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Title

Center for Innovative Diplomacy Report - July/August/September 1985 - Special Issue

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Journal

Center for Innovative Diplomacy Report, 2(4)

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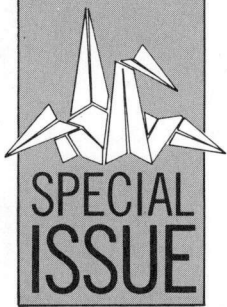
Publication Date

1985-07-01

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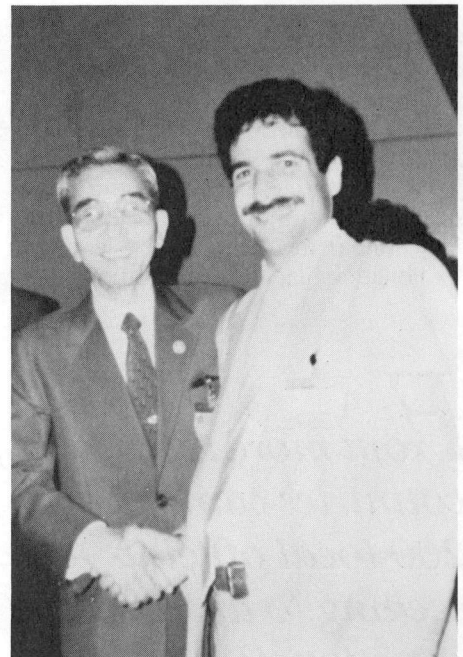


the CID Report

Vol. 2 No. 4 CENTER FOR INNOVATIVE DIPLOMACY

July/August/September 1985

BETWEEN AUGUST 4TH AND 10TH, THE CITIES OF HIROSHIMA AND Nagasaki sponsored the First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity. CID's President, Michael Shuman, attended the conference as a representative of the mayor of Palo Alto. When Shuman returned, he prepared this highly personal chronicle of what the conference was like—what the mayors experienced, what they discussed, and how CID managed to nudge the conference to “institutionalize” itself. The report is long, involved, and sometimes even emotionally wrenching, but we think it's well worth your reading time.



Hiroshima's mayor greets Michael Shuman.

A New International Institution is Born

The World's Mayors Meet in Hiroshima

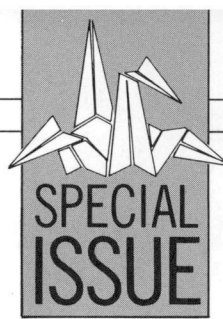
would make the fortieth anniversary of the nuclear age a special event. They invited the world's mayors to come to their cities to survey the damage, to join in the Japanese commemorative ceremonies, and to begin working together to reverse the nuclear arms race. Their
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THIS PAST YEAR COULD BE CALLED “the year of commemoratives.” It was the 40th anniversary of D-Day, the 40th anniversary of VE-Day, and the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the nuclear age. Forty years ago, on July 16th, the first nuclear weapon unleashed its monstrous power in the desert of Alamogordo, New Mexico, prompting Robert Oppenheimer, the director of the Manhattan Project, to quote from the *Bhagavad Gita*, “Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds.” And forty years ago, during the first ten days of August, nuclear weapons leveled the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

More than a year ago, Mayor Takeshi Araki of Hiroshima and Mayor Hitoshi Motoshima of Nagasaki decided that they



The conference was the beginning of a new international organization of cities opposing the arms race—an organization that may well grow in the years ahead.



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open invitation to all mayors made the following proclamation:

"In war, especially nuclear war...it is the cities and the people living therein who suffer its serious consequences. It is a city's obligation to ensure its citizen safety, comfort and human-oriented urban environment. As mayors appointed in the cities that have suffered from atomic bombings, we realize the profound importance of our duties. By establishing closer solidarity among the cities of the world, we hope to awaken a concern for the eradication of nuclear arms, and thus contribute toward the establishment of a lasting world peace. It is our strongest wish that this World Conference of Mayors may unite cities from all over the world to establish a firm solidarity toward world peace."

