writing this letter, my opinion upon the Japanese war responsibility was restricted to that of Japanese militarists and plutarchy supported by the Emperor System. My opinion was defective and left much to be desired.

After some years in joining hands with Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in making an anti-war movement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, I was convinced to recognize the responsibility of the top leader — the Emperor — and that of the mass of the Japanese people.

My criticism of the war crimes of the Emperor became severer and severer. It became clear that the International Military Tribunal For The Far East was wrong in excluding the Emperor from its inquiry.

My criticism of the war crimes of the mass of the Japanese people needed to build a logic of a dual structure of assaulters and sufferers.

[V] The Emperor system as a dual structure of assaulters and the Japanese people as a dual structure of assaulters and sufferers

It is obvious that the Japanese imperial forces committed crimes of aggression and atrocity in foreign countries for many years. The imperial forces devoted themselves to the Emperor through their loyal respect to him as a descendent divine being and the Supreme Being. The Emperor was the most critical criminal in imperial Japan, because of his supreme power. I designated this kind of crime as “horizontal” assaults, because these were the crimes of Japanese violation of the sovereignty of foreign countries.
It is also obvious that the mass of the Japanese people committed the crimes of aggression and atrocity as members of the imperial forces. Therefore, the Japanese people should be called “horizontal” assaulters.

But it should be noted that this character of the Japanese people is not simple. When I began to think over this character, I had to pay attention to their agony, which they had during their experience as the victims of war. It is easily seen that their agony as the victims shows their character as the sufferers. Their agony, however, represent not only the character of sufferers but also the character of the assaulters of the mass of the Japanese people.

The agony of the mass of the Japanese people represents three dimensions of the Japanese people. I will describe them phenomenally.

(1) The agony represents the suffering from the U.S. atomic bombs and conventional bombs. The number of the victims by conventional weapons in a lot of Japanese cities, such as Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya and so on, might have been as many as that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They may be called “horizontal” sufferers from the U.S. bombing. The nuclear fission chain reaction of U and Pu bombs, however, affected the victims severely. The A. Bomb sufferers and their supporters have appealed to the Japanese government to legislate the law of support and relief of the A. Bomb victims. The government has denied to enact such law, as it has not laid down any law of relieving the war victims from conventional weapons. It is the principle of the Japanese government not to legislate any supporting law for the mass of the people, except for the Japanese members of the armed forces and army civilian employees who had contracted with the Japanese government for fighting. This logic of the Japanese government has been supported by conservative parties and peoples.

It should be noted also that there were included among the war victims the Koreans, Chinese, and war prisoners living in Japanese cities. The Koreans and Chinese were victims of the Japanese aggression and coloniza-
tion. In short, they were "double sufferers", from the bombing and from the Japanese aggression. They may be called "horizontal and perpendicular" sufferers. The Japanese government and people have responsibility for their crimes of aggression and cruelties.

(2) The mass of the Japanese people have been victims by the authority of the Emperor system. The Emperor, the Supreme, ordered every operation against Korea, China, South-East Asian countries, U.S., U.K., the Netherlands and so on. The Japanese members of the armed forces and army civilian employee, including Koreans and Chinese, fought for the Emperor without regard their own lives. They were ordered to believe themselves "His Majesty's children" and to do the best for victory. The relation of the people to His Majesty was like a baby yearning after its mother. If he might be caught by the enemy, he should kill himself before being held as a prisoner. The Japanese soldiers did not receive lessons to treat the POW's as human. They, therefore, committed atrocities against POW's.

The Japanese soldiers and people suffered severely because of their fidelity, loyalty and faithfulness to orders of the Emperor and the superior officers. Orders of the superior officials were treated as orders of the Emperor by the Imperial Instruction of 1882. The inferiors and the mass of the common people were forced to obey any kind of superiors' orders faithfully and without questioning. The Koreans, Chinese and other colonial people had to obey any orders of the Japanese. They were subordinate to any Japanese.

The poor and common people and lower officials suffered much both in battlefield and in homeland. The colonials had to endure much more critical trials there. I denote this kind of suffering as the "perpendicular" suffering caused by the Emperor system. The more inferior the ranks, the severer the hardships.

(3) Now I must explain the most complicated part of my concept of
Japanese war responsibility. As I have repeatedly stated, the Japanese people had to be loyal to the Emperor and his system. The Emperor commands, and the subject and people faithfully obey the command, with much sacrifice. The Emperor's command was for aggression and fighting, although the denomination was "a noble cause of constructing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere". The army and people did commit the war crimes through their faithful obedience to and sacrifice for the Emperor. Therefore I denote this aspect of the Japanese people as "perpendicular" assault through their "perpendicular" suffering. A majority of the people, even just after the war, thought that they had been right in fighting at the battlefield and at the homeland because of their sacrifices for the "great cause of loyalty and patriotism." They did not understand their own role of assaulter, because they paid attention to their duty of loyalty to the Emperor. They have been loyalists and have not been conscious of their own guilt.

