Civil Society and Disarmament
2020

Navigating Disarmament Education
The Peace Boat Model

UNODA
United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs

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Note

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The material in this book includes original analysis by civil society representatives, as well as previously issued statements and briefing papers, some of which have been updated by their authors to ensure clarity. The views of the authors are their own and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations or its Member States.

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Overview

This publication explores various challenges and possibilities of disarmament education. With 37 years of experience in coordinating people-to-people exchange via voyages on a passenger ship, Peace Boat has implemented various disarmament education programmes over the past decades. As a steering group member organization of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, Peace Boat has been particularly active in engaging hibakusha—atomic-bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Together with hibakusha, Peace Boat has worked with youth from all backgrounds to think about why disarmament is important and how it works. This publication introduces Peace Boat's methodology for disarmament education, which directly stems from lessons learned through implementation of various disarmament education programmes. It also discusses how disarmament education should be implemented in relation to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and how digital technologies can be leveraged to provide a fruitful experience for participants.

Hibakusha and youth communicators travel on board Peace Boat and visit ports of call to deliver their stories and call for a world without nuclear weapons.

Foreword

by Izumi Nakamitsu

In 1983, a group of Japanese university students embarked on a chartered passenger ship to learn how residents of four Pacific islands understood their past experiences of violent conflict. That voyage marked the start of an ongoing, global conversation to build a world that is peaceful, sustainable and respectful of every person's dignity and rights.

Peace Boat, the international non-governmental organization that grew from that first excursion in the Pacific, would go on to make pioneering contributions in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation education. A relatively new field of practice when Peace Boat was founded, such training now has the understood purpose of imparting knowledge and skills to empower individuals to make their contribution to disarmament as national and world citizens.

In pursuing this aim for 37 years over more than 100 regional and global voyages, Peace Boat has fostered profound experiences of connection between individuals of all ages and backgrounds, including students, scientific and policy professionals and atomic bomb survivors from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Insights from its work have supported real political change; as one of 10 organizations on the steering group of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, Peace Boat shared the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize for the contributions of that global coalition towards the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

In this volume of "Civil Society and Disarmament", a serial publication of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs on disarmament-related issues from the perspective of civil society, Peace Boat draws on decades of experience to explain its unique approach to the work of disarmament and non-proliferation education. Its methodology emphasizes three key areas: (a) helping people build empathy for one another

through honest discussion of their differences; (b) promoting nuanced understandings of modern weapon technologies and their accompanying political complexities; and (c) equipping individuals with practical methods to achieve progress for disarmament and peace.

In the following pages, Peace Boat elaborates on this approach in terms that are intended to be useful in a variety of educational contexts. Indeed, the fundamentals of Peace Boat's model—creating environments where individuals can safely express their true feelings and then build and act upon shared understandings—may have applications for restorative justice processes beyond the scope of disarmament and non-proliferation education.

It is important to note, however, that many civil society organizations in addition to Peace Boat have made vital contributions towards shaping this field of education as an internationally pursued discipline. If we continue to partner and learn from one another, I am confident that we will overcome present challenges and continue our journey towards a more peaceful, secure and sustainable world.

Izumi Nakamitsu
United Nations Under-Secretary-General and
High Representative for Disarmament Affairs
September 2020

Prologue

by Setsuko Thurlow

As a thirteen-year-old girl, I witnessed my beloved Hiroshima utterly destroyed by a super-hurricane-like blast, burned in the heat of 4,000 degrees Celsius and contaminated by the radiation of one atomic bomb. Hundreds of thousands of people perished in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and continue to die to this day due to the delayed effects of radioactive contamination. I am part of the family of hibakusha, the atomic bomb survivors. In my activism for nuclear abolition over many decades, I have worked with other hibakusha, but never in my life had I experienced such a gathering as on board Peace Boat's "Global Voyage for a Nuclear Free World" in 2008 and 2009.

I first sailed with Peace Boat in 1995 and have since been on board a number of times. Some of the things I have enjoyed most were the simple pleasures—community living, getting to know one another, intergenerational exchange of views and learning about different cultures. Such eye-opening and mind-broadening experiences I have had on board! These experiences provided profound personal growth and transformation for Peace Boat participants to become activists or at the very least to become more aware of civic responsibilities.

Yet, it was my participation in the first Global Voyage for a Nuclear Free World that was most meaningful. For nearly four months, 103 hibakusha from Hiroshima and Nagasaki travelled to more than 20 countries around the world to share our experiences. For us, the time and space created on Peace Boat was incredibly meaningful. This provided a community for healing and learning.

As hibakusha, many of us have lived with a sense of psychological isolation, having to keep our own past, including our experience of the atomic bombings, buried deep within ourselves. For those of us who left Japan and have been living overseas, such as myself, this isolation was often even more

profoundly felt. Therefore, to have a community of hibakusha travelling together around the world was a very powerful, once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.

I thought of several ways to engage, as we 103 hibakusha were able to spend hours together each day, to share our memories and experiences without fear of being criticized from those around us and to exchange our opinions freely. I wanted to learn more about the A-bomb experiences of other survivors and about their lives in the aftermath. I individually interviewed most of them during our time on the ship. In this way, the journey was an opportunity for many hibakusha to reposition our own views and reflect on our experiences of the atomic bombings in a broader perspective. By visiting many countries, listening to people from the local communities and learning from guest educators, we were able to revisit our own ideas, or misconceptions, about the war itself.

By providing a community for healing and learning, reflecting on and revisiting our pain, the Global Voyage for a Nuclear Free World transformed many hibakusha from storytellers into activists for nuclear abolition. As a result, I believe that this also connected to a sense of release for many of us. We could think about what it means to be a survivor and develop the courage and sense of mission to ensure a liveable world with justice for future generations.

Peace Boat gave 103 atomic bomb survivors this rare opportunity. Many of us felt empowered in a new way. I think that our work in 2008, joining together with other hibakusha and strengthening our resolve to work for disarmament, paved the way for the Nobel Peace Prize of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons for civil society's involvement in bringing the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons to the world community. Peace Boat remains a very important catalyst for disarmament, human rights and good work in the world. For the hibakusha and also for the many young people from around the world who also travel on board Peace Boat, it embodies a creative, experimental and progressive approach to disarmament education.

I sincerely hope that readers of this publication will find its introduction of Peace Boat's initiatives just as useful.

Setsuko Thurlow
Hiroshima survivor
Campaigner, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, 2017 Nobel Peace Laureate
September 2020

Introduction

The troubling world we live in

The new decade began with a painful reminder that the world may be moving away from finding a convincing collective answer to international security challenges. The first days of 2020 saw tensions in the Middle East region intensify to an even higher level, and the possibility of a serious retaliation loomed large. Many feared the outbreak of a large-scale military confrontation. Volatility persists, attesting to the reality that the international community is yet to find a fundamental breakthrough to the insecurity in the region. In the meantime, many civilians living on the ground are left vulnerable.

Looking at phenomena across the globe, it is immediately apparent that we continue to live in a dangerous time. Seventy-five years since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the establishment of the United Nations, humanity is still faced with the existential danger of a nuclear war. The *2020 Doomsday Clock Statement* indicated that "it is 100 seconds to midnight" (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 2020). In 2019 alone, national leaders have ended or undermined several major arms control treaties and negotiations, creating an environment conducive to a renewed nuclear arms race, to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to lowered barriers to nuclear war.

Political conflicts regarding nuclear programmes in the Middle East and in North-East Asia remain unresolved and are, if anything, worsening. Cooperation between major nuclear

powers on arms control and disarmament is all but non-existent. In the meantime, people in conflict-ridden regions struggle for their daily survival. Protracted armed conflicts have become more frequent, longer and more devastating for civilians. They cause unspeakable human suffering, including sexual violence that is often tactically employed as a weapon of war. Civil wars are interconnected with regional and global rivalries. While old weapons remain dangerous, new weapon technologies are increasing risks. Drone technologies facilitate the ability of non-State actors to carry out attacks across international boundaries. Emerging technologies, such as additive manufacturing (so-called 3D printing), artificial intelligence and robotics, interact with old weapons systems and pose new challenges (Brockmann, Bauer and Boulanin 2019).

The costs of the resulting insecurity are significant, with more than one eighth of the world's gross product spent in 2017 on containing all forms of violence (United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) 2018, ix). Global military expenditure was 7.2 per cent higher in 2019 than it was in 2010, showing a trend that military spending growth has accelerated in recent years (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) 2020). Costs come in other forms too. In many recent conflicts, international humanitarian law has been disregarded. Prohibited weapons, such as chemical munitions, have returned to the battlefield. Conventional explosives are being used in cities with devastating impacts on civilians and their surroundings. There are even moves away from the treaties banning or regulating these weapons.

These situations make the pursuit of disarmament more essential today than ever. The Agenda for Disarmament, *Securing Our Common Future*, announced in May 2018 by United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres, vividly highlights this point. The Agenda outlines a set of practical measures across the entire range of disarmament issues, including weapons of mass destruction, conventional arms and future weapon technologies.

Particularly notable in the Agenda is the Secretary-General's reaffirmed commitment to disarmament education. He set out that the young generation is "the ultimate force for change" and that "[m]ore education and training opportunities should be established in order to create a platform for the sustainable entry of young people from all parts of the world into the field of disarmament" (UNODA 2018, 67–68). He also emphasized the importance of partnerships to promote such efforts.

Solutions to the insecurities we face today will not come overnight. That is precisely why the United Nations Secretary-General's emphasis on the role of youth and disarmament education is valuable. Peace Boat, the main author organization of this volume, also shares this belief in the crucial roles of youth in disarmament efforts and therefore in effective disarmament education. With such a vision, Peace Boat has collaborated with UNODA on various occasions in the past. Most recently, Peace Boat has been an active part of the UNODA "Youth4Disarmament" Initiative, which provides young people with knowledge and skills and empowers them to make their own contributions.

It is from this perspective, which puts youth at the centre of disarmament efforts, that this volume explores various issues related to disarmament education.

Disarmament education: A historical overview

The central theme of this volume is that of disarmament education. As such, a brief historical overview of disarmament education may help readers clarify its vision and scope, as well as its place within the larger context of peace education.

Education is a critical element of peace. Throughout human history, people have taught each other conflict resolution techniques to avoid violence. In that sense, peace and disarmament education has been practised informally for centuries by people who strive to resolve conflicts in ways that do not use deadly force. Indigenous peoples have conflict resolution traditions that have been passed down through

generations that help promote peace within their communities and with others.

A series of initiatives since the end of the Second World War facilitated the process of formalizing peace education and, moreover, of situating disarmament and non-proliferation education at its core. Initially, efforts made by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) were central in this field. In particular, their 1974 "Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" is often seen as having formulated the basis of what we today call peace and disarmament education. The recommendation incorporated many of the universal values that later fed into international human rights law and international humanitarian law. At the same time, it set out the vision for the kind of education that nurtures people who can help prevent armed conflicts and contribute to world peace. Furthermore, it emphasized the importance of incorporating "an international dimension and a global perspective", facilitating "a critical understanding of problems at the national and the international level", nurturing one's "responsibilities for the maintenance of peace" and teaching "ways of overcoming… contradictions and tensions between countries", among other things (UNESCO 1974; also see Nojima 2012).

In the 1970s, as the Cold War nuclear arms race intensified, talking about peace became inseparable from talking about prevention of nuclear war. Mainstreaming disarmament education within peace education appeared imperative (Page 2008). Steps were taken to highlight the urgency of advancing disarmament education in a comprehensive manner. In 1978, the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly was devoted entirely to disarmament. This is what is today known as the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament (SSOD-I). The Final Document of SSOD-I urged governments and international organizations to develop programmes in disarmament at all levels and indicated that

disarmament education ought to be included within formal curriculums (United Nations 1978).

As a follow up to SSOD-I, UNESCO convened the World Congress on Disarmament Education in 1980. The Final Document and Report of the Congress posited disarmament education as being an essential component of peace education (UNESCO 1980). In 1982, the United Nations General Assembly held the second special session on disarmament (SSOD-II), the centrepiece of which was the World Disarmament Campaign, lasting from 1982 to 1992. Two years after the campaign ended, in 1992, the World Disarmament Campaign was converted into a permanent organization and became the United Nations Disarmament Information Programme. Yet, while some infrastructure for disarmament education was put in place during the 1980s and 1990s, progress was slow during those decades. Ideological tensions were too serious to allow facilitation of any progressive efforts in this field.

What is today seen as a watershed moment came in 2002. This year, based on two years of work by experts, the "United Nations study on disarmament and non-proliferation education" was submitted to the First Committee of the General Assembly. The objectives of the study were to define contemporary forms of disarmament and non-proliferation education and training as well as assess the current situation of such education and training at various instructional levels (UNODA n.d.).

The study defined the overall objective of disarmament and non-proliferation education as the following:

> to impart knowledge and skills to individuals to empower them to make their contribution, as national and world citizens, to the achievement of concrete disarmament and non-proliferation measures and the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. (United Nations 2002, 1)

More specifically, the study's main contribution was the 34 recommendations for action to be undertaken by Governments, regional organizations, the United Nations and other international organizations, municipal and religious leaders. The

recommendations were made in the following five areas (Toki 2015):

1. Ways to promote education and training in disarmament and non-proliferation at all levels of formal and informal education
2. Ways to utilize more fully evolving pedagogic methods, particularly the revolution in information and communications technology
3. Ways to introduce disarmament and non-proliferation education into post-conflict situations as a contribution to peacebuilding
4. Ways in which organizations of the United Nations system with special competence in disarmament or education or both can harmonize and coordinate their efforts in disarmament and non-proliferation education
5. Methods of implementation.

Finally and most recently, the preamble to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in 2017 also recognized "the importance of peace and disarmament education in all its aspects and of raising awareness of the risks and consequences of nuclear weapons for current and future generations".[1]

All in all, disarmament education has evolved to be not simply education *about* disarmament, even though we will argue below that such a component must be an essential component of any effective disarmament education programme. Rather, it is also education *for* disarmament. It is, in the words of disarmament educator and Hibakusha Stories Director Kathleen Sullivan, "an interactive education process that creates the conditions for disarmament" (Hibakusha Stories n.d.). Today's practices of disarmament education represent a cross-cutting form of education that reinforces and learns from conflict resolution, communication, cross-cultural understanding, tolerance of diversity, non-violence, economic justice,

[1] Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, New York, 7 July 2017.

gender equity, environmental preservation, demilitarization, development, human rights and international humanitarian law.

Finally, it is worth underlining the major role played by civil society organizations. In all the processes above, civil society organizations were vital in making disarmament education integral to disarmament efforts. Since 2002, UNODA has sought contributions from civil society organizations, international organizations and Member States to the biennial report of the Secretary-General on disarmament and non-proliferation education. While active participation of Member States remains a challenge, submission from civil society organizations abound, increasing year by year.[2] Many civil society organizations that work on issues related to disarmament and non-proliferation include education as part of their mandate. Some organizations even prioritize education as their key task. This volume draws extensively from many initiatives that have been implemented by such civil society actors.

Three pillars of disarmament education: The Peace Boat way

To conclude this introductory chapter, this section introduces Peace Boat, its key initiatives in relation to disarmament education and the philosophy that has been derived therefrom, which underpins Peace Boat's disarmament education practices today.

Peace Boat is a Japan-based international non-governmental organization that promotes peace, human rights and sustainability through global voyages by ship. Peace Boat is therefore the name of the organization but at the same time also refers to the cruise vessel the organization charters: Peace Boat is the passenger ship on which the organization's main activities take place. Over 3,000 people join Peace Boat's global voyages each year and travel around the world. Through a three-month voyage, they are exposed to the natural and cultural beauty of

[2] In the eighth biennial report of the Secretary-General on disarmament and non-proliferation education published in 2018, only Cuba, El Salvador, Japan, Madagascar and Mexico made any contribution. In contrast, over 35 civil society organisations submitted their report.

the world, while also learning about social and political issues that affect the regions they visit and innovative practices to deal with these challenges.