From every every corner of the globe, mayors responded to Araki's and Motoshima's invitation. From Sacramento, Philadelphia, and Hilo in the United

From more than 30 countries came nearly 200 local officials seeking to answer one question: How can their cities prevent nuclear war?

States. From Leningrad, Volgograd, and Vilnius in the Soviet Union. From Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow in Great Britain. From Hangzhou, Chengdu, and Beijing in the People's Republic of China. From Sydney, Sunshine, and Ashfield in Australia. From more than 30 countries came nearly 200 local officials seeking to answer one question: How can their cities prevent nuclear war? The occasion was christened the First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity—a meeting that represented an important breakthrough for the world's peace movement in several respects:

• It was the first time an international coalition of local governments came to-

gether to try to reverse the arms race.

• It was an unprecedented example of how cities could break new common ground for cooperation, devoid of the power-politicking that now tangles most nation-to-nation negotiations.

• And it was the beginning of a new international organization of cities opposing the arms race—an organization that may well grow in numbers and power in the years ahead.

The Yanks Are Coming

MY OWN INVOLVEMENT WITH the Mayor's Conference began in late April, when Larry Agran and I were planning our foreign policy workshops for local officials. As previous issues of *The CID Report* have detailed, Larry is the former mayor and a current city council member of Irvine, California, a city in the heart of ultra-conservative Orange County. He is also the founder and executive director of Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA), a coalition of more than 250 local officials seeking to rechannel military spending back to America's cities.

Larry and I received word of the conference from Mayor Anne Rudin of Sacramento, who decided to attend with her husband. Knowing of our own interest in building national and international coalitions of local officials against the arms race, Anne encouraged us both to attend as well. Our enthusiasm was, to say the least, unequivocal.

Larry notified his colleagues on the city council that he intended to represent Irvine. As an unelected community "do gooder," I had to go through a somewhat more elaborate procedure to attend. Since the invitation was extended to "mayors or mayors' representatives," my participation was contingent on becoming an official envoy of my own mayor in Palo Alto, Leland Levy. But after several letters and phone conversations, Mayor Levy gave a quick and enthusiastic endorsement. Two months later, Levy also agreed, at Larry's urging, to add two other people to the Palo Alto "delegation," Julius ("Jules") Margolis and Doris Margolis. Jules, a professor of political science at U.C. Irvine, and Doris were both instrumental in setting up the Uni-

versity of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), one of the nation's foremost peace research institutes.

By early June, the Irvine, Palo Alto, and Sacramento "delegations" were all set. We had no idea how many other cities were participating, but we assumed that several dozen American mayors would be attending. We soon were shocked to learn, however, that only one other American city was participating—Saratoga, a small California city located half-way between Palo Alto and San Jose.

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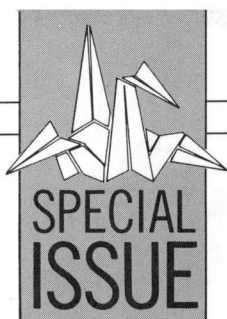
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The Center for Innovative Diplomacy is a non-profit, non-partisan research organization striving to prevent nuclear and conventional war by increasing citizen participation in foreign affairs.



New Orleans and Harrisburg apparently were considering but, for some reason, dropped out.

Part of the reason for laggard U.S. participation seemed to be the reluctance of American local officials to acknowledge their role in foreign affairs. But a deeper reason was simply that no one had heard about the Conference. Everyone attending, including Anne Rudin, received invitations via word-of-mouth. Apparently, the conference organizers had sent out a blizzard of paper invitations, not realizing that without followup phone calls and personal prodding, city halls would treat the invitations as junk mail. This was an area, Larry and I decided, where CID and LEO-USA could help in the future, for with some prodding, hundreds of American cities might be eager to attend. The only question was whether the conference would have a future.

With the title of "First World Conference of Mayors," there was some reason to expect a second, third, and so on. But the early materials revealed no concrete plan for a next meeting. Indeed, the preliminary program allocated so much time to speeches, ceremonies, and tours that there seemed no opportunity for future planning.

