

# Peace Studies in Japan: Co-evolution of Knowledge and Practice

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The discussions on peace in Japan have significantly changed since the end of the Second World War. This can be clearly illustrated by the development of the peace studies field, which has been strongly influenced by the pacifism of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and the experiences of the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This article traces the historical development of Japanese peace studies and analyzes its characteristics. Since pacifism has been accepted as the key element for understanding political culture in Japan since 1945, peace research, the practice of peace education, and peace museums are also regarded as important factors that constitute Japanese peace studies and peace culture.

**Keywords** Japan, nuclear weapons, peace studies, peace education, peace museums

## Introduction

This article aims to give an overview of the history of peace studies in Japan and examine its characteristics, which have been strongly influenced by Japanese politics and culture. It will also analyze the relationship between peace studies as the academic effort to theorize peace and the peace movement as the practice to bring about peace. By tracking the organizational development and discussions of peace studies, the characteristics that are unique to Japan will be revealed, including, for example, issues regarding the Japanese Constitution and experiences in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The cooperation among the peace studies, peace education, and peace museums will also be analyzed as important factors in shaping an understanding of peace in Japan. From these analyses, the article will discuss both the achievements of Japanese peace studies and the problems remaining for the development of a peaceful society and aims to contribute to comparative research on Asian peace studies.

## Peace Theory and the Understanding of Peace

At the global level, research on peace has evolved since the 1920s when it was based on interest in the causes of the First World War and collective security issues. After the Second World War, the danger of total global destruction by nuclear weapons fostered research on international relations and especially on politics and security related to nuclear weapons. Since the 1960s, Scandinavian studies have played a leading role in peace studies, and the Norwegian peace researcher, Johan Galtung's (1969) concept of peace has been widely accepted in Japan. Galtung's peace theory in which peace is not limited to its primary meaning (the absence of war), but rather it consists of "positive peace" and "negative peace" (the latter meaning the absence of violence, but also includes structural violence), is very often referred to in Japanese peace studies. However, at the same time, this kind of peace theory is not well known outside the academic world.

Even though today's Japanese people regard peace as one part of their national identity and is essential for understanding Japanese society after 1945, the word "peace" has been used among the general public in a limiting way—to refer to the "absence of war" or a "nuclear-free world." However, the meaning of the word peace has varied from country to country and area to area. The word has its own history and reflects the features of the culture or religion of each area and country. Takeshi Ishida (1968) analyzed the use of the word peace in ancient Greek, Roman, Jewish, Indian, and Chinese societies and identified their different understandings of the word. Ishida then examined the features of the Japanese understanding of peace and pacifism (this work by Ishida is known as one of the classics of Japanese peace studies). While peace (*shalom*) in ancient Judaism stresses justice or "the will of God," order and calm are stressed more in the Japanese conceptualization of peace (*heiwa*) (Ishida 1968; Matsuo 1990, 3). In addition to the cultural background, there are some other factors that contribute to the Japanese concept of peace. Unlike other countries, until the 19th Century Japan experienced only a few overseas conflicts and, since the medieval period, the general population had often been forbidden to bear arms for long periods of time. After the Second World War, the Japanese people were war-weary, and the culmination of these factors built the consensus that allowed the public to accept the pacifism in Article 9 (Ishida 1968).

Peace is not only established differently etymologically so that there are different nuances to how the word is understood. There were many *holy* wars and *just* wars in history, and, in addition to that, peace is often misunderstood or misused in political contexts, as we will see in the next paragraph. When we talk about Japan's peace studies, it is necessary to know the context in which the word peace has been used. Both peace studies and the understanding of peace interact with each other as well as with peace movements (which show the interest among

citizens on peace and related issues). Therefore, a look at the development of Japanese peace movements will precede the analysis of Japanese peace studies.

## History of Japanese Peace Movements as the Background of Peace Studies

Japanese pacifism and peace movements began in the late 19th Century, influenced by rapid modernization and Westernization. In particular, Christianity and socialism were widely adopted among intellectuals. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the peace movements were organized by Christians, socialists, and humanitarians. In the 1920s, the development of the peace movement was combined with democratization, human rights issues, and international cooperation (Takemoto 2022). Peace was, however, sometimes understood in a militaristic way. With the slogan *Hakko ichiu*, which means to unite the world under the regime of the Tenno (Japanese emperor), Japan started taking aggressive actions against other Asian countries that culminated in the Second World War. At that moment, people believed, pretended to believe, or were forced to believe that they were seeking peace in Asia (*Tōyō heiwa* [Asian peace]).