Peace Boat's first voyage was organized in 1983 by a group of Japanese university students as a creative response to government censorship regarding Japan's military history in the Asia-Pacific. The students chartered a small passenger ship and organized a 12-day expedition to visit Ogasawara, Iwo Jima, Guam and Saipan, with the aim of learning first-hand about the war from those who experienced it. The next year, the group again organized an expedition, whose itinerary this time included Hong Kong and Shanghai. In the latter port, an excursion was organized for the group to visit Nanjing, the site of a massacre during the Second World War. This is how people-to-people exchange became Peace Boat's main method for creating change and building peace. Giving participants opportunities to hear first-hand testimony of those directly impacted by various social, economic and political issues has always been at the core of Peace Boat's activities, both on board and in ports. This, in turn, has served to empower participants, strengthen local capacity for sustainability and build cooperation beyond borders as it circumnavigates the world.

In the 37 years of its history, Peace Boat has conducted numerous projects and programmes related to disarmament education. Most significantly, Peace Boat has long worked in collaboration with hibakusha and, since 2008, has invited them to participate in the "Global Voyage for a Nuclear-Free World: Peace Boat Hibakusha Project".[3] As of 2020, over 170 Hibakusha have travelled around the world, giving personal testimonies about the effects of the atomic bombs and calling for nuclear abolition in around 100 cities in more than 60 countries.

The Peace Boat Hibakusha Project has developed hand in hand with Peace Boat's advocacy work on nuclear disarmament at the United Nations and other disarmament forums. In particular, Peace Boat has been one of the key organizations of

[3] For further description of the project, see Peace Boat, "Global Voyage for a Nuclear-Free World Peace Boat Hibakusha Project".

the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2017 for its work leading up to the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Hibakusha testimonials have the potential to deeply move people from all over the world and to draw attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences these weapons cause. Hibakusha who have worked with Peace Boat played a significant role in realizing the nuclear weapons ban treaty.

On another front, Peace Boat has been actively incorporating disarmament education components into its Global University programmes. Global University began in 2000, as a Japanese-language peace education project on board Peace Boat. In 2014, Peace Boat revamped the project to include short-term, intensive, English-based programmes, which helped to attract participants from diverse backgrounds. As a result, the project has developed as a platform for students and young professionals mainly from across Asia, to learn about key disarmament issues and discuss concrete actions they can take to pave the way forward. The themes taken up in Global University programmes encompass nuclear proliferation issues and global nuclear disarmament efforts, as well as other disarmament-relevant issues such as landmines and the small arms trade. Each element of the programme is designed to address the issues not just by teaching participants facts and theories but also by giving them exposure to the experiences and voices of those directly affected by the said issues.[4]

Through organizing, coordinating and leading various disarmament education initiatives, Peace Boat has reaffirmed its strong belief that effective disarmament education efforts should strive to be both "education about disarmament" and "education for disarmament". It should teach people about wars, conflicts, weapons proliferation and the arms trade, but it should also empower people to transform our society to one that is conducive to disarmament.

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[4] For more about Global University programmes, see Peace Boat, "Global University". Past programme reports are also available upon request to the authors.

In order to strike a good balance between "education about disarmament" and "education for disarmament" and to achieve both, Peace Boat proposes that a well-devised disarmament education programme should include three complementary components: "feeling" the issue; acquiring knowledge; and learning the skills to effect changes. A brief explanation for each is elaborated below.

1. Understand the humanitarian aspects of the issue and develop a sense of empathy

Most fundamentally, an effective disarmament education programme has to allow participants to develop a sense of empathy. Participants should be able to realize that these issues have caused, are causing and will continue to cause pain, suffering and insecurity to human beings, who are just like themselves. Many security issues, issues that become the topics for disarmament education, can easily appear distant and abstract. Yet, there is always human suffering involved when wars break out, when weapons are used and when social systems break down because of conflicts.

Elucidating humanitarian aspects of disarmament therefore holds a key to a successful disarmament education. Specifically, whenever possible, allowing participants to hear first-hand testimonies of those directly affected by disarmament-related issues is particularly powerful. Often, testimonies speak for themselves. They reveal the fear, loss, anger and helplessness that people experience, while also uncovering long-term or less visible effects of conflicts, wars and weapons that are not frequently touched upon.

Through this process, people naturally grow a sense of empathy. They feel that the victims' suffering is often not justified and that it should never have happened. Empathy also leads to a sense of responsibility. They begin to realize that they too are part of this world system and therefore are responsible for making the world safer for everyone. Empathy becomes the driving force for people to be the agents of change in disarmament efforts.

2. Recognize the threats and dangers that exist in the world

Once participants have developed a sense of empathy, it then becomes important that this sense of empathy is accompanied by a solid understanding of what constitutes threats and dangers in the world today.

This, on one hand, means acquiring basic knowledge of the issue: what does the weapon do, how are the weapons and weapon technologies developed and by whom, who are the stakeholders in the conflict, and what are some mechanisms in place to address the issue. This stage is about helping participants navigate important literature, giving them opportunities to interact with experts in the field and facilitating their participation in key debates on disarmament issues.

On the other hand, we emphasize that this is also about learning how to look critically at security threats and risks and from different perspectives. Participants should learn to embrace the complexity entailed in any disarmament issue. Often, there are political, legal and economic interests that intertwine in a profound manner. Cultural factors and biases, as well as technological realities, also often serve to shape and complicate security risks and threats. Delving deep into such complexities allows people to recognize that what is happening in one part of the world is most likely connected to all other parts of the world in one way or another.

The importance of having an accurate understanding of the present security landscape and acquiring the ability to examine an issue from multiple angles cannot be overemphasized. This is because these knowledge and abilities then become foundational to analysing where opportunities lie to effect change.

3. Learn methods for taking action that facilitate disarmament

Eventually, disarmament only moves forward by accumulating actions. If armaments and use of violence persist as norms, changes in policies, in people's perceptions and in culture are imperative. Since changes do not occur by themselves, people need to take action to effect changes.

While some may believe that it is impossible to "learn" how to take action, we believe that certain methods and insights that diplomats, politicians and civil servants, as well as activists, have accumulated over the years can be taught and passed on. Examples of concrete initiatives that have created positive impact on disarmament abound. Some are governmental and international: treaties and negotiations, as well as various cooperation mechanisms on disarmament and arms control. Civil society has employed a wide range of tools to influence public perceptions, make public opinion visible, and to raise and amplify voices. Sophisticated methods have been developed to engage local politicians, government officials and decision makers at international organizations.

Therefore, effective disarmament education should entail a component in which participants can learn such insights and tools that will enable them to take action. One way of doing this is by inviting speakers with such experience. More ideally, this is done through a process of experiential learning. If participants can witness international forums related to disarmament or take part in actual advocacy work, the learning outcomes will be much more fruitful and lasting. As an alternative, employing creative methodologies, such as workshop-style sessions and role plays with well-devised plots, could be equally effective.

Volume overview

This chapter provided a brief introduction to the volume by sketching an overview of today's security landscape, the history of peace education and disarmament education, Peace Boat's programmes on disarmament education and its principles for effective disarmament education programmes. The following chapters will expand on the three key components of disarmament education set out above: nurturing empathy; providing a solid knowledge base; and teaching concrete methods to make changes. The volume will end by discussing some ways forward. It is our sincere hope that this volume will help nurture more leaders—current and future—who will contribute to the disarmament work at international, regional, national and community levels.

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Chapter 1

The humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons: The voices of hibakusha[5]

As the introductory chapter detailed, Peace Boat began as a project for people-to-people exchange in 1983. Its specific aim was to achieve reconciliation among peoples in the Asia-Pacific region by facilitating dialogue about World War II. More broadly, it was an attempt for a bottom-up approach to reducing tension and building a foundation for peace in the region. In 1999 Peace Boat began to organize global voyages and its activities since then developed to become much broader in scope. Peace Boat participants today travel not only across Asia but across the globe. Yet the underlying principle remains unchanged: to build a culture of peace around the world by bridging peoples and cultures. As such, Peace Boat in itself can be seen as a disarmament education initiative, broadly defined. In fact, Peace Boat prides itself in being a "floating peace village" that facilitates peace and disarmament education (Peace Boat n.d.).

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[5] *Note on references*. This chapter includes many quotes from the hibakusha who have participated in the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project since 2008. Some of these quotes are taken from testimonies and speeches given at events that took place as part of the project. For some, the project staff recalled informal interactions with participating hibakusha and reconstructed the dialogues. All of these are marked with quotation marks but not with specific references. For references to hibakusha's stories and testimonies before 2008, references are provided.

However, in hindsight, the launch of the "Global Voyage for a Nuclear-Free World: Peace Boat Hibakusha Project" (hereafter the "Peace Boat Hibakusha Project") in 2008 marked the beginning of Peace Boat's more explicit engagement with disarmament education. As it turned out, this project became the platform through which the three pillars of disarmament education—as laid out in the previous chapter—were gradually conceptualized, implemented and further refined.

The history of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project has run in parallel to some of the most significant progress made in the actual realm of nuclear disarmament. In 2009, then President of the United States Barack Obama gave a historical speech in Prague, which emphasized "America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons". The leader of the country that once dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki acknowledged that the country had "a moral responsibility to act". Obama further promised that the United States would take "concrete steps towards a world without nuclear weapons" (The White House 2009). This was an explicit redirection in security discourse: an alluded end to Cold War thinking and a reduction of the role of nuclear weapons in American national security strategies. The subsequent years saw the growing momentum of the humanitarian approach to nuclear disarmament, eventually leading to the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in July 2017.

Central to both the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project and this historical progress in nuclear disarmament has been the attention given to the actual experiences of hibakusha. Their voices have vividly illustrated the inhumane consequences of nuclear weapons on their lives. Combined with the voices of other nuclear victims—including uranium miners, nuclear test victims and workers at nuclear weapons factories—their sincere yearning for a world without nuclear weapons has touched many people's hearts. The empathy that hibakusha testimonies has helped develop in many people around the world has served as the driving force to push certain nuclear disarmament agenda forward.

This chapter begins by introducing the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project in some depth, specifically focusing on the project's first voyage in 2008. Then, drawing on the stories of some of the hibakusha who have joined the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, we will illustrate some of the different humanitarian consequences they have experienced. Reflecting on our experiences with the project, we will also lay out some communication tools and strategies that have proved to be effective in delivering the messages of hibakusha. Finally, the last part highlights how the voice of hibakusha have empowered people to take concrete actions that can effect change, including the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

Peace Boat Hibakusha Project: Conveying the human voice to the world

In August 1945, at the end of the Second World War, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan. Dropped on Hiroshima was a uranium gun-type bomb called "Little Boy" and on Nagasaki a plutonium implosion bomb, "Fat Man". With extreme heat and blast, the atomic explosions instantly took away the lives of tens of thousands of people and devastated the cities. In addition, many of those who absorbed a high dose of radiation died of acute radiation syndrome in the immediate aftermath of the bombings. By the end of 1945, approximately 140,000 people had died in Hiroshima and 74,000 in Nagasaki. This accounted for 41.6 per cent and 27.4 per cent of the total population in each of the cities respectively (Mizumoto 2017, 72-74).

These numbers, and the breath-taking destruction they represent, often obscure the existence of survivors, the hibakusha. Contrary to the assumptions made by United States scientists prior to the bombings, hundreds of thousands of people survived the atomic explosion. The experiences of the survivors were initially greatly suppressed, for both political and social reasons. Yet over the years, especially as the nuclear arms race and nuclear testing intensified, hibakusha began to

speak out.[6] With the slogan of "no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis, no more war, no more hibakusha", many hibakusha activists began to testify to the horror of nuclear weapons and call for a world without nuclear weapons.[7]

Peace Boat has long worked with hibakusha, initially by inviting them as guest speakers (known as *navigators*) on board the voyages at sea. In 2000, for instance, peace activist and Hiroshima hibakusha Fumiko Amano joined a Peace Boat voyage to share her story with the on-board passengers. Amano's testimony vividly reconstructed the horror of "that day". As a 14-year old, she was in a factory about 5 kilometres from the hypocentre when the atomic-bomb exploded. She fortunately survived without any serious injuries. However, what she witnessed was appalling. The entire city was on fire and corpses lay everywhere. The line of heavily injured survivors walking to escape from ground zero looked like a "procession of ghosts". Her house had completely burnt down. Her older brother was found only barely alive, with burns that had made him almost unidentifiable. Despite the family's prayers, her brother passed away two weeks after the bombing, on August 19.

Amano's testimony was particularly powerful, as she emphasized the importance of making this experience a lesson for peace, not for hatred. As she ended her testimony, she said, "Japan indeed became a victim of the atomic bomb. At the same time, we must not forget that many people suffered because of the violent and aggressive acts of war Japan engaged in in various parts of Asia." "What we have to learn from the history of the atomic bombing are", Amano continued, "the societal forces and international tension that facilitated wars

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[6] See Braw (1991) for the censorship imposed by the United States during the occupation period and how it affected the information related to atomic bombings. For more general accounts of hibakusha, their memories and their role as storytellers, see Yoneyama (1999) and Zwigenberg (2014).

[7] This particular phrase was initially used by Senji Yamaguchi (1930-2013), a survivor of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and a leading figure in Japan's anti-nuclear movement. It was part of the speech he gave at the United Nations second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament in 1982, as an appeal to the international community to ensure that nuclear attacks never occur again.

and the dropping of the atomic bombs", or "in other words, the mechanism of war and violence". She then urged the audience, "let's work together to ensure peace and abolition of nuclear weapons" (Peace Boat 2003, also see Hara 2015).

The realization that the hibakusha's call for peace and nuclear weapons abolition could play an important role in the international peace movement shaped the concept of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project. In 2008, as Peace Boat celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, Peace Boat sought an original and impactful way of appealing for peace and disarmament to the worldwide audience. As a result, an idea was born to invite 100 hibakusha from Hiroshima and Nagasaki to join a global voyage, calling for nuclear weapons abolition.

Participants were recruited through newspapers, as well as via local and national hibakusha organizations. Eventually, 103 hibakusha joined the 129-day journey from 7 September 2008 to 13 January 2009. Among the participating hibakusha, 62 were Hiroshima survivors and 41 were Nagasaki survivors. Their age ranged from 62 to 87 and the group included many who lived outside of Japan (the so-called "overseas hibakusha"), including those residing in Australia, Brazil, Canada, Mexico and the Republic of Korea. Although there had been many efforts to deliver the hibakusha voices to international forums, involving hibakusha so extensively and at such a large scale was unheard of.

The impact of the first voyage of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project greatly exceeded prior expectations. Throughout the voyage, the hibakusha visited 23 ports in 20 countries. Overall, more than 2,000 people listened to their testimonies. At every port they visited, their message for peace and nuclear weapons abolition was received with much enthusiasm. The news coverage around the world was extensive. In Italy, the Republic of Korea, Spain and Viet Nam, the hibakusha's journey was perceived as newsworthy. Even after 63 years, the living voice of the hibakusha proved to be real. Their stories stimulated the audience's imagination in ways that no other means could achieve. On board Peace Boat, hibakusha interacted with the 700 other passengers travelling with them, including many young

people in their 20s and 30s. The intergenerational interactions brought about increased awareness of nuclear threats among the younger generation.

The voyage also demonstrated that hibakusha testimonies can influence political debates at the national, regional and international level. In Australia, Ecuador, Spain and Venezuela, government representatives warmly welcomed the hibakusha delegation and attentively listened to their accounts. During the voyage, a delegation of four hibakusha flew to New York to attend the General Assembly of the United Nations. Setsuko Thurlow—a Japanese-Canadian Hiroshima hibakusha and long-term peace activist—gave a speech on the project's behalf, urging world leaders to renew their commitment to peace and disarmament. On many of these occasions, politicians and state representatives were deeply moved, promising the hibakusha that their plea would not be wasted. After all, people with decision-making power also have a human heart.