In an effort to convince the conference to transcend its one week media event, Larry and I decided to push the concept of "institutionalization." The night before leaving for Tokyo, I prepared a memo outlining why the conference should become a permanent institution and how it could be done. With a hundred copies of the memo, forty pounds worth, I was off to Japan.

Modern Hiroshima

BY THE TIME I ARRIVED IN Hiroshima, late Saturday afternoon, August 3rd, it was hard to realize what made this city so special. To Americans, Hiroshima means panoramas of vast devastation—the mutilated bodies, the shadow imprints, and the indistinguishable rubble. Yet to any visitor, modern Hiroshima is another ultra-modern Japanese metropolis. The streets are crowded with bright, pastel-colored neon signs advertising everything from Fuji film to Sylvester Stallone's "Rambo."

By sundown I was well settled in the luxurious Hiroshima Grand Hotel, the main conference site. I turned on the television set just in time to catch the six

o'clock news—in Japanese, of course—which featured the arrival of three noted Americans: professor Norman Cousins, actor Jack Lemmon, and retired Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque. The next news story showed "hibakusha," A-bomb victims, addressing another international conference. The final story showed a mayor getting off the "shinkansen," the bullet train, and being greeted by children who covered him in paper cranes. Hiroshima was coming alive.

Sunday I wandered through the city, continuously stumbling on bits and pieces of Hiroshima's past. Bronze plaques throughout the city showed what the surrounding area looked like after the bombing. Small Buddhist peace parades occasionally marched by. And teenagers wore sweatshirts with slogans like "Worldwide Nuclear Ban Now."

One common sight—on street signs, monuments, and people's clothing—were huge, colorful braids of paper cranes. Crane folding, a traditional Japanese custom for good luck, was adopted by the Japanese peace movement in the mid-1950s. At that time, a girl exposed to the Hiroshima bomb's radiation devel-

Small Buddhist parades were commonplace as Hiroshima prepared to commemorate its destruction 40 years earlier.

oped leukemia in her teens. She was told that if she folded a thousand cranes, she would become healthy again. She diligently folded crane after crane, but succumbed to leukemia just before reaching a thousand. When her story became known, thousands of Japanese children began folding cranes for world peace.

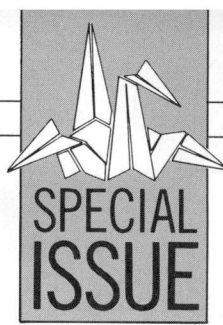
At an art museum, paintings and posters reflected the two themes I encountered over and over again in Hiroshima. One theme—that nuclear weapons are

T*o Americans, Hiroshima means panoramas of vast devastation. Yet to any visitor, it is an ultra-modern metropolis.*

unacceptably horrible—appeared in images of fireballs, human skulls, screaming mothers, and smouldering debris. The other theme—the eternal yearning for peace—appeared in images of doves, flowers, and children.

What was most extraordinary about these themes was what they did not say. Unlike Buchenwald's efforts to blame





German fascism and Dresden's efforts to blame U.S. "imperialism," Hiroshima blames no one. Judging by the ongoing debate in the United States over the merits of the bombing, few American commentators appreciate this fact. The Japanese only blame the United States—as well as all nuclear nations—for their refusal to learn from Hiroshima and take disarmament seriously.

Outside the art museum, as I walked through a lush green garden, I asked a young Japanese man about the intense cricket noise. He replied that he had just read a scientific study showing how Americans and Japanese hear these sounds differently. While an American brain hears these sounds as mere background noise like auto traffic, a Japanese brain hears them like language. Despite

Crane folding, a traditional custom for good luck, was adopted by the peace movement in the mid-1950s.

their obsession with consumer goods, automatation, push button rooms, and vending machines, the Japanese still seek harmony with nature. And it was this feature of the Japanese, it seemed to me, that made them such special leaders for a world peace movement. More than other peoples ravaged by war, the Japanese appreciate that the essence of preventing nuclear war is not to attack any one political ideology, but rather to understand just how out of balance all nuclear weapons are with life and nature.