It was in 1945 that the meaning and acceptance of peace changed significantly in Japan with the defeat in the War and the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9. The Constitution of Japan, which, enacted in the following year, renounced war in Article 9 by stating that “[i]n order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized” (Chikuma Shobo 2011, 24). This clause in the Constitution has played a significant role in realizing Japanese pacifism and anti-war sentiment until the present.

In the early postwar period, the peace movement was led mostly by intellectuals, such as the World Federation Movement from right- to left-wing intellectuals and the cooperation of the World Peace Council by left-wing intellectuals. Japanese academics fostered an environment for discussing war, peace, democracy, and nuclear weapons among researchers of not only social sciences and humanities but also natural sciences. A well-known example of this is Hideki Yukawa, winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics, who contributed to the early antinuclear movement, including the Pugwash Conference and the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. Such intellectual activities for peace led the way for the interdisciplinary cooperation for peace studies.

A significant catalyst for the rise of the Japanese peace movement was the Bikini Incident in 1954 in which Japanese fishermen were irradiated by a US nuclear test in Bikini Atoll. That brought strong opposition to nuclear weapons

and mobilized many people, which developed into a national peace movement. However, when left-wing activists—the main players in the antinuclear movement organization—experienced a confrontation between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party over the highly politicized US military bases and Soviet and Chinese nuclear tests, the antinuclear movements fractured. Although antinuclear sentiment is still quite broadly shared among Japanese people, many have been reluctant to engage in political movements, and have instead started their own independent and nonpolitical grassroots movement.

Along with the antinuclear movement, the US-Japan Security Treaty and the US military bases issue became important topics for Japan's peace movements. It has pointed out that the majority of Japanese felt that the alliance with the US contributed to the relative abundance of peace in Japan (Miyashita 2007). That situation brought about a kind of contradiction and a complex situation for using the word "pacifism" in Japan. That is, Japanese people understood themselves as "antiwar" and "pacifist," but their peace has been maintained by the military alliance with the US and the existence of the Self-Defense Force (SDF). Conversely, Japanese peace movements (especially those led by the left-wing) tend to regard the Japanese-US security treaty and US bases as dangerous for Japanese peace, in terms of both positive and negative peace. In addition to these issues, Japanese rearmament and the SDF and the issue of Okinawa (a prefecture of Japan that was heavily damaged during the Second World War, has the most US bases, and consequently carries the most burden for the security of Japan) have been continuously discussed by the Japanese people. There were also strong anti-war movements against both the Vietnam War and Iraq War. Further to this kind of direct opposition to wars, peace education and peace museums have become important components of peace movements—both offering a unique kind of discussion on peace that is rooted in the Japanese experience, as will be explained in greater detail later. Generally speaking, as mentioned, the concept of peace is widely accepted as a key element of Japanese society, whereby Japan is often described as a peaceful state. However, at the same time, not only have real politics not always reflected pacifism, but both peace and pacifism have been interpreted to support the intention of strengthening Japanese forces on security-related issues. Therefore, the meaning of peace continues to be questioned, and peace researchers must deal with many kinds of problems surrounding notions of peace in Japan and the world.

## Organizational Development of Japanese Peace Studies

After the Second World War, Japanese academia confronted issues of democracy and peace. For example, the Japan Association of International Relations, which was established in 1956 to promote academic research in international relations

and provide a venue for researchers to present their results and to interact with each other (Japan Association of International Relations, n.d.), featured “Research on Peace and War” as the special issue topic for its first bulletin. International politics is one of the leading fields within peace studies, but since peace studies is a discipline with a natural interdisciplinary tendency, experts in various fields supported its development in early postwar Japan. Mitsuo Okamoto, who was also one of the pioneers of peace studies in Japan, introduced the following experts who further contributed to the development of peace studies: Shigejiro Tabata (international law), Shinobu Tabata (constitutional studies), Takeshi Ishida (political thought), Tadashi Kawata (economics), Yoshikazu Sakamoto (international politics, peace studies), Hiroharu Seki (international politics, peace studies), Kinhide Mushakoji (international politics), Tadakazu Fukase (constitutional studies), Mitsuo Miyata (political thought), Sadao Kamata (peace studies), Nobuya Bamba (international sociology, peace studies), Jun Nishikawa (economics), and Sakio Takayanagi (international politics, peace studies) (Okamoto 2002).