The success of the voyage was the launchpad for the project becoming an ongoing series. As the programme report reminds us, many at Peace Boat had considered this voyage in 2008 "to be the first and the last". Yet the enthusiastic reactions with which the hibakusha testimonies were met in every corner of the world gave rise to a sense that "this must be the beginning, not the end" (Kawasaki 2009, 6). Even the simple but important fact that Peace Boat was able to deliver the message to such a wide range of people across the world—from school pupils to minister-level politicians—was hopeful. If anything, it became apparent that more people wanted to hear about Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As a result, the second voyage of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project was conceptualized as soon as the first voyage returned back to Japan in January 2009 and was implemented later that same year. Today, the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project has developed into a permanent project at Peace Boat and is conducted annually, connecting also to many activities held on land between voyages. As of 2020, over 170 hibakusha have joined the project, visiting approximately 100 cities in more than 60 countries.

Who are the hibakusha?

When we say hibakusha, who exactly are they? The term *hibakusha* comes from a Japanese term which literally translates as "people exposed to the atomic bombing". The term is therefore used to broadly refer to those who experienced the atomic bombing of Hiroshima or Nagasaki. Hibakusha were predominantly civilians, including many women and children. Many hibakusha were Japanese, but not exclusively. Those exposed to the atomic bombings also included many non-Japanese. During the Second World War, Japan colonized the Korean Peninsula and parts of China and occupied many countries in South-East Asia and the Pacific. As a result, a large number of people from these places were forcibly displaced to work in Japan as labourers. Although the precise figure is unknown, there were allegedly approximately 25,000 to 28,000 Koreans in Hiroshima at the time of the bombing and 11,500 to 12,000 in Nagasaki (Hiroshima and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Disaster Book Editorial Committee, 1979). In addition, prisoners of war from Australia and the United States were also among those who became subject to the atomic bombings.

From a strictly legal perspective, there are four categories of people who are officially recognized as hibakusha by the Government of Japan. The Atomic Bomb Survivors Support Law (1994)[8] defines these categories as:

1. Those directly exposed to the atomic bombing in Hiroshima or Nagasaki = direct hibakusha
2. Those who were outside the city when the bomb was dropped, but entered the city within two weeks = entrant hibakusha
3. Those who provided care to survivors within two weeks = rescue worker hibakusha
4. Those who were in the womb of mothers who belong to one of the three categories above.

[8] For a discussion of the origin of the term hibakusha, see Naono (2019).

Anyone who matches one of these categories can make an official application to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan to be issued an Atomic-Bomb Survivor's Certificate. The certificate entitles recognized hibakusha to free medical check-ups and medical care, as well as other provisions.

Yet, while it is important to understand the legal definition of hibakusha, simply equating the term hibakusha with those holding an Atomic-Bomb Survivor's Certificate is problematic. For instance, people who were located at a point further than the designated area at the time of the bombing but exposed to radiation fallout (also known as "Black Rain") are still not eligible for the certificate, despite demonstrated health effects that are likely linked to radiation exposure.[9] Similarly, there are many instances where an application for the certificate was denied, since eligibility requirements and the conditions required for a successful application are not always straightforward to meet. We must also recognize that there are many among the people who were present in the city at the time of the bombing who have chosen not to apply for the certificate. This was often out of fear that publicly identifying as hibakusha may lead to discrimination (Osato 1994, 5). Also importantly, the above-mentioned law, for a long time, did not allow survivors living outside Japan to be legally recognized as hibakusha.[10]

The term hibakusha is used more broadly at Peace Boat and throughout this publication; it includes anyone who has experienced the consequences of nuclear weapons and/or radiation. As we will see later, this thus encompasses not just

[9] The Atomic Bomb Survivors Support Law integrated the previous two laws: the Law Concerning Special Measures for the Atomic Bomb Exposed (1968) and the A-bomb Survivors Medical Treatment Law (1057). It stipulates that the Japanese Government should assume the responsibility of implementing comprehensive relief measures for the health, medical care and welfare of the atomic bomb survivors.

[10] People who are exposed to the Black Rain are referred to as "minashi hibakusha (people who are deemed hibakusha)" and can be eligible for free medical check-ups. But this status is different from the official hibakusha status that comes with a wider range of benefits. Proving whether a demonstrated health effect is specifically caused by the atomic-bomb radiation is often difficult, since many typical symptoms can also be induced by causes that are not radiation.

the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings but also for example victims of nuclear testing, uranium miners and workers at nuclear weapons factories. We believe that such a definition does more justice since it allows for a more comprehensive approach in capturing the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons. This way of defining the word hibakusha allows us to look at the problem of nuclear weapons from a much more holistic and global perspective.

The humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons told through hibakusha's stories

Working with hibakusha and listening to their stories teaches us that no two experiences of the atomic bombing are alike. The multiplicity of the hibakusha stories in turn points to the equally wide-ranging aspects that need to be captured when we talk about the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons.

The atomic explosion released vast amounts of energy in the form of blast, heat and radiation. An enormous shockwave reached speeds of many hundreds of kilometres an hour. The blast killed people close to the hypocentre and caused serious injuries further away. People also sustained injuries from collapsing buildings and flying objects. Thermal radiation was so intense that almost everything close to the hypocentre was vaporized. The extreme heat caused severe burns and ignited fires over a large area, which coalesced into a giant firestorm.

Like Fumiko Amano introduced above, those who were relatively mature at the time of the bombing have a clear memory of the "hell on earth" the heat and blast created. They remember the scenes, the smells and the feelings of "that day". What these testimonies demonstrate is the indiscriminate and mass-destructive nature of nuclear weapons, characteristics that make nuclear weapons distinguishably inhumane.

Hibakusha accounts also elucidate longer-term consequences of nuclear weapons, particularly in relation to radiation. Between 1950 and 1953, the incidence of leukaemia among survivors peaked. Seemingly healthy hibakusha would suddenly fall ill and die within a few months. Besides the loss of

lives, the fear of the disease caused psychological stress among hibakusha. Nobuko Sugino vividly remembers exactly how she felt, as many of her classmates died of leukaemia: "Every day I was thinking that 'it could be me next'". Radiation impacted people's wellbeing, both physically and emotionally.

Other testimonies point to even longer-term suffering caused by radiation. Mitsuo Kodama, when he gives his testimony, talks about the extensive health consequences he has suffered since 1945. Throughout his life, he has gone through 19 operations to fight multisite cancers, one of the long-term health effects linked to radiation exposure. Showing a photo of his broken chromosomes, he tells the audience, "What atomic-bomb radiation has done to me is irreparable." More recently, Kodama was diagnosed with myelodysplastic syndrome, another radiation-induced disease.[11]

Katsuyoshi Oomori, who has also suffered from multisite cancers, talks about the wider consequences that have stemmed from his health situation. "In addition to my own suffering," he explains to the audience, "the fact that I experience so many cancers means I put so much emotional and financial burden on my family". These stories expand our understanding of the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons to include those that go beyond the immediate after effects that people typically think of.

One of the impacts of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project has been to contribute to a strengthening of a sense of solidarity among the hibakusha, thereby encouraging more hibakusha to share their testimonies. While there have been many courageous activist hibakusha, who have stood up to give testimonies and worked tirelessly over decades, there are many more who have never opened up to talk about their experience. In fact, there are surprisingly many hibakusha who have not even told their loved ones—including their spouses or children—about the very fact that they are a hibakusha. Yet, once they begin to share, their stories powerfully shed light on the less visible forms of suffering caused by the atomic bombings.

[11] For more about Kodama's experience as a hibakusha, see Kodama 2016.

Noriko Kushimoto had remained silent about her hibakusha identity for over sixty years until she joined Peace Boat. Throughout her life she "held a grudge" against the atomic bomb. For her, the bomb took away her father and led her to live an impoverished childhood with her mother who struggled as a single parent. Even though she was too young at the time of the bombing to remember anything, she was bullied in school because of the scar the bombing had left on her face. Fearing discrimination, she never married and never had children. When she finally spoke about her experience during the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, the indescribable pain she had gone through created a strong sense of empathy among those who listened to her account. Her words pointed to much subtler but equally devastating forms of inhumanity inflicted by nuclear weapons upon humans.

The existence of many overseas hibakusha elucidates some even more complex forms of suffering. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Japan was in turmoil and people were desperately poor. The necessity to disperse its growing population, which exceeded the domestic supply of food and other limited resources, pushed Japan to send emigrant settlers for agricultural development, particularly to Latin America. During the 1950s, a prime decade for overseas migration, over ten thousand Japanese settled overseas annually (Azuma 2000). Takashi Morita was among the many hibakusha from Hiroshima and Nagasaki who made the decision to emigrate. Morita is a Hiroshima hibakusha living in Brazil and is the founder of the Peace Association of Brazilian A-bomb Survivors in São Paulo. Today, he is one of the most respected figures among overseas hibakusha. He has worked tirelessly to appeal to the Japanese Government so that hibakusha outside Japan can also receive appropriate legal and medical support. But his life story has been one of constant struggle.

Morita migrated to Brazil ten years after the atomic bombing, desperate to find a way out of the impoverished and stigmatized life as a hibakusha in Hiroshima. However, what awaited him in Brazil was even tougher. He was supposed to work in agriculture, but his body, still suffering from the after-

effects of the atomic bombing, could not tolerate the labour. Seeking a suitable job, he moved ten times in the first two years. He could not speak Portuguese and "had no friends and no money". In addition, he could not tell people that he was a hibakusha, fearing that it may hurt his children's chances of getting married.

There are many hibakusha like him.[12] The suffering has been double and even triple for these overseas hibakusha; they have struggled to survive not only as hibakusha in a foreign land, but also as members of a minority. Very broadly understood, then, nuclear weapons have also displaced people, forcing people to live a completely different life than they would have otherwise.

Reaching the audience: Delivering hibakusha's stories

If hibakusha's stories are important in elucidating the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, we must also ensure that the stories actually reach people's hearts. Yet, as we travelled around the world with hibakusha, it became apparent that assuming that the stories hibakusha tell would naturally click with the audience and nurture a sense of empathy is naive. For many, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are stories of the remote past. For young people who have no experience of wars or conflicts, imagining what wartime looks like is difficult to begin with. Adding to this temporal distancing is also the geographical distancing; for people living outside of Japan, the atomic bombings are historical events that took place "somewhere else in the world".

Communication methods and strategies are therefore important. With the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, we have worked extensively with hibakusha to find ways of delivering stories in manners that grow a sense of empathy within those who listen. As a result, we have come to believe that it is key to carefully think through the stories to tell and how to tell them.

[12] According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, as of 2019, there are still approximately 3,000 hibakusha living in 31 countries and regions.

Initially, carefully choosing *which stories to tell* is important. The crucialness of choosing an aspect of the atomic bombing that could resonate most with the audience cannot be emphasized enough. Some people may sympathize more with the story of a mother who lost her children. For those who understand what it is like to experience discrimination, stories of hibakusha who suffered from discrimination as they tried to find jobs or get married may resonate strongly. For others, the medical consequences of the atomic bomb may be particularly interesting. As such, whenever we organize a platform for a hibakusha to deliver a story, we carefully consider which hibakusha story may best fit the particular interests of the audience.

How to tell the stories is next. In the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, we began with seemingly the most basic aspects, such as the length of the testimony, word choices, accompanying slides and the timing of interpretation. However rudimentary these elements appeared, they were all very important in making sure that the audience is kept attentive.

Beyond these primary strategies, how to communicate the horror and suffering of nuclear weapons can be a serious challenge, particularly for younger hibakusha without many direct memories. Compared to the "dramatic" and "terrible" scenes older hibakusha might be able to elaborate upon, the testimonies of younger hibakusha tend to be more abstract. Often, their stories also include those from their friends and families. Yet, there are different means that can be leveraged to complement their stories and stir people's imaginations.

In fact, storytellers need not rely solely on spoken words. In recent years, three hibakusha in Brazil, Junko Watanabe, Takashi Morita and Kunihiko Bonkohara, have been performing a theatre play, "Os Três Sobreviventes de Hiroshima [The Three Survivors of Hiroshima]". Several performances have taken place in different locations throughout Brazil. Especially for Watanabe, who was only two years old at the time of the bombing, this has been an important way to reconstruct the emotions, suffering and struggle hibakusha have gone through,

without relying on her own memory. For the audience too, they find it more stimulating and more dynamic—easier in some ways to really understand the experience the hibakusha have gone through.

Many other communication methods also exist. Takako Kotani, a former kindergarten teacher and a Hiroshima hibakusha, is a skilled ventriloquist. Her testimony takes the form of a "conversation" with her doll *Acchan.* Through dialogue, often effectively including questions by Acchan to clarify technical terms, Kotani talks about what happened to her younger brother who died in the atomic bombing. Similarly, other hibakusha employ diverse tools such as photographs, drawings and poetry, to help audiences relate to the story which is otherwise from a distant past.

In the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, some of the most original ways of communicating hibakusha's messages have stemmed from collaborative efforts between hibakusha and youth. In 2014, a Hiroshima hibakusha Michiko Hattori worked with a group of young people to put together a fashion show on board. In this show, eight young women collaborated with Hattori to come up with styles that expressed Hattori's life as a hibakusha. Using fashion, they expressed her life before the bombing, her life in the immediate aftermath of the bombing and her future to come. The audience was in awe, struck by the visual impact the show had created. The colours, the music and the styles effectively communicated the different life stages Hattori had gone through as a result of the atomic bombing. One hibakusha said, "I never thought there could be such a way of telling the atomic-bomb experience. It directly appeals to people's senses."

In the same year, another group of young passengers on Peace Boat, deeply moved by the testimony of Noriko Sakashita, composed a song "Canna's Flower". This song tells the story of Sakashita's mother.

Employing music can be very powerful. In 2019, Peace Boat collaborated with Hiroshima-based non-profit organization the HOPE Project and organized "The A-Bombed

Piano—A Voyage for Music and Peace". Akiko's A-bombed piano travelled on board Peace Boat from Hiroshima, and concerts were organized in the ports visited throughout the East Asia Voyage.[13] Similarly, in the ten years of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, several young filmmakers have made documentary films about hibakusha, making the topic more accessible to younger audiences.[14]

Through such efforts, the hibakusha and the young people together grappled with the question of how to discover the method that works best for a particular audience. By making the approach audience-centred, more people can become interested in engaging with hibakusha's stories.

All in all, carefully thinking through which stories to tell, and how, is an indispensable aspect of facilitating people's understanding of the humanitarian impact of weapons. People who listen to the hibakusha stories need to "feel" the fear, horror and suffering. It is well-thought communication methods and strategies that can help achieve that end.

[13] For more information about this project, see Peace Boat, "The A-Bombed Piano – A Voyage for Music and Peace", 8 April 2019.

[14] Most notably, in the first voyage of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, two documentary films were made. One was *Flashes of Hope: Hibakusha Traveling the World* by Erika Bagnarello and *Hibakusha and I Travelled Together [Hibakusha to Boku no Tabi]* (Japanese) by Takashi Kunimoto.

Setsuko Thurlow and other hibakusha speak with youth from Eritrea.

Mitsuo Kodama, a Hiroshima hibakusha, explains the health effects of his broken chromosomes to students in China.

Takako Kotani, a former kindergarten teacher and a Hiroshima hibakusha, employs a unique method to explain what happened to her four-year-old brother.

Although Akiko did not survive, the harmonies of her atomic bomb–damaged piano still deliver a powerful message for peace.

Humanitarian impact effecting change

When effectively delivered, hibakusha stories can effect change. Throughout the project, we have witnessed how the empathy that hibakusha's stories sow in people can become a powerful motivation for people to take action. Once they feel empathy for the suffering and injustice nuclear weapons have created and continue to create, they become much more inclined to raise their voice for a world without nuclear weapons.