The Conference Opens

BY SUNDAY EVENING, conference registration at the Hiroshima Grand Hotel was getting underway. Every city received an embarrassingly large shopping bag of gifts from the mayor of Hiroshima—glossy hardcover books of the city's past and present, a hand-embroidered tapestry, a travel alarm bearing the conference logo, an exquisite hand-made crepe paper picture, and a

lei of tiny origami cranes.

After sorting through my gifts in the hotel lobby, I turned around and saw a delegation of Japanese presenting a distinguished looking American man with an award. Under his receding crop of white hair beamed the ebullient, unmistakable smile of Norman Cousins. Three decades ago, Cousins used his magazine, *The Saturday Review*, to publicize the plight of the nation's nearly 390,000 "hibakusha." His efforts culminated with his bringing twenty five badly scarred women—who became known as the "A-Bomb Maidens"—back to the United States for reconstructive surgery. Formalities were exchanged and minutes later the meeting was over; everywhere I turned, little events were happening rapid-fire.

In front of the registration table appeared an updated roster of participating cities. The U.S. delegation had expanded from four to nine; new on the list were Mayor Dante Carpenter of Hilo, Hawaii, Councilman Robert Ouye of Marina, California (who was also a high-ranking official of the Japanese-American Association), Mayor Charlotte Townsend of Carmel-by-the-Sea, Mayor Sam Abbott of Takoma Park, Maryland, and Dr. William Evans, a management professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who was representing Philadelphia.

Before dinner, I introduced myself to Sam Abbott, whose bespectacled, cane-ridden appearance has led critics to accuse him of encroaching senility. But underneath, Abbott is a fiery orator, filled with sharp opinions. His city, Takoma Park, is one of three American cities that refuse to do any business with firms involved in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. He proudly tells how the "freakin' police" asked for an exemption to buy a General Electric radar detection system. "Well, once we forced them to shop for another freakin' system, they found an alternative, and it was better and cheaper."

Before we could finish, Larry whisked me to dinner, where we discussed the "Hiroshima Appeal," one of two specific statements the conference would be making. Larry wanted the conference as a whole—but particularly the American delegates—to urge President Reagan to meet Soviet Communist Party leader



Colorful braids of paper cranes covered monuments everywhere.

Mikhail Gorbachev's challenge to stop all nuclear testing. Just before we left the United States, Gorbachev announced that all Soviet nuclear testing would be suspended on August 6th and that, if the United States stopped its testing by December 31st, the Soviet Union would continue its moratorium indefinitely. The United States responded with accusations that the Soviet offer was mere "propaganda" and slapped together a counter-offer that Soviets come observe U.S. nuclear tests and begin allowing Americans to observe Soviet tests. The press, Larry argued, had given pitifully little attention to the breakthrough nature of the Gorbachev's offer, and it was our responsibility to give it the credibility it deserved.

An hour later, we entered a large reception room and seated ourselves at twenty five or so scattered tables. The first man to sit next to me was an amiable, urbane gentleman named Douglas Sutherland, the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Australia. Sutherland was flanked by two other Sydney politicians—Lewis Herman, the Mayor of Ashfield, and Kevin Moss, an alderman from Canterbury. With the three Australians hurling locker-room jokes back and forth, it took a while to sink in that Sutherland was probably the most powerful and respected city politician in all Australia.

Sutherland described his efforts to turn Sydney into a "nuclear free zone" through a city-funded public education program on the dangers of the arms race. I asked if he had considered taking any legal actions against nuclear weapons, either by banning weapons stationed in Sydney or pressuring Prime Minister Hawke's government to join New Zealand's refusal to grant port privileges to U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons. Sutherland responded that, in his judgment, the New Zealand approach was too likely to trigger costly U.S. economic sanctions. As for making his pol-



SPECIAL ISSUE

PARTICIPATING CITIES

AUSTRALIA

Ashfield *Lewis Herman*, Mayor
 Canterbury *Kevin J. Moss*, Alderman
 Lismore *Robert W. Scullin*, Mayor
 Preston *Alan L.P. Hogan*, Mayor
 Sunshine *Ian Mck. Mill*, Mayor
 Sydney *Douglas W. Sutherland*, Lord Mayor
 Wologong *Bill Mowbray*, Deputy Lord Mayor