The development of Japanese peace studies was stimulated by the international trend at that time. In the US and European countries, the nuclear arms race led to the rise of nuclear research, which was also introduced to Japan. In the Japanese case, the visit of Kenneth E. Boulding and Elise Boulding provided Japanese academics with the opportunity to develop peace studies. Kenneth E. Boulding was an economist and peace researcher and one of the founders of the Center for Research in Conflict Resolution, which was established in the US in 1959. Elise Boulding was a sociologist and peace researcher who served as a representative for the International Peace Research Association (IPRA). They stayed as visiting scholars at the International Christian University in Tokyo from 1963 to 1964 and encouraged Japanese scholars to develop peace studies. Kawata, Ishida, Sakamoto, Mushakoji, and Ukita established the *Nihon Heiwa Kenkyū Kondankai* (Japan Peace Research Group) in 1966 (Okamoto 2009, 12). The group published an English journal of peace research in Japan, constructed a foundation for Japanese peace studies, and contributed to the international cooperation of peace researchers. At the same time, the Japanese branch of the Peace Science Society International was founded and, together, these activities paved the way for the organization of peace studies in Japan (Kawata 1976, 7; 1996, 125).

The organizational development of peace studies began in 1973 with the establishment of the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ). According to the association’s founding prospectus, the intention was “to institutionalize universal peace studies from the standpoint of the victims of the atomic bombings” (PSAJ 2004). The founding document also said that, since the danger exists that Japan could, once again, become a perpetrator against other Asian countries, the Association aims to develop scientific and objective peace studies to prevent this from happening. At the same time, the North-South problem of global inequality

had been increasingly integrated into the Japanese discussion on peace, and there was concern that Japan could become a perpetrator of structural violence with its economic development and overseas expansion to Southeast Asia (Kawata 1976, 12).

The task of the PSAJ has been to promote scientific research related to the causes of war and conditions for peace. At the time of its establishment, the PSAJ had seventy-two members and currently has about 880 registered individual members and twelve corporate members. The Association has regional branches in Hokkaido/Tohoku, Kanto, Chubu/Hokuriku, Kansai, Chugoku/Shikoku, Kyushu, and Okinawa. It is also a member of the IPRA, and the two associations have actively collaborated. Already at the first IPRA conference in 1964 in Groningen, Netherlands, seventy-three people from twenty-three countries participated in the meeting, including people from India, Pakistan, and Japan. Two Japanese scholars, Iwao Munakata and Tadashi Kawata, participated in the conference and Kawata was elected as a member of the board (Kawata 1996, 43, 54). Since then, Japanese researchers have been active in the IPRA, which is evidenced by the appointment of Japanese academics to senior roles, such as Yoshikazu Sakamoto who served as the director of the IPRA from 1979 to 1983 and Katsuya Kodama from 2000 to 2004 and 2010 to 2012. Also, in 1992 and 2012, IPRA conferences were held in Japan.

Since the third year of its inception, the PSAJ has published its own journal, *Heiwa Kenkyū* (Peace Research). Particularly in its early period, the works of Kenneth Bolding, Dieter Senghaas, and Anatol Rappaport were often introduced and translated. In particular, Johan Galtung has been a strong influence on Japanese peace studies. In addition to his stay as a visiting professor at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Galtung often visited Japan to collaborate with Japanese researchers. His peace theory gave a broader perspective to Japanese peace studies. Since Japanese peace studies is based on the experiences of the Second World War, the field tended to concentrate on what Galtung referred to as negative peace. Galtung's (1969) theory of positive peace, however, changed this tendency, and issues such as poverty and the North-South problem have consequently also been included in peace studies discussions in Japan.

Among Asian countries, India and Japan have been active members of the IPRA since the association's early days. The Asian Peace Research Council was established at the fifth IPRA conference in India in 1974, but it was not effective and was replaced six years later by a new organization. The Asian Peace Research Association (APRA) was founded in December 1980 and Takeshi Ishida served as its first Secretary General. The APRA was renamed the Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA) (Kawata 1996, 71) and it promotes cooperation among Asian peace researchers to today.