We have witnessed many concrete outcomes as a result of this empathy and understanding. One example is Mayors for Peace, formerly the "World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-city Solidarity". It was established in 1982, proposed by then Hiroshima Mayor Takeshi Araki.[15] As humanitarian aspects of nuclear weapons received attention and citizens around the world sought ways to become involved in effecting change, Mayors for Peace became one of the ways local municipalities could express their support for nuclear weapons abolition. As we travel around the world, the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project helps to recruit member cities. Many mayors who listened to the stories of the hibakusha participating in the project have decided to join the network. As of October 2020, 7,961 cities in 164 countries and regions are members of Mayors for Peace.

A further recent example is the Hibakusha Appeal International Signature Campaign. Launched in 2016, this is a petition to join the hibakusha in saying "never again" to nuclear weapons. At many ports of call, Peace Boat has asked people who listened to the hibakusha testimony to join the Campaign. We have been surprised by the overwhelming support given, including by many politicians and opinion leaders who have willingly signed the petition. As of September 2020, 12,612,798 signatures have been collected, and hibakusha have presented interim numbers at the United Nations several times over the past few years.

[15] Mayor Araki called for cities throughout the world to transcend national borders and join in solidarity to work together to press for nuclear abolition. See more at Mayors for Peace, "About Us".

More notably, it must be underlined that it was the elucidation of the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons and the empathy this process nurtured in people that really led to the momentum towards the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The negotiation and adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was a result of what has become known as the Humanitarian Initiative, where Governments, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, various United Nations agencies, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons and other non-governmental organizations began in 2010 to work together to reframe the debate on nuclear weapons. The Humanitarian Initiative placed the catastrophic, persistent effects of nuclear weapons on our health, societies and the environment at the centre of the public and diplomatic discussions about nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

Members of the Hibakusha Appeal International Signature Campaign present a statement of collected petition signatures to Sacha Sergio Llorentty Solíz (Bolivia), Chair of the 2019 United Nations General Assembly First Committee, and Izumi Nakamitsu, United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs (first and second from left).

Importantly, during this process, there was an orchestrated effort to bring the voices of hibakusha and other nuclear victims to the fore. In the first International Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons in Norway in March 2013, the honorary director of the Japanese Red Cross Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Hospital and a Nagasaki hibakusha Masao Tomonaga reported on the long-term health consequences among the hibakusha. To make the issue more relevant to contemporary issues, Ira Helfand of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War spoke of the effects of the nuclear famine that would follow any potential nuclear exchange.

During the second iteration of this conference in Mexico in February 2014, a "Hibakusha Session" was organized, with over an hour of time allocated. In this session, four hibakusha gave their testimonies, followed by a speech by a high school student, herself a third-generation hibakusha. Every effort was made to make this session successful: the composition of the four hibakusha were such to address different aspects of the humanitarian impact; non-governmental organization staff helped hibakusha practice English pronunciation so that the speeches became more powerful; and slides were judiciously selected to give the best visual impact. In the discussion that followed, a representative from the Republic of the Marshall Islands told of the ongoing effects of nuclear testing on their people. These voices pushed many State representatives to support concrete actions towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Eventually, the vivid illustration of the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons had enough impact to make the Chair conclude the conference by saying that "Nayarit is a point of no return".

A new diplomatic process to prohibit nuclear weapons was imminent. The third conference on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons was held in Austria in 2014. This conference, in which 158 states participated, concluded with Austria presenting a pledge to cooperate in efforts to "fill the legal gap" in the international regime governing nuclear weapons. This later became known as the Humanitarian Pledge. The

Humanitarian Pledge was endorsed by 127 States in the months to follow. The prospect of a prohibition treaty became real.

When the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was finally concluded in 2017, after the so-called Open-Ended Working Group and the negotiation conference, the preamble stated:

> Mindful of the unacceptable suffering of and harm caused to the victims of the use of nuclear weapons (hibakusha), as well as of those affected by the testing of nuclear weapons ...[16]

Therefore, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons can be seen as a direct response to the voices of the hibakusha. Testimonies of the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, delivered carefully through the support of many people, nurtured a sense of empathy among those present at the various conferences that led to the Treaty. This strong sense of empathy, combined with the commitment to redress the injustices experienced by these sufferers and the aspiration for a safer future, kept the campaigners and State representatives in favour of the Treaty going.

Setsuko Thurlow and Abacca Anjain-Maddison, a Marshallese campaigner for the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, share their joy after the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

[16] United Nations, "Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons".

Conclusion

The humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons—or in fact of any weapons—encompasses a wide range of aspects. In the cruellest sense, the greatest humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons is their potential to instantly kill a large number of people. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki, tens of thousands of people literally disappeared in the very second the bombs were dropped and an equally large number of people died in the immediate aftermath. Those who survived this "hell on earth" suffered from longer-term effects of radiation. Many hibakusha have suffered from or died of leukaemia and cancers, and others have had to live with the fear that they could fall ill anytime, or suffered from discrimination. Some effects are therefore psychological. Needless to say, these health effects are often intertwined with social and economic consequences. Thus, the more comprehensively the consequences are depicted, the clearer the severity of the humanitarian impact becomes. That is precisely why it is important to capture the stories of as many survivors as possible when attempting to elucidate the humanitarian consequences of any weapon. This means involving diverse people from different generations, geographical locations and life experiences.

In the process leading up to the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, discussion on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons also included the potential effects of multiple detonations of nuclear weapons in the case of a breakout of nuclear war. Scientists have simulated how effects could easily cross borders, including phenomena like nuclear winter and subsequent famine. All these stories, perspectives and pieces of evidence have helped make clear that the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons is therefore unacceptable, and their effects too far-reaching, to be legal under international law.

The empathy that stories of the inhumane nature of nuclear weapons nurture in people has formed the starting point for many disarmament efforts. This sense of empathy has been indispensable for all initiatives related to nuclear disarmament.

If nuclear disarmament education is to be education not only **about** disarmament but also **for** disarmament, including a component that nurtures empathy in people is key.

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Hibakusha Stories and the impact of testimony
by Dr. Kathleen Sullivan [17]

> *I thought dropping the bomb was the right decision. Now I see that it was wrong. These people were average working citizens and the bomb was dropped on them. I mostly feel bad for all the children that died tragically or saw their parents suffer.*
>
> —New York City High School Student

Hibakusha Stories is an initiative of Youth Arts New York, a non-governmental organization with a Memorandum of Understanding with the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs. Our mission is to provide experiences in the arts, sciences and civil society that engage youth in building a peaceful and sustainable future. We sponsor in-class educational programmes, after-school workshops led by master artists, hands-on ecological projects and field trips. We create safe environments where underserved New York City public school students can learn about their responsibilities as peacemakers and as stewards of our planet. In addition, we support teachers to promote peace and sustainability

[17] Kathleen Sullivan, PhD, has been engaged in the nuclear issue for more than 30 years. Director of Hibakusha Stories, an arts-based initiative that brings atomic bomb survivors into the lives of young students, she produces nuclear themed films, including two documentaries (*The Last Atomic Bomb & The Ultimate Wish: Ending the Nuclear Age*) and projects that focus on art for disarmament—utilizing visual arts, music and dance (*The Nuclear Age in 6 Movements*, *The Hiroshima Panels Project* and *If You Love This Planet*). Kathleen is a Nagasaki Peace Correspondent and Hiroshima Peace Ambassador.

through multicultural, interdisciplinary curriculums for young people.

Over the years, we have brought more than 100 atomic bomb survivors to more than 45,000 high school students, primarily in New York City but also in Oklahoma and Florida. Most every one of these tens of thousands of students could not help but be moved by the elders who shared their memories, and reliving them brought emotion and discomfort but also a great deal of love and connection between the survivors and the students. The young people understand and are drawn to authenticity.

> *Now, I truly realize the capacity of destruction these nukes have. As bombs become stronger and stronger, so does the risk of this entire world being blown away.*
>
> —New York City High School Student

My first intensive work with hibakusha, the Japanese word for atomic bomb survivors, happened through our partner Peace Boat. On board, I met and worked with people who survived the hellfire of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although their memories are searingly painful, they relive them in the firm belief that sharing what they saw, what they survived, will motivate others to work for nuclear abolition.

This commitment permeated a signature voyage for Peace Boat, when my long-time colleague, Akira Kawasaki, had a vision of more than 100 atomic bomb survivors travelling together on a global voyage to share their testimony in 20 or more ports and overland

excursions. Akira's commitment to education through storytelling created an opportunity for hibakusha to share their message with the world but also with each other. We conducted on-board workshops and gatherings where participating hibakusha could hear each other's testimony. They also worked together to strategize how best to share their first-hand experience and leverage their suffering to make the necessary political and cultural shifts that will usher in an age of nuclear abolition. This voyage must have been the single largest gathering ever of atomic bomb survivors travelling across the globe. Who knows how many lives they touched on that inaugural journey? For New Yorkers, this experience would pave the way for the Hibakusha Stories Project and affect the lives of tens of thousands of students and teachers.

> *It made me realize how fast and instantly the world as we know it could turn literally to nothing but dust and ashes.*
>
> —New York City High School Student

Our work is also inspired by disarmament education, as defined by the 2002 United Nations Study on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education. I was a non-governmental organization consultant on this study, under then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan, whose driving concern was that young people seemed to be aware of environmental issues but less so about nuclear issues. To help reverse this trend, a two-year study was undertaken by the United Nations that produced 34 recommendations—explicitly categorized as education *for* disarmament not education *about* disarmament. Disarmament education, far more than a history lesson,

seeks to develop skills and knowledge to empower young people to contribute to the process of disarmament, particularly nuclear weapons but also conventional weapons, small arms and, more recently, the terrifying spectre of killer robots.

After that first global hibakusha voyage, our oral history initiative was formally launched in October 2008 by Robert Croonquist, a retired New York City High School teacher and the creative force behind our work. Robert's vision of using the arts to engage young people has inspired not only our practice in the classroom but likewise art exhibits and concerts where the message for disarmament is intertwined with visual and performing arts.

That inaugural year, we again collaborated with Peace Boat to bring atomic bomb survivors to New York City high schools to share their testimony of survival and hope. Our team of volunteers and consultants includes teachers, playwrights, actors, composers, musicians, visual artists, graphic designers, filmmakers, architects and international civil servants. Many of the Hibakusha Stories members are bilingual Japanese living in New York. Most of our volunteers have never before worked on the nuclear disarmament issue. We are therefore building a new community of disarmament activists in New York City with a reach out into the world. We have also facilitated programmes in Key West, Florida; Tulsa, Oklahoma; and farther afield in Vienna, Berlin, Dublin, Edinburgh, London, Oslo and Stockholm, as well as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To our knowledge, Hibakusha Stories is the only project in the whole of the United States whose sole purpose is to highlight atomic bomb testimony through the arts, inspiring action for nuclear disarmament.

Collaboration across disciplines and using the arts to engage and motivate others is what we aim to do. And

we are grateful to our colleagues in Peace Boat who we still work closely with all these years later. In conclusion, I'd like to share an excerpt from a letter we received from a High School Principal in Brooklyn describing his experience of our blend of disarmament education and survivor testimony. "With deepest thanks to all members of the Hibakusha Stories project, for their exceptionally moving and meaningful peace testimonies. You raised the consciousness of all the students, faculty and staff you encountered and motivated many to take a more active stance against the use of nuclear weapons. The first-person accounts of the world's only example of atomic weapons use in war remains the most important voice that all must hear."

Chapter 2
Knowledge for empowerment: Connecting beyond borders

One day, during the third voyage of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project in 2010, a university student from the Republic of Korea shared a feeling with a small group of young passengers:

> I have been travelling with the hibakusha. I have listened to their testimony and I understand their pain. I feel sorry that they had to go through such tremendous suffering. I really do. Yet, somewhere deep inside me, I cannot help thinking that they do not have the right to go around being "ambassadors for peace".

She had joined Peace Boat as a participant in its International Students programme.[1] She went on to explain that while her intention was not to dismiss the voice of the hibakusha, she felt frustrated that their testimonies were often given without broader historical context.

Japan's colonial administration of the Korean Peninsula from 1910 to 1945 was experienced by many Koreans as a time of profound suffering and collective loss, when millions of people had to migrate away from the land of their birth to the Japanese archipelago as labourers. In this context, some

[1] Peace Boat's International Student programmes invite young people from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Latin America to join the ship as an effort to facilitate cross-border dialogues on issues related to peace, poverty and environmental sustainability.

Koreans perceived the atomic bombings as events that finally liberated their nation and brought about independence.

When attempting to convey humanitarian consequences, we tend to focus on a particular story from a particular time and place. As the previous chapter articulated, human stories are powerful. A close engagement with a hibakusha life story often leads to a profound sense of empathy. Yet, in disarmament education, it is often necessary to go beyond one single story. Contextualizing the story within broader historical context is essential. Moreover, the practice of understanding an issue from different perspectives and engaging in a critical discussion about what lessons are to be drawn and emphasized should be at the heart of disarmament education practice.

Returning to the opening anecdote, the student's reaction illustrates how a hibakusha's story—without any contextualization—may appear one-sided to some audiences and could potentially limit its appeal. If hibakusha stories are presented only as Japanese experiences, it seemed to the student that they could not do justice to others who had suffered during the events that precipitated the Second World War and those during the war.

Hesitantly, she asked the audience if the suffering of the hibakusha deserved more sympathy than others who had suffered. Indirectly, she was suggesting that failing to address different sides of the story, or different kinds of war violence, would undermine the hibakusha's valuable message for peace.

When discussing the atomic bombings, then, it is crucial that organizers and speakers understand the potential "other sides" of the story. The changes to societal and cultural structures during the time of Japan's colonial administration caused a significant sense of loss and harm. When conveying the experiences and messages of the hibakusha, it is important that they are contextualized within an understanding of such contentious aspects and different layers of suffering.

Likewise, it is important that we explicitly acknowledge that atomic-bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not the only nuclear victims. Even after 1945, many people have

become victims of radiation exposure and suffered its health effects. The atomic bombings therefore must also be situated as the dawn of the nuclear age that we continue to live in.

The scope of disarmament education should be flexible and open-ended, both geographically and temporally. We must teach different historical facts from a wide range of regions. By learning about issues related to peace and security from past and present and by critically examining threats and risks from different perspectives, we educate ourselves to make a better judgement of where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable, humane and inhumane, legal and illegal.

This chapter begins with a discussion of how considering the broader historical context around the atomic bombings is often instrumental in effectively conveying hibakusha's message. Understanding how this history is told and understood in different places allows us to contextualize hibakusha testimonies in ways that encourage people to go beyond a nationalistic interpretation of the significance of nuclear weapons. In the next section, we will connect the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the larger history of the nuclear age. Expanding our horizons and connecting the different lived realities of nuclear victims across time and space highlights the profound implications of the world where nuclear weapons persist.

"What is wrong is wrong": Before and beyond Hiroshima and Nagasaki

The former mayor of Hiroshima Takashi Hiraoka has repeatedly argued that the stories of the atomic bombings should begin with a sincere acknowledgement of Japan's role in the war. Reflecting on his time as mayor, Hiraoka said it was important for him to clearly express his understanding of history if Hiroshima's appeal for peace was to be accepted in the rest of Asia (The Chugoku Shimbun 2009b). Mayors of Hiroshima have delivered "Declarations of Peace" at the Peace Memorial Ceremony on 6 August each year since 1947. Yet the declarations have not always been accepted by people in the rest of the Asia-Pacific wholeheartedly.

In 1995, Hiraoka came to the personal understanding that Japan had not fully confronted its role in the war and that Hiroshima had not always considered the bombing in its historical context. In his "Declaration of Peace" that year, he thus apologized for Japan's conduct, adding, "It is important to look at the stark reality of war in terms of both aggrieved and aggriever so as to develop a common understanding of history."