AUSTRIA

St. Ulrich *Thaddäus Steinmayr*, Mayor

BELGIUM

Antwerpen *G. De Corte*, Alderman

CANADA

Ottawa *Marion Dewar*, Mayor
 Terrace *George Clark*, Alderman
 Vancouver *Michael F. Harcourt*, Mayor

CHINA

Beijing *Fu Lin Sun*, Deputy Mayor
 Chengdu *Maozhou Hu*, Mayor
 Chongqing *Yang Xiao*, Mayor
 Fuzhou *Yongshi Hong*, Mayor
 Hangzhou *Boxi Zhong*, Mayor
 Ta-lien *Fu Hai Wei*, Mayor

FRANCE

Aubagne *Daniel Fontaine*, Le Premier Maire
 Adjoint
 Verdun *Jacques Barat-Dupont*, Mayor

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Berlin *Erhard Krack*, Mayor
 Dresden *Gerhard Schill*, Lord Mayor
 Magdeburg *Werner Herzig*, Lord Mayor

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

Frankfurt am Main *Hans-Jürgen Moog*, Lord
 Mayor
 Hannover *Herbert Schmalstieg*, Lord Mayor
 Lemgo *Reimhard Wilmbusse*, Mayor

HUNGARY

Budapest *Miklós Barabás*, General Secretary of
 the Hungarian Peace Council

ITALY

Campegine *Pierangelo Orlandini*, Mayor
 Cassino *Vincenzo Mattei*, Mayor
 Como *Claudio Bianchi*, Alderman
 Marzabotto *Dante Cruicchi*, Mayor
 Pistoia *Luciano Pallini*, Mayor
 Reggio Emilia *Giordano Gasparini*, Alderman
 Sesto San Giovanni *Biagi Liberato*, Mayor
 Torino *Giuseppe Lodi*, City Council Mayor

JAPAN

Fuchu *Hideo Urakami*, Mayor
 Fuchu-cho *Kibei Yamada*, Mayor
 Fujisawa *Shun Hayama*, Mayor
 Hachioji *Shigeo Hatanano*, Mayor
 Hirakata *Kazuo Kitamaki*, Mayor
 Hiroshima *Takeshi Araki*, Mayor
 Hiroshima Prefecture *Toranosuke Takesbita*,
 Governor
 Itabashi Borough *Keizo Kurihara*, Mayor
 Kawasaki *Saburo Ito*, Mayor
 Kita-kyushu *Gobei Tani*, Mayor
 Kobe *Takumi Yasuyoshi*
 Kochi *Taksuo Yokoyama*, Mayor
 Kofu *Tyuzo Hara*, Mayor
 Kure *Tamotsu Sasaki*, Mayor
 Kyoto *Kazuo Higashi*, Director, General Affairs
 Bureau

Machida *Joji Takayama*, Mayor
 Matsuyama *Tokio Nakamura*, Mayor
 Mihara *Takayoshi Doi*, Mayor
 Mitaka *Sadao Sakamoto*, Mayor
 Nagasaki *Hitoshi Motoshima*, Mayor
 Nagasaki Prefecture *Isamu Takada*, Governor
 Nagoya *Noboru Kono*, Director, General Affairs
 Bureau
 Naha *Kosei Oyadomari*, Mayor
 Nakano Borough *Yosbimichi Aoyama*, Mayor
 Nerima Borough *Kensuke Tabata*, Mayor
 Nishinomiya *Yoneji Yagi*, Mayor
 Ohno-cho *Tsuneto Taniguchi*, Mayor
 Ohta Borough *Koichi Amano*, Mayor
 Okinawa *Choko Kuwae*, Mayor
 Osaka *Osamu Takabashi*, Director, General
 Affairs Bureau
 Takamatsu *Nobuo Waki*, Mayor
 Tsushima *Masaru Igeta*, Mayor
 Yokohama *Kurasaku Saita*, Mayor