## Research Topics and Areas in Peace Studies

Peace studies is a practical discipline that contains many research topics, fields, and methodologies. This diversity is mirrored by the PSAJ, which also deals with a wide range of research fields. The Association holds academic meetings twice a year (spring and autumn), and at these meetings, twenty committees meet separately to discuss their issue of focus. The topics of these committees are as follows: (1) method and practice of peace studies; (2) Constitution and peace; (3) Asia and peace; (4) colonialism and peace; (5) disarmament and security; (6) Africa; (7) environment and peace; (8) peace education; (9) gender issues and peace; (10) peace culture; (11) development and peace; (12) refugees and forced relocation; (13) non-violence; (14) global *hibakusha* (Japanese people, especially the survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki); (15) peace and art; (16) public and peace; (17) genocide studies; (18) peace movement; (19) war and air raids; and (20) peace in Ryūkyū, Okinawa, and island nations and regions (PSAJ n.d.). In addition, the PSAJ has a peace forum page on its website for members of the general public who are interested in peace issues, especially in regard to Japan and Northeast Asia. The forum includes topics such as “academic freedom and freedom of speech,” “confronting the COVID-19 crisis,” “Constitution and peace,” “putting the Right of Collective Self-Defense in perspective,” “contemporary developments on the Right to Peace,” “against Abe Administration’s Proactive Peace Principles and the Specially Designated Secrets Act,” and “for building peace in East Asia.” These topics show the prioritization among the Japanese people of some of the important issues related to peace and security (see also Yan’s [2019] analysis of the PSAJ’s topics of its peace forum and bulletin showing the Association’s interdisciplinary and critical approach).

## The Constitution and Article 9 in Peace Studies

Among the various research fields and discussion themes presented above, the topics that are specific to Japan will be the focus of the following sections in order to examine the features of Japanese peace studies. Peace studies and peace movements are different in principle. Peace research should be based on objective analysis and is not automatically oriented to peace (Kawata 1996, 23). However, discussions on peace are linked to social, political, and economic problems or crises in a country, meaning that peace research confronts actual problems in the country being studied.

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the main concern of Japanese peace studies, and is one of its unique aspects. In peace studies internationally, international law is sometimes addressed, but the Constitution is rarely dealt



with (Kimijima 2018). Similarly, in the field of constitutional studies, the “peace clause” (Article 9) has not been a popular topic (Mizushima 2002). However, it is different in the field of peace studies because, as Akihiko Kimijima (2014) argues, the pacifism of Article 9 has served as the framework and standard for the Japanese people from which to think about war and peace. Article 9 is also decisively influential in Japanese peace studies, peace education, and peace movements (Kimijima 2014, 170). Japanese pacifism, for example, has been discussed in regard to topics such as peacebuilding, the SDF and the question of SDF’s legitimation in the Constitution, and security issues. In these discussions Japanese pacifism is often criticized as naive or too idealistic.

Since its implementation after the Second World War, the Constitution and peace have consistently been a focus of discussions, but there came a turning point in the 1990s. Following the end of the War, Japan hesitated to engage in Asian politics, except via topics of financial support and official financial assistance. In the early 1990s, through the initiative of the Tokyo Conference on Cambodia and supported by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, Japan played an important role in the peacekeeping and reconciliation processes in Cambodia. The Japanese government sent the Ground SDF for the peacekeeping operations (PKO), which represented the first overseas deployment of Japanese forces since 1945 and required a new PKO law to be enacted in 1992. This move led to a major controversy about the constitutional legality or illegality of this deployment and the SDF itself (Takemoto 2020).

The Japanese Constitution and pacifism became hot issues again in 2015, when the government of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Komei Party under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, changed the security policy under the slogan “proactive contribution for peace.” The meaning of this slogan is often confused with Galtung’s concept of positive peace—in Japanese, the slogan is *sekkyokuteki heiwashugi*, which is very similar to the Japanese translation of positive peace (*sekkyokuteki heiwa*). “Proactive contribution for peace” has been understood as a misuse of the concept of positive peace and regarded as militarization under the pretense of pacifism. Akifumi Fujita and Masakazu Matsumoto (2015) argue that “[t]oday, arbitrarily divided into ‘negative and positive,’ the concepts of ‘peace’ and ‘pacifism’ tend to be used as narrow slogans for a particular political direction. Regarding this, the PSAJ is responsible to respond to the current situation academically, because it has continuously discussed these concepts” (*ibid.*, i). Japanese peace researchers have tackled this issue as their responsibility.