Hiraoka's principles are straightforward: what is wrong is wrong, and an apology has to be made as such. He believes that Japan must apologize for its part in the suffering of peoples in the Asia-Pacific. By the same token, he also thinks Japan deserves an apology from the United States for the atomic bombings. Upon then United States President Barack Obama's visit to Hiroshima in May 2016, he said in an interview:

> Nuclear weapons are weapons of mass destruction, which violate international law, and seeking to hold the United States accountable for the atomic bombings is the rationale behind pursuing the abolition of nuclear arms. Rhetoric about not being bound by the past and gazing only toward the future stirs no energy or action for advancing nuclear abolition. (The Chugoku Shimbun 2016)

Throughout the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, we have likewise grappled with the problem of how to situate the hibakusha stories. Albeit varying in degrees, a sentiment similar to the Korean student above is also present in other parts of the world. In July 2013, Peace Boat organized a public event featuring hibakusha testimonies in Singapore. As the event was publicized on various online platforms, several comments were made about Japan's wartime acts. Similarly, when speaking to audiences from the United States, questions about Pearl Harbor are often raised.

Understanding why and how such reactions are invoked and responding to them sincerely is an important part of the disarmament education process. At the 2013 event in Singapore, the participating hibakusha eventually decided to explicitly acknowledge the pain experienced there as a result of Japan's military occupation during the Second World

War. Susumu Tsuboi, a Hiroshima hibakusha, began his speech with an apology and then offered a minute of silence dedicated to all those who suffered from that presence. Then, after describing how he lost his mother in the atomic bombing and how he lived through the post-Second World War period as a hibakusha, he ended his speech by saying, "I humbly hope we can think together how never to repeat wars like that." Tsuboi tried to overcome a nation-centred discourse of war and reconciliation—both for Japanese and for Singaporeans.

Susumu Tsuboi, a Hiroshima hibakusha, addresses an audience in Singapore. He hoped never to repeat conflicts like the Second World War.

Learning widely about different aspects of a war or conflict is crucial in thinking comprehensively about effective disarmament measures. For Peace Boat, the more we learned about the atomic bombings, the more obvious it became that nuclear disarmament must be discussed together with the larger issues of violent conflict, colonialism and social justice.

We have repeatedly been made aware that harmful societal and cultural structures persist over a long period of time. For instance, Jong Keun Lee, a *Zainichi*[2] Korean hibakusha living in Hiroshima, has taught us what life looked like for many Korean people who remained in Japan after the end of the Second World War. Lee continued to use his Japanese name, Masaichi Egawa, at work to hide his Korean heritage. When asked by his boss to submit official registration papers, he had no choice but to quit his job, because his papers listed only his Korean name.[3]

[2] The term *Zainichi* refers to people mainly from Korea and China who were forced to come to Japan under Japanese colonial policies and continued to live in Japan after 1945.

[3] A Korean Hibakusha's Message for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons.

Nuclear issues are often inseparable from larger legacies of colonialism.

How certain government policies can complicate people's suffering in a post-colonial situation is another aspect we have learned over time. Kwi Hoon Kwak, the honorary president of the South Korean Atomic Bomb Sufferers Association, is a Korean hibakusha who returned to Korea after the Second World War. After that, he faced the total lack of a support system for hibakusha outside Japan. The relief measures provided by the Japanese Government for hibakusha in Japan were not extended to those living outside Japan. At the same time, no support was available from the Korean Government. It was only in the 2000s that relief measures finally became accessible to hibakusha living outside Japan (The Chugoku Shimbun 2009a, 2015). Thus, a plea for not repeating atomic bombings should also incorporate a plea for not repeating war and colonial occupation.

Such an approach—of looking at a historical event from different angles and shedding light on different experiences of war violence—helps us to think about what kind of message we ought to emphasize in our disarmament education. Many hibakusha felt enlightened by an exchange with Agent Orange victims in Viet Nam. This powerful herbicide was used by the United States military in Viet Nam to clear forest cover. Although this chemical was used to make combat easier, it had serious health consequences for humans. More than 40 years later, children are still born with serious birth defects. The victims' testimonies vividly illustrate how innocent people continue to fall victim to the effects of armed conflict. A hibakusha who participated in one such exchange said, "I realized that we should not just be talking about our stories. I should be learning about all other war victims and uniting with them. What we have to fight against is the culture that allows wars to kill and harm innocent people so easily."

Overcoming nationalistic narratives, acknowledging past mistakes and calling for a global vision of humanism are not easily done. Yet, when achieved, the solidarity it can create is powerful. In 2013, Ari Beser joined the Peace Boat Hibakusha

Project. Ari Beser is the grandson of Lt. Jacob Beser, the radar specialist aboard both of the planes that dropped the atomic bombs.[4] In the United States, there still is a widely held perception that the atomic bombings saved the lives of many servicemen, as well as gratitude for the then President's decision. Amid such a context, Beser, after many dialogues with hibakusha, today advocates for nuclear weapons abolition. He, with the help of other passengers on board, made a speech in Japanese at the end of his time on the ship and said: "Two generations ago, we were fighting, being taught to hate each other and never to give up. Sixty-eight years later, we can be on the same ship like this, talking to each other so frankly. We can learn from history. There are over 17,000 nuclear warheads today in the world and we must work together to make sure we can all survive in this world." (Koga 2013).

After spending time together with hibakusha on board, Ari Beser interviewed Shigeko Sasamori, a hibakusha and one of the Hiroshima Maidens.

[4] Ari Beser has published *The Nuclear Family* (2017), which weaves multiple story lines into a rich, multifaceted look at the price we've paid—and will continue to pay—to live with nuclear technology.

Global hibakusha: Understanding the nuclear age

Hibakusha are not just atomic-bomb survivors. Recently, there is an increasing effort to broaden the scope of this term to include other nuclear victims. This move is important, as it points to the much broader consequences of having maintained a world with nuclear weapons for over 75 years. Taking a global perspective in thinking about the consequences of nuclear weapons is also crucial in taking steps forward in disarmament.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki might have been the end of the Second World War. Yet, the two events also marked the beginning of the global nuclear age. The nuclear arms race intensified after 1945, with more nuclear weapons being produced and tested. At the same time, each nuclear weapon became much more powerful. At the height of the Cold War, there were approximately 70,000 nuclear warheads in the world. The largest man-made explosion ever on Earth was the Soviet Union's Tsar Bomba, detonated in 1961, with 1,500 times more energy than that of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs combined. In the five decades between 1945 and the opening for signature of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty in 1996, over 2,000 nuclear tests were carried out all over the world. This included over 500 atmospheric tests (SIPRI 2007: 552-557). As a parallel effort, huge investments were made to apply nuclear technologies for civil use. Commercial nuclear power stations started operation in many countries from the 1950s onwards. Despite several large-scale nuclear accidents, nuclear energy today still provides about 10 per cent of the world's electricity, from about 440 power reactors (World Nuclear Association 2020).

In this process, the world has continued to produce nuclear victims. Roland Oldham, who sadly died of cancer in March 2019, was one of the people who taught us the grave consequences of nuclear testing from which people in Tahiti have suffered. Between 1966 and 1974, France conducted 44 atmospheric nuclear tests at the Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls, followed by more than 130 underground tests. During these tests, many indigenous Maohi workers were employed at the

test sites. These workers were exposed to radiation, as were people living in the neighbouring areas. Many people continue to suffer from cancer and other health effects, as well as the psychological burden of the traumatic experience. Yet, their suffering had long been unacknowledged. Information related to the nuclear testing went undisclosed until recently, and a French law to compensate victims was finally adopted in 2009.[5]

Roland Oldham was an on-board guest educator and a counterpart for programmes held in Tahiti.

Nuclear testing produced hibakusha not only in Tahiti, but also in Kazakhstan, the Marshall Islands, Algeria and many other test sites across the world. In all these places, those who were exposed to radiation were indigenous people and other marginalized populations, and their suffering was ignored for a very long time. In Australia, indigenous Aboriginal communities have borne the burden of nuclear testing. In 1953, two nuclear tests were conducted in Emu Field and seven more tests in Maralinga between 1956 and 1963. While these two locations were selected for their remoteness, Aboriginal communities lived within close proximity to the testing sites. In her testimony at the United Nations, Kokatha elder Sue Coleman-Haseldine said, "Our district is full of cancer now. My 86-year-old Aunty once told me, 'That *minga*—that cancer sickness was never here

Sue Coleman-Haseldine shares her experience and calls for solidarity between people.

[5] See Assemblée Nationale, "Projet de loi relative à la reconnaissance et à l'indemnisation des victimes des essais nucléaires français», 30 June 2009.

before those bombs.'" Coleman-Haseldine further elaborated, "Fertility problems, stillbirths, birth defects became more common at the time of the testing. Woomera cemetery is full of babies who started dying around this time." (Future of Life Institute 2017).

People were also exposed to radiation working at uranium mining sites and nuclear weapons production factories. Most of the time, they had no idea that they were at risk of radiation exposure. Kristen Iverson, who worked for Rocky Flats, a nuclear weapons plant in Colorado, said, "No one knew what they did at the plant. … We knew nothing about radioactive and toxic contamination." The effects of the toxic and radioactive contamination released by the plant were concealed, and local residents' attempts to seek justice in court were in vain. Workers fell ill, and strange cancers appeared among children in the neighbourhood. "Rocky Flats happened in my backyard, but in a sense it is happening in everyone's backyard," Iverson urges people to imagine (Iverson 2012).

Connecting different hibakusha populations and highlighting the profound implications of the nuclear age, though depressing, can empower us. In February 2011, Peace Boat hosted the Global Hibakusha Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, bringing together hibakusha from Australia, Tahiti and Japan on board the ship. During the forum, participants highlighted their shared experience of suffering from radiation effects, not just on their health but on land, water, culture and economy. The interlinkages between different incidences of exposure were also pointed out; for instance, uranium mined in one country and exported to another could cause harm in either or both countries. Participants urged the need to rethink radiation through a global lens, as something disproportionately harming marginalized populations wherever it was present. Governments often took advantage of the invisible and delayed effects of radiation to avoid responsibility. Recognizing the connections, they were empowered to stay connected, to build coalitional politics to stand up against those who continue to justify the harm that can be caused by nuclear materials as "a necessary cost".

It was just weeks after this Forum that the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant disaster occurred, in March 2011. This raised awareness of global interlinkages and impacts of the nuclear supply chain, reinforcing the broad conception that nuclear victims face the similar struggles, and that a global, cooperative approach is needed to protect people and the environment.

Building upon this, in 2016, Peace Boat convened the "Pacific Peace Forum: People of the Pacific for a Nuclear-free World" on board the ship and invited affected people from Fukushima, the Marshall Islands and Tahiti to share their respective experiences of the effects of radiation. The forum produced "Five Recommendations for Civil Society Action for a Nuclear-free World" that consisted of the following:

1. Development of a "Pacific Framework for Action on Nuclear Disaster Elimination, Risk Reduction, Response and Recovery"
2. Creation of an international repository of knowledge on nuclear disasters and their impact that is accessible to all
3. Creation of an international repository of first-hand memories related to the nuclear disasters and the plight of nuclear affected communities
4. Development of a formal/non-formal curriculum, in line with the Sustainable Development Goals, on nuclear issues
5. Development of an online anti-nuclear activism platform (Peace Boat 2016).

This move to make the hibakusha movement global has had profound implications. It continues to build upon the legacy of decades of work by nuclear-impacted communities throughout the world and has helped to demonstrate that, so long as we keep nuclear weapons in this world, there will always be hibakusha who will suffer from the inhumane impact of nuclear technologies. It has helped nurture compassion and empathy at the global level and create a bottom-up coalitional politics that can create a global movement.

Conclusion

For an effective disarmament education programme, the suffering caused by the atomic bombings must be situated in relation to other war-related violence and, furthermore, in relation to war itself. Having a broad understanding of past and present wartime violence is key. While there is no one-size-fits-all solution, one powerful way of overcoming this dilemma is to design the learning process in a way that goes beyond the "us vs. them" dichotomy. History is often taught from a particular nation's perspective. What is required of peace and disarmament education is to equip people with an ability to consider history from different perspectives. Doing so will facilitate people to think about what is not acceptable as a human being. No one country is ever simply either a victim or an aggressor. Many countries are often part of larger structures that cause harm to innocent people. Therefore, being aware of the complexities of wars and conflicts, as well as more broadly of the harms being caused, allows one to have a vision of a world where humanism prevails over nationalism. What is immoral remains so, irrespective of whose action it is.

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Chapter 3

Taking action for the future: Education to create change agents

Learning about the consequences of weapons and armed conflict forms a crucial foundation for nurturing change agents in disarmament. Put differently, one crucial goal of disarmament education is to make people aware of the reasons disarmament is necessary.

However, another indispensable aspect of disarmament education must be to understand how disarmament actually works. That is, education "about" disarmament. It is important that disarmament education facilitates people to explore the various efforts that have been undertaken in the past, both successful and unsuccessful. By looking into both past and ongoing efforts, people can learn how to bring countries and the international community to understand that disarmament is an imperative, as well as how to overcome political, economic and technical challenges in order to move disarmament forward.

Understanding the humanitarian harm of weapons often leads people to think that mechanisms must be put in place to mitigate the risk of those weapons. Some would further think that eventually reducing and even abolishing the weapons is necessary. However, just as often, people conclude that disarmament cannot be the solution. The idea that security and disarmament do not go together persists. In the minds of people who draw such conclusions, reducing weapons would compromise national or international security. Even after taking

into account the humanitarian consequences, such people would believe that possessing and being able to threaten to use weapons must be an integral part of security policies.

Therefore, the very first aim of disarmament initiatives is to demonstrate that advancing disarmament in fact has a positive impact on national and international security. In order to make advancements in disarmament processes, the way decision makers think about security and disarmament also has to change. Further, as public opinion has the power to influence such decision makers, it is also important to change how the general public thinks about these topics.

Beyond advocacy work, further advancing disarmament processes requires an even more comprehensive and practical approach. Legal and diplomatic tools need to be leveraged to introduce necessary international treaties and agreements. Financial resources are important, as are technical expertise and political will to move forward. Embracing all these different aspects and mobilizing a wide range of skills and resources is key for disarmament.

Exposing the reality and complexity of "how to disarm" can be inspiring and encouraging. Young people especially often hold the view that only politicians, diplomats and military personnel can influence disarmament processes. However, since disarmament involves a spectrum of activities, anyone in society can be part of nuclear disarmament, in various ways. Then, well-designed disarmament education—which invests in teaching not only "why to disarm" but also "how to disarm"—will motivate people by making them see different ways to contribute to disarmament. Such an approach to disarmament education can nurture change agents for disarmament in all fronts.

Peace Boat believes that the most effective way to learn about disarmament is to meet and exchange with practitioners. Throughout the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project and other disarmament-related initiatives, we have visited embassies and parliaments and attended numerous international forums. Through these occasions, we have gained new insights about

how security landscapes look from different parts of the world, how disarmament processes can be moved forward and what challenges must be overcome. We have also encountered engineers and technicians who have made significant contributions to disarmament.

In this chapter, we introduce different encounters Peace Boat has experienced in the course of our global voyages, which have taught us important lessons about how disarmament works. Incorporating insights from practitioners encountered on such occasions is key in designing effective disarmament education projects.

What hinders disarmament: Does disarmament compromise security?

For many years, Peace Boat has participated in different international disarmament forums, most notably United Nations First Committee meetings and Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) (including Preparatory Committee meetings). We have also recently taken part in the negotiating conferences for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Together with participants in our education programmes, we have organized side events to these meetings and often arranged meetings with government representatives. These occasions to exchange with disarmament practitioners have allowed us to understand specific reasons political leaders may be reluctant to commit to disarmament.

Often, representatives from nuclear-weapon States and States under the so-called nuclear umbrella emphasize that they share the same goal of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. But they also almost universally add that they have to take into consideration various realities pertaining to international security and thus sometimes take different approaches. In October 2018, as the meetings of the United Nations First Committee on disarmament and international security took place at the United Nations Headquarters, Peace Boat docked at the port of Manhattan, New York. On the ship was Michiko Tsukamoto, a Hiroshima hibakusha. When Tsukamoto paid a

courtesy visit to representatives from her own country, she was disappointed to hear the same from her own Government.