I can thus summarize the character of the Japanese people as assailters which was not easy to be seen because of their utmost consciousness of their suffering. Logically they were at first assailters and then became sufferers.

The Emperor and the power of his system were the assailters of both "horizontal" and "perpendicular". The one is against foreign people and the other is against the people living in Japan and in its colonies.

[VI] Japanese aggression before "15 Years War"

Before concluding, I must refer to crimes against peace and to crimes against humanity before "15 years War" which were not judged by the International Military Tribunal For The Far East.

The Japan Empire invaded Korea to make the country its colony before 1905. And its colonial policy was very severe and cruel. The
Japanese government and people had scorn for the Koreans and treated them with disdain all the time. The Japanese government deprived them of their fundamental human rights — language, name, religion, liberty and so on — , and property. Many of them had to come to Japan to find some work. During the war, a great many Korean people were caught and compelled by law to come and work in Japanese munitions companies. They were forced to work against their will in poor and desperate conditions of labor. Some of them, living in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, suffered from the atomic bombs.

At the same time, many Korean women were caught and compelled by law to go to foreign battlefields and to serve the Japanese soldiers as "comfort women". "During the war, Japan took an estimated 80,000 to 200,000 girls and young women, mostly from Korea, which was then under Japanese rule, to wartime brothels abroad to force them to provide sexual services to Japanese soldiers." ("Mainichi Daily News", March 31, 1992)

The Koreans could not live as human beings and traditional Korean people. They were compelled to change their names to Japanese names. They were forced to speak the Japanese language and to believe themselves to be "His Majesty's children".

The Koreans suffered manifold damage from the Japanese government and the Japanese people. Besides, some of them were damaged by the U.S. atomic bombs and conventional weapons.

It is also very important that the Japanese authorities and people, after the defeat of war, have had no concern and knowledge about their own responsibility as assaulters and that they have made no apology and offered no compensation for their own supreme offence against morality and peace. The Japanese have to accept weighty responsibility for crimes before and during the war and for crimes after the war.

The Japanese have almost the same responsibility for their crimes.
against the people of Formosa, whom we Japanese treated severely under the Government-General of Formosa. Besides, many young people were compelled to go to the battlefield as Japanese soldiers and some were killed during the war or judged guilty after the war. The situation is almost the same as that of the Koreans. It is the same as the Koreans' situation that the Japanese government and people have had no concern and no knowledge about their own responsibility and that they have made no apology and offered no compensation for their supreme offence against morality and peace.

[Ⅶ] A conclusion

I already referred to the Japanese people's demand to legislate a law of supporting and relieving the Atomic Bomb sufferers. But the relief law should be laid down on the basic principle of self-criticizing Japan's own war crimes, not on the principle of the Japanese sufferers.

It is very important that this principle should be confirmed by the Japanese government and people, because they are obviously assailters of foreign people, especially of Asian people. This principle, however, is not confirmed even by the Japanese people. Their recognition of their own modern history is superficial with eyes to their own interests.

The relief law should be, at first, applicable to the Atomic Bomb sufferers of Korea, China, and other foreign countries. It should be, secondly, applicable to all victims of the countries which Japan had invaded. It should be, lastly, applicable to the Japanese victims not only of the Atomic Bomb but of the conventional weapons.

It is only the Special Support and Relief Law for the Japanese War Dead and Invalids that the Japanese government legislated just after the U.S. concluding the peace treaty with Japan. This fact clearly shows that the Japanese government has never intended to reflect on its own war
crimes both of aggression and atrocities. This law is only applicable to the "Japanese" soldiers, army civilian employees and their families. Those soldiers and army civilian employees who were "Japanese" in time of war and were denied being Japanese after the war were excluded from its application by the Japanese government. The Japanese government, even after the war, is evidently egotistic and cruel. The heart of Japanese authorities is as cold as a stone. It should be noticed that the Japanese government has very long been supported by the majority of the conservative people. The majority of the Japanese people have a heart of stone. They have an egocentric and superficial perception of their own history. They have an egocentric and superior outlook on the Asian world as before. They have no tenderness of heart to think much of the Asian people.

Their heart of stone can be evidently demonstrated by contrasting the spirit of President Weizsäcker's address of 1985 with that of Japanese authorities.

It is urgently necessary for the Japanese government and people to think over and over their own serious war crimes and to act faithfully so as to promptly compensate for them.

(July 2, 1992.)