Sensing a kind of crisis for pacifism, PSAJ researchers posted one hundred short articles on its website in 2015 entitled “On the 100 Issues of the Security Legislation.” The aim was to contribute to discussions on this issue. The PSAJ stated that “since its establishment in 1973, the PSAJ has been debating scientifically to explore the conditions of peace for all living in the present, beyond a specific political position. However, the current situation proceeding



under the slogan *sekkyokuteki heiwashugi*, it is indispensable to have minimum critical deliberations and logical examinations, regardless of the direction” (PSAJ 2015).

Pacifism, with its complex meanings and anti-war sentiments, has been widely shared among the Japanese people; although, it has often been described as utopian and inward-looking and criticized as unrealistic idealism. Challenging these critiques, many peace researchers have attempted to discuss the definition of pacifism and the peacebuilding issue together and, through ongoing discussions, to adjust both Article 9 and notions of pacifism in such a way that maintains the advantages for peace that are embedded in Article.

## Wars and Conflicts

While the PSAJ’s founding prospectus emphasized the experiences of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japanese aggression and war responsibility have also been important topics for peace studies, as well as the historical consciousness of war, memories of war, and reconciliation with the victims of Japanese aggression. Particularly since 1990, as dialogue among other Asian countries developed, examining Japanese efforts to “overcome the past” became increasingly important within Japanese peace studies, a topic of interest that was shared by the peace movements, even though these efforts as well as knowledge on war responsibility were not widely known among Japanese citizens. With democratization of Asian countries, especially South Korea, it became possible to talk about Japanese war crimes and aggression during the early 20th Century. Efforts for reconciliation by the Japanese could be found, especially in the work done by NGOs. Discussions on the Second World War were stimulated by both the controversies about Japanese history textbooks (for example, related to the explanation of Japanese invasion) and Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama’s statement that recognized and apologized for Japanese colonialism.

The field of peace studies has been eager to include historical research, such as research on the causes of the Second World War and the details of Japanese war crimes, as well as themes such as the Holocaust and mass killings. Peace researchers have tried to integrate these topics into peace education and peace museums (in the form of materials for schools and exhibitions, for example) in order to raise public awareness on past and contemporary wars and conflicts in the world.

## Global Hibakusha

Another unique aspect of Japanese peace studies is the global hibakusha issue.

Japanese peace studies are deeply rooted in the experiences of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki attacks. Since the early postwar period, there have been many kinds of research on these atomic bombings. Meanwhile, the nation's population has shared antinuclear sentiment, and, after the Bikini incident in 1954, antinuclear activism developed into a massive demonstration. Japanese people, especially the survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (*hibakusha*), have shouldered the responsibility of talking about the destructive power of nuclear weapons, doing so under the slogan “no more *hibakusha*.” Since the 1990s, research on foreign *hibakusha* (other survivors of nuclear incidents) has been pursued in conjunction with support for them, through such means as lawsuits that demand that people who live in foreign countries also be recognized as *hibakusha* legally defined by the Atomic Bomb Survivors Relief Law.

Nuclear incidents, such as the one on Three Mile Island in the US in 1979 and especially the 1986 Chernobyl disaster in Ukraine, stimulated the Japanese antinuclear movement. The concept of “global *hibakusha*” was introduced to refer to people who were irradiated not only by nuclear attacks, but also by incidents at nuclear power plants, during nuclear production, from nuclear testing, and from uranium mining (on the definition of “global *hibakusha*,” see Jacobs [2022]). However, even among citizens in Hiroshima, discussions of nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons together had been avoided until the early 21st Century. The Great East Japan Earthquake and the subsequent nuclear incident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in 2011 triggered significant change to this situation. People became more conscious of the danger of nuclear energy, even though, ten years after the incident, both the antinuclear movement and discussions of nuclear energy have weakened. The impact of the Fukushima incident can be found more in peace studies, as shown in the next section.