Yet, thinking back, these words vividly highlight how, often, practitioners think about disarmament and security as a trade-off. In particular, as we worked with different Governments, we have come to see three main political challenges that hinder nuclear disarmament. The first is when countries continue to invest and believe in the symbolic power of nuclear weapons. The second is when geopolitical realities give countries reasons to justify their arsenal. The third is when countries do not possess nuclear weapons of their own, but claim to be protected by the extended nuclear deterrence of others. The cases we introduce below illustrate these challenges.

Even after the peak of the nuclear arms race, nuclear weapons still serve as the currency of power. Over the years, there have been many occasions where consensus-based bodies were unable to reach agreement because of objection by the nuclear-armed States. The Disarmament Commission was for many years unable to reach consensus agreement on recommendations. Likewise, the Conference on Disarmament has not even been able to adopt and implement a programme of work. In all these cases, stagnation has been attributed to the deliberate objection by nuclear-armed States to progressive actions that can move the disarmament agenda forward (Acheson 2019, 1). For countries that possess nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons are symbols of invulnerability to perceived threats and also the regalia of major power status (Frey 2006). As such, nuclear-armed States often resist nuclear disarmament policies that impact their nuclear arsenal, while promoting measures to ensure non-proliferation.

However, the very same symbolism is also the root of proliferation. New countries aspire to acquire nuclear weapons because they see nuclear capability as a fundamental tool to gain influence on the international stage and identity as a Great Power (Rivas 2014). Since 2008, the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project has made several visits to nuclear-armed States. In several of these places, hibakusha were initially startled by

the strong interest among students in the technical details of the bomb. They then learned that nuclear weapons are seen as symbolizing that nation's pride and technological superiority. Mastering nuclear technologies is strongly associated with technological superiority and such a perception often leads State leaders to use nuclear weapons as a way to showcase the nation's power and to create social cohesion through national pride. Many young people accordingly aspire to contribute to the nuclear project, by becoming scientists, engineers or technicians.

Equally often, some States justify their reliance on nuclear weapons by highlighting the volatile security environment. It is indeed in high conflict regions that new countries are acquiring nuclear weapons. In 2012, a group of hibakusha travelled to Israel as a special programme organized under the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project. Israel possesses advanced conventional military capabilities and has for decades maintained a policy of nuclear opacity. With the help of local civil society groups, the hibakusha toured the country for a week, giving testimonies in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. While many people understood and agreed that nuclear weapons should eventually be abolished, the overwhelming reaction was that the nuclear programmes of neighbouring States justify similar activities in their own country. This kind of rationale is common not only in the Middle East but also in other regions with high tensions such as South Asia and North-East Asia. This is all the more concerning, as proliferation in turn provides justification for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty nuclear-weapon States to slow their disarmament efforts even more. They claim that they should not downsize their nuclear arsenals, let alone give up their nuclear weapons so as to maintain control over such an uncertain international security environment.

Throughout the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project, we have also been repeatedly reminded of the difficulty in convincing countries that rely upon extended nuclear deterrence provided by allies. In 2018, when we visited Athens, Greece, the group of hibakusha were welcomed by then Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras and other senior officials including the Minister of State.

While they appreciated the hibakusha testimonies and pledged to commit to nuclear disarmament, no concrete proposals were presented as to how actually they can commit to disarmament.

Similar stories abound. It is not uncommon for political leaders and other government officials to sympathize strongly with the hibakusha's experience yet to meet a plea for concrete action with hesitance or even rejection. In 2016, a delegation from the Hibakusha Project met with senior officials from a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member State. The officials listened to the hibakusha's message and told the hibakusha that they find their testimonies very important because they are not about the past but also about the present that we live in. At the same time, they also made clear that, as a country, they cannot do much about nuclear disarmament since they are under the NATO nuclear umbrella.[1]

Some countries see extended nuclear deterrence as a fundamental component of their alliance with Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty nuclear-weapon States. Take NATO for example. Nuclear weapons are firmly integrated in NATO defence postures, doctrine and deployment. Among NATO members, three States possess nuclear weapons. Non-nuclear members of NATO shelter under the nuclear umbrella and a number of them accept the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territory. In the Asia-Pacific, the Republic of Korea, Japan and Australia subscribe to extended nuclear deterrence whereby they depend on United States nuclear weapons for their national security. In many of these States, security without nuclear weapons is officially unthinkable.

All in all, in many countries, disarmament is still seen as something that compromises security. In recent years, the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project has focused on advocating for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. During the years leading up to the conclusion of the Treaty, the project focused on highlighting the necessity of the Treaty. Since the Treaty was adopted in July 2017, the project has worked to achieve its early entry into force. Different countries' reactions to our

[1] See more at Peace Boat Orizuru Project (Japanese) and PAX Christi (Dutch).

work have helped us reconfirm the political challenges that the disarmament initiatives must overcome in demonstrating that security and disarmament are in fact mutually enhancing.

When disarmament does work: The human spirit drives disarmament diplomacy

Despite these political difficulties, we have also seen the disarmament agenda moving forward. It seems apparent that strong political will to devise and implement mechanisms that can advance disarmament is key. When Peace Boat organized a side event to the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly in October 2019, the Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations sponsored the event. During the event, Ambassador Jan Kickert of Austria said, "I am proud to say that Austria always strives to be at the forefront of the discussion about prohibiting nuclear weapons, as well as other weapons which bring about humanitarian consequences." Many such States, with diplomats strongly dedicated to humanitarian disarmament, have championed nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, successful initiatives often bring about a positive cycle. They help other leaders understand the value of moving away from security discourses that venerate weapons of mass destruction and other weapons with humanitarian harm and the feasibility of such moves. But when and how do practitioners realize that disarmament is an important investment for security?

Although not desirable, an arms race that has gone too far can provide the urgency that propels leaders to step back and agree on disarmament measures. In 2015, participants of the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project visited the Höfði House in Reykjavik. Höfði House hosted the Reykjavik Summit in October 1986, when then United States President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev met to discuss the possible elimination of nuclear weapons. Although the two leaders did not reach an agreement, many diplomats and experts consider the summit a turning point in the Cold War. The negotiations at Reykjavík paved the way for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1987 and the Strategic Arms

Reduction Treaty in 1991, as well as limitations on nuclear testing. What facilitated this turn was the acute realization among the leaders that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought". The recognition that "any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences" facilitated the leaders to agree that "they will not seek to achieve military superiority".[2] During our visit to the Höfði House, we were also touched by the pride held by the City of Reykjavik in having hosted the historic event. The experience has made the city supportive of disarmament initiatives and the mayor has several times participated in events Peace Boat has organized in the city.

Realizing the dire consequences of a potential nuclear war, some countries have opted for a region-wide disarmament instrument as a way to ensure security. The most remarkable example is found in Latin America. All countries in Latin America are States parties to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, also known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco. This Treaty prohibits State parties from acquiring or possessing nuclear weapons, as well as storing and deploying weapons from other States on their territory. With this, Latin America became the first nuclear-weapon-free zone in a highly populated area.[3]

Latin America's commitment to regional disarmament as a way to guarantee security stems from their experience of the nuclear arms race. The series of events in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, urged Latin American Governments to begin a process that would ensure that the region would never again become the scene of a nuclear conflict. In 2010, upon the ship's visit to Havana, Cuba, the group of hibakusha met with Fidel Castro, former Prime Minister and President of Cuba. Castro highlighted his

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[2] Joint Soviet-United States Statement on the Summit Meeting in Geneva (21 November 1985).

[3] The only treaty that preceded the Treaty of Tlatelolco in this respect is the Treaty of Antarctica. The Treaty of Antarctica was signed in 1959 and prohibited military use of Antarctica, nuclear explosions (peaceful or otherwise) in Antarctica and the use of Antarctica as nuclear waste storage.

strong belief that nuclear weapons posed an existential risk to the human species and that nuclear weapons abolition was the only solution to reduce this risk. Castro also mentioned that he had visited Hiroshima and the experience made him reaffirm his commitment to nuclear disarmament. Fear, combined with imagination and human empathy, can drive disarmament efforts.

Inspired by the Latin American model, today four other nuclear-weapon-free zones exist, covering countries in the South Pacific, South-East Asia, Africa and Central Asia. This also means approximately 40 per cent of the world's population live in a nuclear-weapon-free zone (UNODA n.d.).[4] Furthermore, this experience has led many Latin American countries to identify themselves as proud promoters of disarmament. When we visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Mexico in 2013, the senior officials that we met explained to us how the experience with the Treaty of Tlatelolco gave them the confidence to push for and lead other similar disarmament processes. The strong leadership in nuclear disarmament demonstrated by Mexico was key in the recent process leading up to the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (see chapter 1).

In some cases, the tragic experience of conflicts and civil wars, even if not nuclear, have compelled leaders to believe that only disarmament can create peace and security. In 2010 in Guatemala, hibakusha had the opportunity to meet with then Mayor of Guatemala City and former President of Guatemala Álvaro Arzú. He is known as the signatory to the 1996 peace accord with the guerrilla group, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, which finally ended Guatemala's 36-year civil war. More than anyone else, Arzú knew that weapons could

[4] The following treaties form the basis for the existing nuclear-weapon-free zones: Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco); South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga); Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (Treaty of Bangkok); African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Pelindaba); and Treaty on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia. In addition, Mongolia's self-declared nuclear-weapon-free status has been recognized internationally through the adoption of United Nations General Assembly resolution 55/33S on "Mongolia's international security and nuclear weapon free status".

not provide peace and security. "Taking reconciliation seriously and working on disarmament were the only way to provide true peace," Arzú emphasized.

Sri Lanka has also demonstrated strong leadership on disarmament. Several times in the past, Peace Boat has invited veteran Sri Lankan diplomat Jayantha Dhanapala to join parts of our global voyages. Dhanapala is known for his contribution as President of the 1995 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference. At this conference, Dhanapala secured success in the adoption of the indefinite extension of the Treaty, requiring fulfilment of the treaty obligations of both the nuclear weapons States and the non-nuclear-weapon States. He subsequently became the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament and served as the architect and engine of the re-established Department of Disarmament Affairs. Dhanapala's actions and strong, principled stand in calling on the nuclear-weapon States to fulfil their obligations to eliminate their nuclear arsenals went "beyond the call of duty" (The Simons Foundation n.d.). His commitment to nuclear disarmament was certainly not unrelated to his acute awareness that disarmament, whether nuclear or otherwise, is necessary to save lives. His country, Sri Lanka, has the experience of suffering from the long civil war from 1983 to 2009, which divided the country for over 25 years and continues to impact the country today. When Peace Boat visited Colombo in 2017 and had an exchange with the Office of National Unity and Reconciliation, staff members shared with us the processes for reconciliation they were implementing and said that they too believed weapons never provide true security to people.

Finally, the power of the local approach to nuclear disarmament should not be undermined. Even when national governments are strongly in support of nuclear weapons, local governments and citizens may take a different stance. Even within NATO member States, some regional governments have shown clear support for nuclear weapons abolition, despite that country's opposition to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and other initiatives to prohibit nuclear weapons. For example, some regional governments have agreed on statements

or resolutions to urge their central government to support the Treaty. Although these statements are often not legally binding, the approach demonstrates one way that regional governments can take concrete action to advance nuclear disarmament. Moreover, this kind of bottom up approach has made a vital contribution to initiatives such as the Mayors for Peace and the Hibakusha Appeal International Signature Campaign (see chapter 1).

The strong leadership and initiatives by these countries, or by subnational governments, inspires us to reconsider what constitutes security threats and what can provide peace and security in a fundamental sense. As in the examples outlined above, numerous States today question the persisting theory that nuclear weapons can provide security. These countries proudly and confidently opt for confidence-building measures as an alternative to nuclear deterrence. Furthermore, some countries go further to argue that weapons only fuel confrontation, without contributing to security. There are important lessons to be learned from these examples, both for civil society and for other countries.

Further steps for disarmament

Disarmament is of course a long process. Beyond shifting perceptions, building consensus and establishing international agreements, an actual process of reducing and abolishing weapons must follow. This part of disarmament is a complex undertaking involving a diverse array of activities. For nuclear disarmament, for instance, the removal of nuclear weapons from delivery vehicles is a step that can be reversed quickly. However, the dismantlement of nuclear weapons and destruction of their components is a far more difficult and time-consuming step to reverse. These activities involve very different technical procedures and present very different challenges (International Partnership for Nuclear Disarmament Verification n.d.). They are also very sensitive activities, since a failure in the process can facilitate proliferation and lead to other unintended consequences. Thus, mechanisms to verify these processes have

to be put in place carefully, of course requiring vast human and financial resources.

Although this part of the disarmament process may go beyond the scope of disarmament education, several of Peace Boat's past activities may provide hints for future initiatives.

Hosting interdisciplinary forums to think in concrete terms about what needs to happen is one form of actions we can take. In particular, promoting multi-track strategy-building and coming up with specific action plans or recommendations can contribute to the part of disarmament that requires technical discussions. In March 2012, Peace Boat coordinated "Horizon 2012", a creative and comprehensive programme to discuss concrete possibilities and opportunities offered by a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. Horizon 2012 was an attempt by civil society to raise awareness on the value of such a process, building understanding and facilitating dialogue. Middle Eastern civil society actors, international experts, government officials, representatives of the United Nations, international and regional organizations, as well as of international peace and disarmament networks, participated in the programme. Importantly, the group came up with a set of specific recommendations, which laid out the principles, scope and process for establishing a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction that they concluded to be realistic and desirable (Peace Boat 2012). Applying this approach to other disarmament agenda points may effectively shed light on the direction towards which the disarmament community should head.

On the financial front, leveraging existing research publications can be the first step in thinking about the kind of norms and regulations necessary in promoting nuclear disarmament. For instance, the Dutch non-governmental organization PAX has for many years worked on the issue of divestment and produced excellent research publications, including the *Don't Bank on the Bomb* reports. Annually published, the report series examines contracts for the

"Horizon 2012", held on board the ship, focused on the value of dialogue and came up with a set of specific recommendations.

production of key components of nuclear weapons and their specifically designed delivery systems and provides information on the financial institutions seeking to profit from these producing companies. In recent years, Peace Boat began using the data to directly lobby certain financial institutions to change their policies. Importantly, the reports also profile institutions that limit or prohibit any financial engagement with companies associated with the production of nuclear weapons. Highlighting such institutions in a positive manner can demonstrate measures that can be taken by financial institutions to show commitment to nuclear disarmament. Promoting and building upon research that points to possible actions in such a way can encourage people to start thinking about how current systems can change

for the better. Again, this is a model that is transferable to other sectors.

There is rich educational value in thinking about what kind of discourses and narratives are effective in actualizing certain disarmament agenda items. Understanding real dilemmas in the disarmament processes and thinking from different perspectives about potential breakthroughs for those impasses is tremendously important. And, such activities are a very experiential form of education about disarmament.

Therefore, to nurture future young leaders in disarmament, Peace Boat's disarmament education programmes actively incorporate a wide range of interactive activities, including with experts and practitioners working on the forefront of disarmament and diplomacy. As we will see in chapter 4, a main pillar of the Hiroshima-International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons Academy that Peace Boat helps coordinate is to "acquire necessary skills and innovative visions for concretely contributing, in the global arena, towards realizing a peaceful world". To achieve this, many role-playing exercises are incorporated into the curriculum. Similarly, in Peace Boat Global University programmes, simulation exercises and skill-up seminars assume pedagogical importance. These activities challenge participants to think beyond their own personal standpoint and help them to understand, in a manner that is quite real, what concrete steps are necessary to actualize disarmament in the most practical sense.