JORDAN

Amman *Ismael Armouti*, Deputy Mayor

MEXICO

Acapulco *Alfonso Argudin Alcarz*, Mayor

NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam *Tineke Van den Klinkenberg*,
 Alderman
 Arnhem *G.J. Stapelkamp*, Deputy Mayor
 Middleburg *P.A. Wolters*, Mayor
 Rotterdam *Henk Van der Pols*, Deputy Mayor

SPAIN

Gernika *Juan Luis S. Arronategui*

SRI LANKA

Nuwara Eliya *Edmund S. Rajapakse*, Mayor

SWITZERLAND

Geneva *Roger Dafflon*, Deputy Mayor

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Damascus *Hisham Shammout*, Vice President
 Executive Board of Damascus City
 Quneitra *Hassan Al-Sakka*, Mayor

U.S.S.R.

Kiev *Evgenii A. Yasinski*, Deputy Mayor
 Leningrad *Y.A. Shibaev*, Deputy Mayor
 Vilnius *Kazys V. Kachonas*, First Vice- Chairman
 of the Municipal Executive Committee
 Volgograd *Vladimir I. Atopov*, Mayor

UNITED KINGDOM

Coventry *William McKernan*, Lord Mayor
 Edinburgh *John H. McKay*, Lord Provost
 Glasgow *Robert Gray*, Lord Provost
 Lambeth *Lloyd Leon*, Mayor
 Manchester *Rbonda Graham*, City Councillor
 Newport *Cyril Summers*, Mayor

UNITED STATES

Carmel-by-the-Sea *Charlotte F. Townsend*,
 Mayor
 Hilo *Dante K. Carpenter*, Mayor
 Irvine *Larry A. Agran*, City Councilman
 Marina *Robert T. Ouye*, Charter Councilman
 Palo Alto *Michael H. Shuman*
 Philadelphia *William Evans*
 Sacramento *Anne Rudin*, Mayor
 Saratoga *Virginia L. Fanelli*, Mayor
 Takoma Park *Sam Abbott*, Mayor

VIET NAM

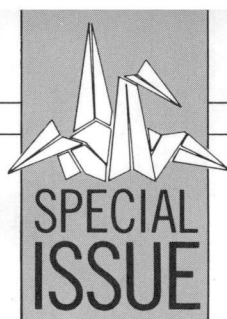
Ho Chi Minh *Nguyen Vo Danb*, Vice Chairman
 of the People's Committee

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

San'a *Yehya Ali Al-Eryany*, Mayor's Assistant

ZAMBIA

Lusaka *M. C. Sata*, Mayor



icies legally binding, Sutherland couldn't conceive of having the authority. At just that moment, Sam Abbott joined our table. As I tried to get Sam to explain how Takoma Park used its contracting powers to give its "nuclear free zone" legally binding teeth, the ceremonies began.

It was this kind of intellectual crossfire, often interrupted by the exigencies of scheduling, that characterized the next five days. In a way, two conferences were happening. One conference followed the Secretariat's elaborate schedule and was filled with flowery etiquette and sweeping generalities about the need for peace. The other conference—the one occurring in private meetings in the hotel lobby and in local bars—was where the real political debates and alliances were happening. As we were given an hour long introduction to the two dozen gifts and trinkets we received, I scribbled to Larry, "Is this a harbinger for our global assembly?!" He scribbled back, "At this rate, we will manage to reverse the arms race by no later than 2743 A.D."

A Visit to Peace Park

MONDAY MORNING, CHARTER buses delivered us to the Peace Memorial Park at 8:00 AM, where the weather was already steamy. We walked by Hiroshima's old industrial exhibition hall, a wrecked

building left standing as it was forty years ago. At the sight of the building's distinct skeletal dome, the gaiety of the past two days began pouring out of me. Suddenly, all of the abstractions—the films, the paintings, the pictures, the testimony—took on an unequivocally real, three-dimensional quality.