## Changes in Peace Studies

The field of peace studies often reflects political and social changes of the country and the world. According to Masatsugu Matsuo's 1990 study, peace studies in Japan and the world from the 1950s to the 1980s can be categorized into three periods. The first period, from the end of the 1950s to the 1960s, marks the birth of peace studies. The research at that time was mostly dedicated to conflict resolution and negative peace (the absence of war). The second period was during the 1970s—the era of the institutionalization of peace studies and the rise of positive peace research, with the development of the concept of structural violence by Galtung. The third period was during the 1980s and involved the revival of war studies, stimulated by the heightened tensions of the Cold War and from the Euromissile crisis, as well as the challenge to retheorize and combine positive and negative peace theory (for details and further discussions especially about the 1980s, see

Matsuo 1990, 10-19).

If we develop this periodization, we can add here a fourth period since 1990, which is the era of human security and terrorism. In Japanese peace studies, a fifth period began in March 2011 with the Great East Japan Earthquake and the Fukushima incident (mentioned above). That severe nuclear accident brought to light various political and social problems: safety of nuclear energy, Japanese society's dependence on nuclear energy, social gaps between rich and poor and between Tokyo and the rural areas that have been negatively affected by the nuclear industry, nuclear weapons and power plants as two sides of the same coin, and energy and technology issues. Peace studies after this Fukushima incident (also referred to as 3.11) became an important concern of Japanese scholars, as exemplified by the following book titles: *Genpatsu o tou: 3.11 go no heiwigaku* (Questioning the Nuclear Power Generation: Peace Studies after 3.11) (Toda 2012) and "3.11" *go no heiwigaku* (On the Threshold of Peace Studies in Post-3.11 Japan) (PSAJ 2013). Discussions in this fifth period have been related to the dangers facing positive peace and sustainability.

## Relationships with Other Disciplines

Each of the specific topics of Japanese peace studies mentioned above, has close ties to the social sciences, such as international relations, international law, politics, and sociology. Historical studies also contribute to the examination of wars and provide knowledge about wars and peace movements in the past and across time. For the study of the global hibakusha, the role of physicists and medical scientists are important (they are also leading antinuclear activists, as demonstrated by the Pugwash Conference and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War). To understand related environmental and energy issues, knowledge from the natural sciences is required. In Japan, peace is very often treated as a research theme, but not all researchers conduct their research as peace studies. Peace research is a relatively new field and has consequently had to rely on disciplinary-specific research methods. The Science Council of Japan (SCJ), the representative organization of the Japanese scientific community covering all fields of sciences, subsuming humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences, and engineering), however, has been an important contributor to efforts to combine the various research fields on peace. The SCJ established, for example, the Peace Issues Research Liaison Committee to discuss peace throughout Japan as well as the National Committee for Peace Research to discuss tasks for peace studies in the 21st Century (National Committee for Peace Research, the Science Council of Japan 2005).

## Peace Studies, Education, and Museums

Peace studies has been conducted from various perspectives by experts in a wide range of fields. The research methods were quite different from each other, and, therefore, academic systematization and institutionalization have been necessary to build a comprehensive peace studies discipline and to effectively train experts on peace issues.

Compared to the organizational progression, it took longer for peace studies to get established as a specialized subject and research field. In April 1973, a few months before the creation of the Peace Society, the SCJ established the Peace Issues Research Liaison Committee, which, in 1974, adopted the mission of promoting peace research in Japan to accelerate the institutionalization process. Peace studies first appeared on university curricula in 1976 and has continued to increase its representation. Also, peace studies has been introduced to undergraduates through topics such as nuclear issues, human rights, and international relations.

At the undergraduate level, the number of lectures related to peace studies has increased, and peace research institutions attached to universities have been established. However, departments of peace studies, or peace courses at the graduate level have been slower to appear, and peace researchers have called for the establishment of peace courses at the graduate level. This trend has changed since Keisen University opened a master's program in the Graduate School of Peace Studies in Tokyo. It is now possible to enroll in master- or doctoral-level courses in peace studies at other universities, too. This change has not only contributed to the education of young scholars and practitioners, but it also responds to the general public's demand for learning about peace issues through public lectures and recurrent education.

