

## Keynote Address to the Opening Plenary, 2019 World Conference against A and H Bombs - Nagasaki

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On behalf of the organizers of the 2019 World Conference against A and H Bombs-Nagasaki, I have been asked to make this keynote address today.

I am from Kyoto. As you may know, up to 2 weeks before the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, it was Kyoto that had been designated as the first target of the atomic bombing. The intended ground zero was the circle-shaped garage of the Umeko-ji locomotive district, located 1 kilometer west of Kyoto Station in the center of Kyoto Basin. In those days, they put a locomotive on a turntable to move it from one railway track to another. The diameter of the turntable was about 50-60 meters, and its round shape could clearly be identified even at an altitude of 10,000, from where the atomic bomb was to be released. That turntable is still displayed in the Kyoto Railway Museum near Kyoto Station.

Back then, three conditions were considered essential as a target for the atomic bombing: 1) a city or district larger than 3 miles in diameter; 2) an area that could be effectively destroyed by the bomb blasts; 3) an area as yet left unscathed by air raids as of August 1945. Meeting these requirements, Kyoto was listed as one of the “AA targets”, along with Hiroshima. With many intellectuals among its population, Kyoto was regarded as ideal to get the meaning of the atomic bombing across. Kyoto had a population close to 1 million and over 1,000 wooden shrines and temples. Given that the city was surrounded by mountains, if a Hiroshima-type atomic bomb had been dropped on Kyoto, with blast, radiation and firestorms, about half a million people would have been killed.

However, on July 24, 13 days before Hiroshima was A-bombed, Kyoto was removed from the list of targets and replaced by Nagasaki City. That day’s entry of the journal of U.S. War Secretary Henry Stimson reads, “...if elimination was not done, the bitterness which would be caused by such a wanton act [a-bombing Kyoto, Japan’s cultural center] might make it impossible during the long post-war period to reconcile the Japanese to us in that area rather than to the Russians. It might thus, I pointed out, be the means of preventing what our policy demanded, namely a sympathetic Japan to the United States in case there should be any aggression by Russian in Manchuria”. This shows that the U.S. cautiously avoided A-bombing Kyoto in order to keep its political advantage in the post WWII international community.

On August 2, the Commander of the Fleet Air Wing Group 20 officially announced “Field Order No.13 (Operation Centerboard) and it was decided that the atomic bombing would take place on August 6. The first target that was set was Hiroshima. Kokura was the second and Nagasaki, the third.

At 8:15 on August 6, a uranium bomb nicknamed “Little Boy” was carried by the bomber “Enola Gay” and released over Hiroshima. With no wind in the morning and many people outside working, the Hiroshima bomb killed about 200,000 people. Many of those who barely survived the direct attack

later suffered severe after-effects of radiation, discrimination and prejudice in the society.

Between the U.S and the Soviet Union there was a secret deal agreed upon in Yalta, in which the Soviets promised to join the war with Japan within 3 months after Germany's surrender. As Germany had already surrendered on May 8, exactly 3 months later, the Soviets declared war against Japan on August 8 and launched attacks from Manchuria.

Knowing this, the U.S. immediately sent the second bomber Bockscar carrying a plutonium bomb "Fat Man" to Kokura, the second target for the atomic bombing. However, the sky over Kokura was covered with smoke caused by the air raid fires on the Yawata area the previous day. After 3 failed entries into the city, the plane banked and headed toward Nagasaki, the third A-bomb target. At 10:58, the bomb was dropped manually from an altitude of 9,000 meters. Four minutes later at 11:02, Nagasaki became the second nuclear hell. It is well known that Bockscar later ran out of fuel and made an emergency landing in Okinawa. The Nagasaki A-bombing consequently killed 110,000 people and survivors were forced to live inhuman lives in the ensuing years.

Some time ago, in the guestbook of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, someone from outside Japan scribbled, "Who is to blame?" Indeed, if Japan had not conducted the war of aggression before the atomic bombing, the A-bomb would not have been dropped. But in spite of that, the fundamental belief of the Hibakusha is that nuclear weapons are inhuman and absolutely evil weapons, which should never be used, irrespective of the actual course of war. The Hibakusha's appeal, that Nagasaki should remain the last victim city of an atomic bombing, reflects their determination.

Through their experiences of the war, the people of Japan declared in Article 9 of the constitution, that "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes." Upholding the banner of the "prevention of nuclear war; abolition of nuclear weapons and support for and solidarity with the Hibakusha, the citizens of Japan have appealed for creating a nuclear-free world in unison with the Hibakusha. This World Conference against A and H Bombs, too, is one of such efforts.