The rusted, mangled lattice of the dome is perched about one hundred and twenty feet above the ground. Most of the building's walls crumbled during the blast, but a few features remain: a cracked foundation, a twisted fire escape, a few empty window sills. Inside the building and around its perimeter lie huge chunks of brick, stone, and metal. When the fireball exploded, the dome was almost directly below it.

The insects seemed louder than normal, almost deafening, and their noise deepened my terror. We continued walking through the park, and it was hard to fight back tears. In the middle of the park sits a rectangular pool. At either end are concrete monuments, one shaped like open hands, with an eternal flame burning in the palms, and the other shaped like praying hands, with an altar in front. Two by two, the mayors walked up to the altar, placed flowers in front, and offered a short prayer. I walk-



A Japanese family praying in Peace Park.

ed side by side with Larry, thinking about how far we had come in the nine months of working together—and how much further we needed to go.

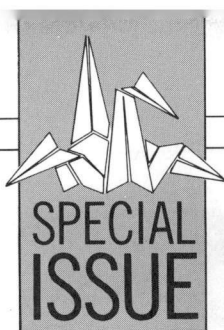
As we walked away, Van Amburg, one of San Francisco's leading newscasters asked for our reactions. I told him that the dome seemed like the Palo Alto city hall. Larry was more blunt: "This is a symbol of humanity's future."

Our guides whisked us to the Peace Museum, where hundreds of graphic pictures and artifacts were kept. While the museum presents information that few Americans would regard as new, its exhibits convey the effects of nuclear weapons—the flash, the blast, the fire, and the radiation—with an unexpectedly powerful resonance.

What I found most informative in the Peace Museum was its explanation about why Hiroshima was chosen as a target. Some of the reasons, to be sure, were military; a large regiment of the Imperial Army, for example, was stationed there. But there was another, more gruesome military logic operating. Hiroshima's dense population was surrounded on three sides by mountains and relatively untouched by conventional bombing. The population was the perfect laboratory in which to test the effects of "the device." There was no U.S. effort to minimize civilian casualties; contrary to popular belief, Hiroshima residents received no warning (only Nagasaki residents did). What's more, the bombing procedure created a calm that *increased* civilian casualties. When the A-bomb planes flew overhead, air raid sirens sounded, and when no conventional bombs dropped, the relieved people left their shelters, completely in-



Hiroshima's dome is a disquieting reminder of the power of even a "tiny" nuclear weapon.



cognizant of what was about to hit. What was most outrageous was that the bomb was accompanied by several parachuted measuring devices. How many moments in military history were the effects of a new weapon on civilians carefully measured? Were we any less guilty for using innocent Japanese civilians as guinea pigs than Mengele was for using Jews as his "medical" subjects?

The last exhibit was an encasement of stone steps, on which the blackened shadow of man was etched—Hiroshima's equivalent of our tomb of the unknown soldier. Next to it, one by one, we wrote our reactions to what we had just seen. Few of the mayors were talking. We were all covered in death.

The Victims Speak Out

AFTER VIEWING THE PEACE MUSEUM, we "decompressed" in a large cafeteria and then marched into Peace Hall, a civic auditorium adjacent to the Peace Museum, where we were greeted by thousands of cheering Hiroshimans. Mayor Araki and several other prominent Hiroshima dignitaries welcomed us as well.

Alfonso Garcia-Robles, the Permanent Representative of Mexico to the Conference on Disarmament and a recent Nobel Peace Prize winner, departed from his text to urge the United States and the Soviet Union to support each other's test ban initiatives. In particular, he suggested that, if the United States needs to conduct several more tests to feel "secure," it should do so, and that for these tests, the Soviet Union should accept the U.S. invitation to come and monitor them. But after these tests are completed, and in no event later than December 31st, the United States should meet the Soviet Union's challenge to halt all nuclear testing.

We then heard from a noted Indonesian diplomat named Saedjatmoko, who is now serving as President of the United Nations University. He strongly supported a peace strategy based on the political mobilization of the world's cities, in part because cities could "challenge nuclear strategists with authority," and in part because, with close links to their constituents, local authorities have the best chance of activating the people. Federal governments, he contended, have been followers, not leaders, and "when people demand to be heard, governments do respond, even govern-

ments that are not democratic."