From the beginning of Japan's peace studies, the pacifism of Article 9 of the Constitution and the experiences of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been major topics in the field. In Hiroshima, since the early postwar period, many researchers dedicated themselves to research on atomic bombs, atomic bomb-related diseases and the aftereffects of radiation (medical research), and the hibakusha (sociological research). In 1975, the Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University (now called the Center for Peace, CPHU) was established for the purpose of conducting research on peace studies. It was the first academic research institute in peace studies in Japan (CPHU 2019). The necessity of establishing international peace research institutes was repeatedly called for in Hiroshima. As a result, the Hiroshima Peace Institute was established at Hiroshima City University in 1994. Nagasaki also has its own unique peace studies center. Nagasaki University, especially the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, is playing a leading role in the research on nuclear issues and

strives to educate students at graduate and undergraduate schools about related peace issues.

In the case of peace studies from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, theorizing peace from the experiences of the atomic attacks is important. For example, the research on the lives and memories of the hibakusha—including Korean hibakusha—is quite common. The focus on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has often been interpreted as Japan emphasizing its victimhood, and, therefore, domestic and international discussions on nuclear issues require objective analysis of nuclear issues beyond a focus on the experiences of survivors. It is, as Oshiba (2021) writes, also necessary to examine nuclear issues not only as an issue of international politics but also as an issue affecting the global environment and other world issues. Peace studies is also notably active in Okinawa, where the US bases present actual concerns, more so than other places in Japan. These three places are regarded as the centers of peace studies in Japan.

Besides these academic efforts at peace institutes and graduate schools, peace education and peace museums also contribute to building a consensus on peace and peace culture. In Japan, peace education is influenced by the pacifism of Article 9 and Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and it tries to illustrate the negative features of wars and pass knowledge on to children about the experiences of the Second World War. This education teaches that wars are the absolute evil (Murakami 2009, 16-17). Therefore, testimonies of war survivors, especially the hibakusha are often used as teaching material in schools. The stories of survivors convey memories of war and have an enlightening role for society, but are used carefully in schools to avoid being political. This kind of peace education is quite popular in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Okinawa, but not always common in other areas in Japan. This leads to a gap in knowledge about war and history among young people across the nation.

In addition to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, and Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, there are additional kinds of peace museums built by local governments where air raids were experienced during the Second World War. Some museums such as the Kawasaki Peace Museum and the Kyoto Museum for World Peace (Ritsumeikan University) are actively incorporating peace studies and contribute to the dissemination of research results to the general public. Small local museums, however, tend to focus on telling their own history. The museums show the misery of war but they often omit the explanation of the cause of war and war responsibilities. It is necessary to re-examine the function of peace museums to deepen the discussion on peace.

## Conclusion

This article provides an overview of Japanese peace studies as material for comparative thinking about peace studies in other parts of Asia. It clarifies the characteristics of Japanese peace studies and identifies its related fields. In particular, this article highlights the uniqueness of Japanese peace studies and the heavy influence of Article 9 of the Constitution and experiences of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. While the interaction of peace studies, peace movements, peace education, and peace museums are the fundamental building blocks of the Japanese understanding of peace and peace culture, the field of peace studies plays a particularly significant role in the theorization of peace and pacifism. As demonstrated in this article, Japanese peace studies has developed to confront ongoing conflicts and historical issues, theoretically and pragmatically. During these developments, peace studies has cooperated with other related research fields and contributed a leading role in the interdisciplinary discussions on peace, which also stimulate peace movements.

The Russian-Ukraine War has begun to significantly impact conversations in Japan about war, peace, and security. Due to the fear of a nuclear war and Third World War, many people who had not previously been interested in discussions on peace have started to learn about war and peace. Furthermore, right-wing politicians have begun to advocate for Japan's nuclear arming more strongly than ever. This has led academics to question how much longer Japan can maintain its inclination toward peace and its peace culture. In Japan, Article 9 of the Constitution, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons are also taken up in this discussion, and public opinion is likely to be split between militarization and pacifism. Under these circumstances, peace studies in Japan needs to pursue objective and critical examinations of war, peace, and nuclear weapons. The field also needs to cooperate with the peace movement. Both critical study and cooperation with the peace movement will continue the effort of building an environment in which conflicts can be solved through non-violent peaceful methods, and will also help to bridge the gap between the conceptualizations of peace by academics and citizens.

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