Conclusion

Disarmament education has to be education both for and about disarmament. This chapter explored the various insights Peace Boat has gained over the years which can enlighten education about disarmament in particular. It is important to not lose sight of the end goal of disarmament—the total elimination of weapons. However, accurately grasping present obstacles and solving them one by one is another important approach that actually moves disarmament forward. Working across sectors and showing that security and disarmament can be complementary is one part of such a process. Pushing

the international community to devise and implement certain mechanisms to actualize disarmament is another. Specific discussions on the legal, political, economic and technical fronts also make a significant contribution to the disarmament process. Finally, part of this education model is also creating platforms where different stakeholders can discuss short- to mid-term visions and come up with concrete action plans. For that, leveraging partnerships and drawing insights from all parts of society is key.

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Chapter 4
Peace Boat education programmes

In the Introduction, we proposed the three pillars that Peace Boat believes must be at the core of effective disarmament education programmes: nurturing empathy; providing a solid knowledge base; and teaching concrete methods to make change. Our view on disarmament education has been shaped by our own experience of working for disarmament. Chapters 1 to 3 thus presented stories and cases that significantly influenced the way we see disarmament education.

This chapter presents three disarmament education programmes designed and implemented by Peace Boat in recent years. They are the Orizuru Youth, Peace Boat Global University, and the Hiroshima-International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) Academy. All these programmes strive to balance the three elements mentioned above: empathy, knowledge, and action.

At the same time, all of them give strong emphasis on "learning by doing". We design many programmes in such a way that participants learn by engaging in different activities: debates, simulation exercises and role plays. We also take participants to events, encourage them to be part of disarmament actions and give them a platform to implement their own projects.

Youth communicators for a nuclear-free world: The Orizuru Youth

A paper crane symbolizing peace and nuclear abolition.

A disarmament education programme that has run parallel with the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project is the Orizuru Youth programme.[5] This programme recruits two to three young people with a keen interest in nuclear disarmament to join each Peace Boat Hibakusha Project and travel with the hibakusha for the entire duration of the global voyage. Since 2013, over a dozen people have joined Peace Boat voyages as Orizuru Youth.

The programme gives the participating youth the unique experience of shadowing hibakusha. The Orizuru Youth spend three months with hibakusha and attend all events that hibakusha take part in both on the ship and at ports; they witness how hibakusha give testimonies, how they engage with politicians and government officials and how they answer media interviews. They learn directly from hibakusha not only the

[5] *Orizuru* is the Japanese term for paper cranes. In Japan, paper cranes are often used as a symbol for peace and nuclear weapons abolition. This is related to the story of Sadako Sasaki, a hibakusha girl who died of leukaemia (Chugoku Shimbun n.d.).

horror of the atomic bombings but also ways to communicate the message for nuclear weapons abolition.

In fact, throughout their time together during the voyage, the Orizuru Youth increasingly play key roles in finding ways to effectively deliver the messages of the hibakusha. In chapter 1, we highlighted the importance of carefully choosing which stories to tell and how to tell them. As Orizuru Youth learn the need to tailor the content and delivery according to the audience, they work with the hibakusha to decide what kind of historical, political and cultural backgrounds need to be taken into account, what kind of audiovisual tools can be helpful and what kind of information and activities can help the audience understand the hibakusha's message best.

The Orizuru Youth are also encouraged to take their own actions. On the ship, they design and implement disarmament-related study sessions, liaise between hibakusha and other young passengers on board to enable them to work together on projects, and organize various initiatives to raise awareness among passengers. At ports, they give speeches, often before or after the hibakusha, to give background information and context to the atomic bombings and respond to media interviews. Through these first-hand experiences, they are empowered to see themselves as messengers.

That the Orizuru Youth eventually identify themselves not as learners but as communicators and messengers is the fundamental strength of this programme. The Japanese Government too recognizes the increasing importance of such programmes. In April 2013, then Japanese Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida launched a programme called "Youth Communicators for a World without Nuclear Weapons". This programme stemmed from the Minister's recognition that "as Hibakushas are aging … [there is] the necessity to transmit the reality of atomic bombings to future generations". The Youth Communicators are expected to "pass on the realities of the use of nuclear weapons to the international community as well as to future generations" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2016). Since the inception of the Orizuru Youth programme in 2013, Peace Boat's Orizuru Youth have been certified by the Japanese

Government as Youth Communicators and such credentials have helped our activities in different parts of the world.[6]

Post-programme, many Orizuru Youth alumni have pursued careers related to peace and disarmament. Mayu Seto, the first Orizuru Youth in 2013, is now working as a singer-songwriter, with a focus on songs of peace, while also being involved in local activism in Hiroshima. Nao Fukuoka, after joining Peace Boat as Orizuru Youth, travelled to Tahiti to research the effects of nuclear testing on the local community and wrote a thesis on this topic. Nao also works as a guide and hosts many study programmes that visit Hiroshima. Mako Ando, having participated as an Orizuru Youth in two Peace Boat voyages, now works at a local newspaper, hoping to contribute to peace as a journalist.

Nao Fukuoka interviews a nuclear test victim and an anti-nuclear activist.

[6] Prior to the Youth Communicator for a World without Nuclear Weapons programme in 2010, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs set up a commission mechanism called "Special Communicators for a World without Nuclear Weapons". This followed then Prime Minister Kan's statement in the Peace Ceremonies in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 2010 on his initiative in asking Hibakusha to talk about their actual experiences on the tragic result of the use of nuclear weapons in various international occasions. Since the establishment of this mechanism, hibakusha joining the Peace Boat Hibakusha Project have also been commissioned to be the "Special Communicators for a World without Nuclear Weapons".

It is also noteworthy that many recent alumni are now leading online initiatives, as many offline disarmament-related events are cancelled due to the spread of COVID-19. Japan has lagged behind in introducing information and communications technology in educational and other various settings. As such, young people's initiatives in leading online efforts in this environment has been particularly appreciated. This is something that we will revisit in more depth in the next chapter.

Peace Boat Global University

Global University programmes have been one of the main peace education programmes at Peace Boat, as mentioned in the Introduction. Although the scope of the Global University programmes is not limited to disarmament, the programmes feature many highly relevant topics.

In October 2016, Global University conducted a course that specifically focused on disarmament. Entitled "Changing the Approach: Humanitarian Disarmament, International Law and the UN". the programme took place over 18 days as Peace Boat's ninety-second Global Voyage crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Participants joined from Australia, France, Ireland, Norway, the Philippines and the United States.

According to the methodology of Peace Boat's Global University, many learning components were conducted through people-to-people exchange. Throughout the journey, participants met with disarmament experts who spoke in depth about the initiatives they work on: Jenny Aulin on human security and peacebuilding; Shahriar Khateri on chemical weapons; Matthew Bolton on killer robots; and Susi Snyder of PAX on the financial trail. These sessions gave students insights into the whole "arms' chain" (development, possession, trade, use and financing) that the disarmament agenda ought to address.

In The Hague, students visited the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, where they were briefed about the technical details of the verification process: the planning and oversight of inspections, as well as management of declarations. Participants were surprised to learn that dispute resolution in case of alleged non-compliance is also

part of the organisation's duties. In the city of Reykjavik, students participated in a meeting between representatives of the Reykjavik City Council and representatives of the Mayor's Office. They witnessed how politicians and elected representatives can make concrete proposals and undertake positive actions for change. Furthermore, Randy Rydell, a former Senior Political Affairs Officer in the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, joined this programme in full as a programme navigator.

Many on-board sessions included role plays that encouraged participants to start thinking about the scenario where they were the ones who were making the decisions. For instance, after the above-mentioned visit to the Reykjavik City Council, participants reflected on what they would propose to Mayors for Peace if they were advisors. In another session, participants were asked to act as diplomats from three fictional countries representing a range of positions on the nuclear ban treaty. They then devised diplomatic strategies and negotiated with one another to change each other's positions. They also developed policy recommendations for their respective Governments and action plans for civil society as journalists, teachers or city councillors. This challenging exercise allowed students to identify the main points they wanted to include as part of the programme's collective outcome.

Finally, and most importantly, the programme included opportunities for participants to take real actions. When the ship docked at New York, they had the opportunity to publicly present the programme and their Plan of Action at a side event of the United Nations General Assembly First Committee. The event was well attended by diplomats, United Nations staff, civil society representatives and journalists. Additionally, participants also joined ICAN campaigners in actual advocacy work at the United Nations. Under the mentorship of experienced campaigners Ray Acheson, Daniel Högsta and Tim Wright, participants were assigned to approach specific delegations and lobby diplomats to support the resolution.[7]

[7] For further details, see Peace Boat Global University October 2016 Programme Report.

More recently in 2019, a Global University programme also allowed participants to look into peace and disarmament specifically in the Asian region. The programme took place in August 2019 and attracted 35 participants from across Asia. By visiting Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Busan, Seoul and Vladivostok, among others, participants learned about the present security landscape in the region and how events in the past have had huge influence on how security situations stand today in East Asia.

Like the programme in 2016, participants were exposed to different organizations and individuals that were working toward peace and disarmament in the region: journalists, student groups and civil society organizations. On board, skill-based sessions were organized to help participants learn some concrete capacities for taking action: how to write an op-ed, how to make an effective presentation to an international audience, and how to teach children the concept of peace and disarmament. In the "Action Challenge" that was held on board, participants organized a wide range of actions: a talk show on atomic bombings, comfort women and other historical issues in Asia; a lesson plan for an inclusive class environment for secondary school students; and puppetry as a way to tell a hibakusha

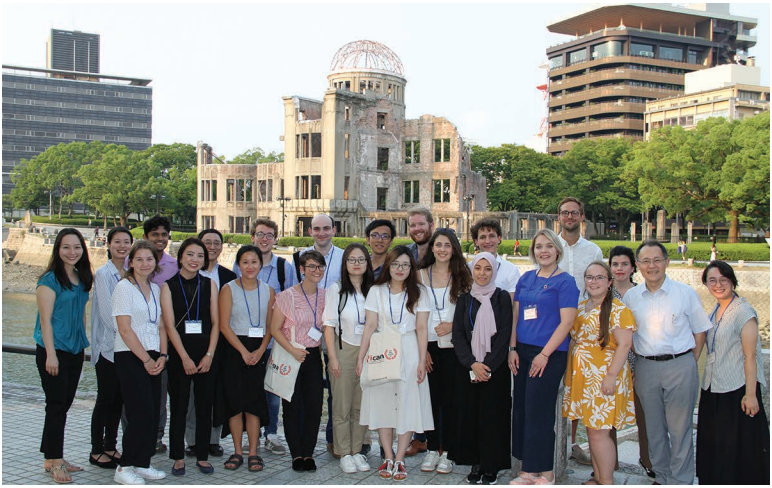
In the "Action Challenge", students of Peace Boat's Global University organized a wide range of on-board actions to advocate for peace.

testimony. The process of designing and implementing these actions was entirely left to the participants, from forming groups and setting vision and targets, to preparing necessary materials and actually implementing the project. The kind of first-hand experience and collaborative work incorporated into Global University programmes allows participants to be exposed to various perspectives and challenges the students to work together to find solutions.

As we develop our Global University programmes, various universities and institutions have come to value our approach to peace and disarmament education. They see unique value in leveraging experiential learning for peace and disarmament education and, in particular, in the action-oriented components of the programme. Peace Boat has forged partnerships with a number of universities, including the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan), the University of Tokyo (Japan), the China Foreign Affairs University (China) and Kyunghee University (Republic of Korea). These universities have subsidized and/or accredited participation of their students to our programme.

The Hiroshima-ICAN Academy

Interest in experience-based, action-oriented disarmament education programmes also comes from Governments, both national and local. In 2019, ICAN partnered with Hiroshima Prefecture to launch the Hiroshima-ICAN Academy on Nuclear Weapons and Global Security. The Hiroshima-ICAN Academy is an initiative that builds on the "Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan, which the Hiroshima Governor Hidehiko Yuzaki conceptualized and formulated in 2011 ("Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan Formulation Committee, 2011). More specifically, Yuzaki believes that proposing a vision for peace from Hiroshima is an imperative for a city that identifies itself as a City of Peace and that developing human resources to build a peaceful international community has to be an integral part of such an initiative (ibid., 12-13). Peace Boat, as the only ICAN International Steering Group member organization in Japan, has played a key role in the design and implementation of the programme.



The Hiroshima-ICAN Academy 2019 was held with 15 participants from both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States.

The inaugural Hiroshima-ICAN Academy took place in Hiroshima for nine days between 31 July and 8 August 2019, with 15 participants from 11 countries. The key characteristic of the Hiroshima-ICAN Academy was to gather youth from both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States. This reflected the Governor's belief that achieving nuclear weapons abolition cannot be done without overcoming the persistent belief in the balance of power ensured by nuclear deterrence (Chugoku Shimbun 2018). Thus the programme aimed to open up a platform where people from diverse backgrounds could frankly exchange ideas. As a result, eight participants joined from nuclear-weapon States (China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States) and seven from non-nuclear-weapon States (Australia, Belgium, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and the Republic of Korea).[8]

In designing the curriculum for the Hiroshima-ICAN Academy, Peace Boat built on previous experiences and set three specific goals. One was to facilitate experiences that are

[8] See more at Peace Boat, "Learning about nuclear weapons and security: Report on the Hiroshima-ICAN Academy 2019". The Hiroshima-ICAN Academy is continued in 2020 too.

unique to Hiroshima, the site of the atomic bombing. The second was to allow participants to learn about global trends on nuclear weapons and global security, through exchange with United Nations officials, diplomats, and non-governmental organization representatives. The third was to learn from practitioners and come up with their own form of outputs on the final day.

Participants indeed spent much of their time in Hiroshima at various places with a deep connection to the atomic bombing and the peace movement in Hiroshima since then. They visited the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. They listened to hibakusha testimonies, including the testimony of a Korean hibakusha. They also had extensive exchanges with local hibakusha groups, as well as youth groups, to understand the long history of peace activism in Hiroshima. They visited the Radiation Effects Research Foundation (formerly the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission) to understand how the biological effects of radiation have been studied. And on the anniversary of the atomic bombing on 6 August, they attended the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony. That evening, they also attended a peace concert, featuring an A-bombed piano and an A-bombed violin, organized by Peace Boat. It was held on the ship, which was then docked at the port of Hiroshima as a part of the Peace Boat East Asia Voyage 2019.

Taking advantage of the fact that many diplomats and United Nations officials visit Hiroshima around 6 August, the Academy arranged for participants to meet with and hear from a wide range of government representatives. The representative from Germany mentioned his experience in the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, the position of Germany as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the relationship with the United States. The representative from the Republic of Kazakhstan also gave a lecture and said, “Kazakhstan has been positively engaged in opposition movements against nuclear weapons and its tests because of their tragic experience at Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. The experience later led to the establishment of the Central Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone”. Similarly governmental representatives from Japan, France,

Mexico, the Philippines, the Russian Federation and South Africa shared their own unique perspectives with programme participants. Participants also had the chance to meet with Izumi Nakamitsu, Under-Secretary-General and High Representative for Disarmament Affairs.

The programme culminated in the final presentation by participants. In five groups, participants presented respectively on the humanitarian aspects of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and the role of the international society, the changing symbolic power of nuclear weapons, the nuclear security landscape, and the role of civil society. It was important that they had an actual chance to output their learning through the nine-day academy.

Conclusion

In recent years, Peace Boat has designed and implemented various rigorous disarmament education programmes. Common to all is the belief in equipping participants with empathy, knowledge, and skills, as well as in "learning by doing". Such an approach to disarmament education has received positive feedback from participants and from collaborating institutions. This has led to Peace Boat establishing extended partnerships with academic institutions and private foundations, as well as local and national governments. Alumni have come up with many spin-off activities and continue to be active in various ways.

We are aware that many similar initiatives exist, such as the Nagasaki Youth Delegation, the Red Cross Youth Volunteers forums, the Amplify Youth Network and the Critical Issues Forum by the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, to name but a few. The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs also launched the Youth4Disarmament Initiative in 2019, and Youth Champions for Disarmament programmes are already attracting young people who aspire to promote change for a more peaceful and secure world. Connecting these initiatives through a common platform and sharing resources and insights will be an important aspect in further advancing disarmament education.