At times, in the discussion on how to achieve a world without nuclear weapons, we hear some people say that possession of nuclear weapons guarantees security. It is another version of the argument on gun-control which claims that a society with guns is safer than a society where guns are prohibited. According to the U.S. Congressional Research Service, it is estimated that during 239 years since 1775, when the U.S. War of Independence was being fought, to 2014, 1.2 million people were killed in wars. But during only 46 years between 1968 and 2014, almost 1.5 million people were killed by guns. More people were killed by guns domestically than in foreign wars. If by extension someone argues that a world with nuclear weapons is safer than a world without them, the principle of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will be doomed to collapse completely.

Fortunately, the Hibakusha's voices for the abolition of nuclear weapons echoed throughout the international community, which led to the adoption by the U.N. of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons on July 7, 2017. The treaty established a new norm to render nuclear weapons completely illegal and marked an important step forward for their elimination. This treaty prohibits the

development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons and provides for their elimination. It has been supported by two-thirds of the U.N. member states. So far the treaty has been signed by 70 states and ratified by 25. The treaty enters into effect 90 days after the 50th country's ratification, and is now well on its way for coming into force. The treaty enjoys support even inside the countries with nuclear weapons or those under the "nuclear umbrella". In the U.S., Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, and the State Assembly of California, the largest state, have adopted resolutions unanimously to urge the government to join the TPNW.

We feel strong resentment on the refusal of the Japanese government to join this treaty. We are urging the government to support the TPNW and to sign and ratify it, as well as actively call on other countries which have not done so yet. For achieving this, too, we need to be determined to pull together more and stronger support to our efforts and change the present situation.

It is reported that after Hiroshima was A-bombed, one of the scientists of the Manhattan Project said that for the next 75 years, no grass or trees would grow on the soil of Hiroshima. Next year, 2020 will mark the 75th anniversary since then. It will also mark the 50th year of the birth of the NPT regime. Despite the unfairness of acknowledging five powers possessing nuclear arsenals, the NPT is supported by many countries as it stipulates in its Article 6 the obligation of nuclear weapon states to conduct negotiations on measures for nuclear disarmament. The Nuclear Five must not keep turning their backs on this treaty obligation and we must urge them to sincerely fulfill that obligation.

The International Meeting of this year's World Conference, held for 3 days from August 3, unanimously adopted the Declaration of the International Meeting. While referring to the 75th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in 2020, it reminded us of the first resolution of the U.N., which was on the elimination of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. The Declaration calls on us to rise to a global movement with the Hibakusha to make the year 2020 a historic turning point to create a nuclear weapon-free world. Most importantly, the declaration calls for strengthening our activities to let it be known to the world the damage and aftereffects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings and the inhumanity of nuclear weapons. It states that for creating a majority force in support of the TPNW, it is essential to expose the catastrophic consequences of the use of nuclear weapons and defeat the "nuclear deterrence" theory.

Dear friends taking part in the 2019 World Conference - Nagasaki, Anthropologist Gerald Weinberg, a software developer who joined the Hall of Fellows of the Computer Museum in 1977 along with Bill Gates, died a year ago today. Among the variety of viewpoints he proposed are changing the angle from which to view things upside-down and reversing the standpoints of victimizers and victims. We should try to view the A-bomb hell not from above the mushroom cloud, but underneath. We should try to imagine and relive the hellish experiences of those who suffered the nuclear attack, not from the standpoint of those who dropped the bomb. We must make sure that the individual memory of the Hibakusha is succeeded by "societal memory." To prevent the reproduction of these tragic memories, it is essential to exchange our experiences in activities, propose ideas and carry on our efforts for the prevention of nuclear war, elimination of nuclear weapons and support for

and solidarity with the Hibakusha.

Friends, let us share the hearts and minds of the Hibakusha you have met through the World Conference and deeply learn from the Declaration of the International Meeting, which crystallized the wisdom and experiences of the worldwide movement against A and H Bombs. Let us further spread the International Hibakusha Appeal Signature Campaign for which already nearly 10 million signatures have been gathered, and bring the result of all these movements to the World Conference against A and H Bombs in New York next April. We will urge the forthcoming NPT Review Conference and UN General Assembly to sincerely respond to the earnest desire of the Hibakusha to see all nuclear weapons eliminated in their lifetime.