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Chapter 5
Where to from here

In September 2019, the Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg spoke at the United Nations Climate Action Summit. She addressed the world leaders: "You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words. ... We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you!" (Thunberg 2019).

When Thunberg began her school strike for climate in 2018, she was alone. But soon, others joined her. The movement grew quickly and became known as Fridays for Future, with fellow students and activists uniting around the world, protesting outside their local parliaments and city halls. Today, Thunberg has become an icon of climate activism, inspiring hundreds of thousands of youth across the globe.

The three core messages that climate activism puts forth have propelled many youth to go to the streets and take action. First of all, the movement depicts climate change as an existential crisis—a crisis that puts the very existence of all lives and the planet at risk. Can we continue to live like this, knowing that this path will lead us to extinction? Secondly, activists highlight the uneven distribution of risk. Risks are generally greater for disadvantaged people and communities. Can we turn a blind eye on such inequity? Finally, the movement has criticized the failure of our current social, economic and political system, which has found no viable solutions to this

planetary crisis. How much longer do we wait for the "adults" to recognize that the system is no longer sustainable?

In many ways, issues surrounding COVID-19 have exposed the same unsustainability of our current system. Overpopulated cities turned out to be most vulnerable to communicable diseases. Structural inequality that exists in societies amplified the risk for specific—often socially disadvantaged—populations. In some places, medical facilities were overwhelmed and the social welfare system became dysfunctional. Political responses were generally too slow. The pandemic shed light on the problems we must solve if we want a more sustainable and equitable society. As a result, many people have begun to raise their voices, support each other to solve the problems at the local level and push political leaders to face the reality and take action. The awareness that this is an existential threat and that it is a global threat that needs a global response, has indeed urged leaders to invest resources and tackle the issue as a priority.

What we can learn from the above cases is that people do respond and join movements if they understand the urgency and the real impact they and future generations will incur as a result of inaction. It also tells us that a bold, global and intergenerational movement is necessary if we want to bring about real change.

The disarmament movement can learn from these lessons. We should frame disarmament issues as planetary issues—affecting all humanity and the planet together. The disarmament movement should also be seen as an opportunity to imagine and actualize a better alternative future—not the future where certain people disproportionately suffer from the humanitarian impact of weapons or where money is spent on killing people but not on education and social welfare.

Given the above, this short concluding chapter considers four key issues for future disarmament education programmes. These points may provide hints for such programmes that can inspire youth to make a new wave in disarmament.

The security-development nexus: Disarmament and the Sustainable Development Goals

There can be no development without peace and no peace without development. Reaffirming the undeniable connection between security and development, as well as disarmament and development, is important at the most basic level.

The idea that disarmament and arms control are connected to development is not new. The United Nations Charter acknowledges the importance of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with "the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources" (Chapter 5, Article 26). Since the late 1970s, the relationship between disarmament and development has been repeatedly taken up in United Nations conferences, including the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development in 1987. Members of the Non-Aligned Movement have been particularly active in this discussion and, since the mid-1990s, have almost annually submitted draft resolutions on the "Relationship between disarmament and development" to the United Nations General Assembly.

More recently, since their adoption in 2015, the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals—as the blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all—have helped to underline that disarmament and development are intricately linked. Under the slogan of "No One Left Behind", a wide range of stakeholders are taking initiatives to make the world a more sustainable and inclusive place. People, companies and Governments have all begun to understand that peace and prosperity have to be redefined for people and the planet, now and into the future.

Within this broader context, the Sustainable Development Goals provide a unique opportunity to revisit the crucial relationship between disarmament and development (Nakamitsu n.d.). While Goal 16—on peaceful and inclusive societies, justice and strong institutions—recognizes that durable peace and lasting conditions for security are necessary for long-

term development, there are diverse areas in which achieving disarmament objectives can contribute to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. A central concern for disarmament and arms control is the protection of civilians from the impact of weapons. Measures to ban or restrict certain weapons on humanitarian grounds have a clear role to play in reducing armed violence and related death rates. The advancement of disarmament and arms control objectives also supports the achievement of other Sustainable Development Goals, from good health and quality education to gender equality, economic growth, reduced inequalities and safe cities.

In his Agenda for Disarmament, the United Nations Secretary-General indeed proposed that we think of "disarmament to save humanity", "disarmament to save lives" and "disarmament for future generations". Building on this Agenda, disarmament education programmes must provide participants with opportunities to explore how disarmament can have significant positive impact on development, as well as on the sustainability of people and the planet more generally.

Youth empowerment: Ensuring inclusiveness and safety

As recognized in the landmark United Nations Security Council resolution 2250 (2015) on youth, peace and security, "young people play an important and positive role in the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security". To ensure that youth can have a sense of ownership and the confidence to lead the change, disarmament education programmes must serve as platforms where youth can gather, exchange and learn to lead. Disarmament education must help youth unite and take action.

The Youth4Disarmament Initiative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs provides one example where an international agency is leading such an effort. Under the Youth4Disarmament Initiative, various projects are under way, such as the "United Nations Youth Champions for Disarmament", a training programme that provides young people with learning opportunities on disarmament, including

on a study tour to Vienna, Geneva, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In chapter 4, we have also presented some of Peace Boat's programmes that share a similar vision.

To make the movement broader and more widely appealing, disarmament education programmes ought to be inclusive. Disarmament issues require international cooperation involving all nations. Engaging youth from across cultures and backgrounds is thus an imperative. We know that weapons and armed conflict disproportionately affect vulnerable populations. Ensuring that youth who represent such populations are part of the conversation is particularly important. When programmes strive to be inclusive, participants learn much from each other. They learn to navigate different opinions and perspectives and find viable solutions that benefit all.

However, being inclusive is not simply about gathering people in one place and having them discuss different issues. In designing programmes, organizers and educators should give maximum consideration to providing a space where participants feel safe, free and equal when expressing their opinions. Gathering diverse participants means that people will bring with them perspectives that they have nurtured within the political system and perhaps political constraints that they may have grown up with. As such, they may have very different and possibly conflicting views on certain issues. They will have very different norms that they take for granted. Different education systems may influence people's ways of engaging in discussion, making certain opinions appear more dominant. Online tools are often used to make the platform more accessible and inclusive, but abusive comments are rampant in online spaces. In some cases, there could be political risk in speaking up about sensitive issues.

Active interventions and facilitation are thus necessary to achieve inclusiveness in a more fundamental sense. Being aware of potential discomfort participants may experience and taking necessary precautionary measures must be part of the programme preparation. Establishing appropriate codes of conduct, spending time on icebreaker and team-

building exercises and introducing different dispute resolution mechanisms are some concrete things that can be built into programmes. Thinking about whether or not to publicly report on events and activities and what kind of information to release to interested media is also important. Online and offline, youth must be protected from abusive comments and disrespectful criticisms.

How and how much to leverage technologies

Related to the above point on inclusiveness, incorporating digital and technological tools will be a key aspect of designing disarmament education programmes.

The year 2020 has made us reconsider many activities that had previously been taken for granted. The spread of COVID-19 has forced us to give up all kinds of "non-essential" activities. As Governments put in place lockdown measures in many cities across the world, companies introduced remote work, schools began online teaching, and many gatherings moved to virtual spaces.

The pandemic likewise affected many important disarmament forums. The largest immediate impact of COVID-19 has been the postponement of the 2020 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference. Other meetings have been similarly postponed or held in a virtual, informal format.

Yet, disarmament efforts have not stopped. Various conferences led by non-governmental organizations have been held online, gathering thousands of participants from across the world. A joint statement from civil society to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty States parties was compiled and published, emphasizing that "we cannot afford to lose sight of the other global challenges that threaten all of us, including the worsening planetary climate emergency and the ongoing threat of catastrophic nuclear war".[1] Similarly, a number of

[1] Joint statement from civil society to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty States parties (11 May 2020).

Governments came together to issue the Joint Communique[2] to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The situation, although devastating, has revealed that online platforms are fundamentally amenable to disarmament education. Disarmament education is most successful when it allows people from different countries to come together and think together. However, for young people especially, travelling afar can be a challenge financially. Online platforms can help to easily overcome such barriers. They are in general much more accessible and allow for all kinds of international collaboration with far less cost and logistical arrangements. In the Online Hibakusha Testimony Sessions in which Peace Boat has been involved since the pandemic, participants even found that online events can facilitate more intimate exchange and intergenerational participation, making youth more comfortable to speak up and engage.

Peace Boat's Online Hibakusha Testimony Sessions reached audiences of more than 400 people with testimonies delivered in English, Spanish and Japanese and translated into Chinese, French, Portuguese and Korean.

The current environment has also given us the opportunity to revisit various digital resources we can utilize in disarmament

[2] Joint Communique to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

education. For instance, the *Hiroshima Archive* and the *Nagasaki Archive* are digital mapping projects, where people can access testimonies and other information related to Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings. NUKEMAP and MISSILEMAP allow people to simulate what would happen if a missile was launched or a nuclear weapon was to explode today. Such online materials and technological tools, when appropriately introduced, can have a huge potential in stimulating people's imagination and helping people understand the humanitarian impact of many weapons that need to be reduced and abolished.

However, as we have repeatedly emphasized in this publication, empathy is key in disarmament education. Some emotions are indeed less easily communicated through online tools. The sense of belonging and shared identity, as well as the sense of bonding, may be difficult to nurture online. Sometimes the excitement, frustration and even tension that person-to-person exchange facilitates becomes unforgettable and creates a turning point in one's life. Such opportunities must not be lost. Thus, judicially deciding what works best offline and what works best online will be a crucial part of designing effective education programmes.

At the same time, a careful evaluation of potential downsides of technologies is crucial. It has been repeatedly pointed out that online tools often amplify divisions and inequality. Those who do not have appropriate devices or access to the Internet can easily be left out if not provided appropriate support. The gap is often deeply structural, and it is important to recognize that there is no easy solution. Organizers need to be aware of this serious issue and make active efforts to explore various methods, platforms and tools to try to be inclusive. It is also important to acknowledge that online spaces are not borderless. Politics do influence accessibility to certain platforms and services and not all tools are therefore universal.

Disarmament education as part of the official school curriculum

In order for disarmament education to be more widely practised in different parts of the world, introducing disarmament education in the school curriculum will be key.

As briefly discussed in the Introduction, the final document of the 1980 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization World Congress on Disarmament Education indeed urged Governments to make disarmament a part of the official school curriculum at all levels and across subjects.[3] Governments must take this recommendation seriously.

Thirty years after the above meeting, disarmament remains a topic that is largely untouched in school curriculums. External actors have developed abundant materials that can be used in schools. However, they are underutilized by school teachers. In places where even basic education needs are unmet and education is underfunded, some view disarmament education as unnecessary and not to be prioritized.

Yet making disarmament education part of the official school curriculum is an imperative. This is because disarmament education teaches students important lessons about how to learn from past mistakes and how to create a peaceful future. Every country and community has a disarmament agenda that it needs to address, and every student will benefit from the vision and methodologies they will learn through disarmament education. Furthermore, disarmament education is most needed in conflict-ridden regions and places where people suffer from poverty and other structural violence. It is in such communities that knowing alternative societies that they can envision and build can directly save lives.

Thus, leaders must act. On the most practical level, the importance of disarmament education has to be communicated to educational practitioners. When government representatives in the disarmament and security community agree on the

[3] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Congress on Disarmament Education: Report and Final Document.

importance of disarmament education, they must communicate the message to the Ministry of Education and other appropriate agencies so that necessary steps will be taken. Within the ministry, the division that manages Education for Sustainable Development or programmes related to the Sustainable Development Goals may think of comprehensively approaching different kinds of educational components including disarmament education. Promoting partnerships between different Governments and international agencies, such as the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations regional centres for peace and disarmament, may also be helpful in promoting implementation of disarmament education.

Governments must also show leadership in setting up a mechanism that can facilitate schools to make use of the many excellent resources that already exist. For this, partnerships will be key. Existing initiatives built up by civil society organizations and individual institutions have much to offer. Similarly, Governments should learn from local governments that have long incorporated peace and disarmament education in their school curriculums. In Japan, for instance, Hiroshima and Nagasaki have for decades incorporated peace education as an integral part of the official school curriculum from primary education.[4] Schools in those cities have rich experiences and resources that can be shared with other schools.

The curriculum will undoubtedly need to be tailored to each country's situation and the profile of the school. Talking about recent conflicts can be very political and may promote division among students if not done appropriately. Students from conflict or post-conflict regions may too vividly remember their own experience, if such a topic were to be dealt with in educational settings. Therefore, the curriculum must be carefully devised and delivered professionally.

[4] At the level of higher education, many universities offer programmes and degrees in peace studies or similar fields which incorporate elements relevant to disarmament. In Japan, Hiroshima City University and Nagasaki University, as well as Keisen University in Tokyo, are leading this effort.

Securing resources for disarmament education

All the above is easier said than done. Most importantly, it requires vast financial and other resources. In fact, the 2002 Study on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education clearly stated that the success of disarmament education "will depend on ... the provision of adequate financial resources".[5]

The challenge for the international society and for Governments is to think about how to secure more substantial support for initiatives related to disarmament education. When launching or endorsing youth initiatives, they should ensure that appropriate financial resources are made available both to subsidize participants as needed and to support the implementation itself. Besides public funding, the United Nations and Governments should make greater efforts to tap the financial resources of private enterprises.

Proposing concrete ways for different stakeholders to support disarmament initiatives may be one possible way forward. For instance, instead of abstractly calling for support, international agencies may ask Governments and other entities to put in place support mechanisms for implementation. Encouraging private foundations to create funds dedicated to disarmament education may also have a real impact. Private companies related to information and technology may be able to offer platforms and services for online disarmament education. Investing in fields related to disarmament education will also have a palpable impact: promoting research on disarmament education, investing in the capacity development of teachers, and so on.

Asking for financial commitments is always a big challenge. Yet, if the value in the peaceful future disarmament education can ultimately bring about is recognized, stakeholders must invest appropriate resources.

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[5] Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations study on disarmament and non-proliferation education (A/57/124).

Conclusion

The recent momentum around climate activism and the COVID-19 pandemic urge us to reflect on the way forward for disarmament movement and disarmament education. At the most fundamental level, we must reframe disarmament issues as issues that affect all humanity and the planet together. Disarmament must be discussed within the larger context of sustainable development for people and for the planet. To expand the movement further, efforts must be made to incorporate disarmament education into official school curriculums. We must also ensure that people from all backgrounds are represented.

In the near future, given the uncertainties that the COVID-19 pandemic has brought about, many international education programmes will have to think about ways to incorporate online elements. Although this will have a positive impact in terms of travel logistics and expenses, great care must be paid to ensure inclusivity in a true sense. Technologies can indeed make participation easier, but they often create a serious gap in terms of accessibility.

The issues discussed in this chapter are applicable not only to disarmament education but also to all kinds of education programmes.

Coda

The average age of Hiroshima and Nagasaki hibakusha is now over 83. Victims of nuclear testing and other nuclear victims are also ageing. Soon, there will come a time when no one can give direct testimony about the horror of nuclear explosions.

Over the past decades, listening to the voices of hibakusha and other nuclear victims has been an indispensable part of disarmament education. Their messages have reminded us again and again of the very reason we must commit to disarmament: so that no one else would experience the inhumanity hibakusha have gone through.

Unfortunately, humans are often not as wise as we might hope. Without the hibakusha's voice, we fear that we may forget how devastating the nuclear weapons are; we may repeat the same mistakes of using inhumane weapons on innocent civilians, accidents may happen and precious lives would be lost.

Therein lies the role of disarmament education. Disarmament education is what will ensure the hibakusha's lifelong messages to be passed down as lasting legacies. By nurturing future change agents, by ensuring partnerships to bring the movement forward and by continuing to highlight the importance of working towards disarmament, disarmament education will be a path for gifting a bright future for ourselves and for future generations.

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