At lunch, Anne Rudin, Larry Agran, and I met to discuss ways we could transform the Garcia-Robles' proposal into language for the "Hiroshima Appeal." We agreed to draft a statement and get a "caucus" of American delegates to endorse it. As one of ten delegates—and the only American—serving on the "Appeal" drafting committee, Anne was in a special position to carry our endorsed statement to the top.

I rode an elevator to my room to pick up my stack of handouts, and a tall, balding gentleman stepped on board. He looked at my name tag and said he liked my written "statement." (Before coming, every representative submitted a one page summary of his or her city's peace activities and long-term plans. My statement, of course, discussed how the conference could be the seed of a global assembly of peoples.) As he stepped off the elevator, he said "we should talk about this later." I peeked at his name tag; it was Mike Harcourt, the Mayor of Vancouver, Canada.

Monday afternoon, the first "plenary" meeting of the conference met in a large auditorium on the second floor of the Hiroshima Grand Hotel, where twenty rows of long tables were set up with two seats, a name plate, and a microphone for each city. Off to either side were seats for other delegates and the press.

By and large the world press took great interest in the conference. The Japanese television networks—NHK, NBC, and NNN—were devoting about a



Mayor Schmalstieg from Hannover, West Germany, seating himself in Peace Hall.

third of their evening news time to it. Reporters were also present from the principal newspapers in Great Britain, Holland, and the Soviet Union. Only the American media seemed relatively uninterested, perhaps because of the absence of big name U.S. mayors.

Before the session began, I placed a copy of my memo at every city's desk. I wanted delegates to begin thinking about the issue as soon as possible.

The afternoon was dedicated to a procession of Japanese doctors and "hibakusha" describing their experiences with the effects of nuclear war. By the end of 1945, they reported, 130,000 people died in Hiroshima and 70,000 in Nagasaki; by 1950, these mortality numbers had increased to 200,000 and

Akiro Takahashi, a Hiroshima blast victim, put his hand on Captain Tibbits' and told him that "hatred cannot erase hatred."

140,000, respectively. Many of these latter deaths, the doctors suggested, could have been prevented had more medical resources been available between 1945 and 1950.

Akihiro Takahashi was one of the victims of the Hiroshima blast and is now Program Director of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation. He described his meeting several years ago with Captain Tibbits, the co-pilot of the "Enola Gay," which flew the Hiroshima mission. Tibbits was terrified at the meeting, but Takahashi quickly relieved his anxiety when he put his hand on Tibbits' hand (bomb burns left Takahashi with virtually no grip for hand-shaking) and told him that "hatred cannot erase hatred."

While soaking in Takahashi's words, Larry and I prepared drafts of the test ban resolution. When the speeches ended, we gathered the American delegates for their endorsements. But tempers quickly flared. Takoma Park's Sam Abbott felt that anything short of a demand that President Reagan meet Gorbachev's



Children lucky enough to live were scarred for life—physically and emotionally.

challenge, plain and simple, was a sell-out. Jules argued for the “face-saving” value of the Garcia-Robles initiative, but Abbott snapped back that “I want no part of it.” Equally harsh skepticism about “Soviet intentions” was raised by Robert Ouye of Marina. Once again, the relentless schedule forced us to abandon the discussion before we reached resolution.

Larry and I despaired about the disagreements. We mused about locking Robert Ouye and Sam Abbott together until they resolved their differences. But Larry remained confident that if Anne

just proceeded quietly and presented the resolution to the committee, the American delegates would ultimately go along. Despite their differences, he pointed out, everyone wanted a test ban.

Next on the agenda was a personal meeting with “hibakusha.” On the eighth floor of our hotel, dozens of bomb victims sat waiting to tell us their story. The Palo Alto and Sacramento delegates sat together to hear from a middle-aged woman named Seigako. With a pretty face, lightly lined with scar tissue from her burns, Seigako still radiates the smile of a beautiful child. She greeted us by holding—instead of shaking—our hands since her hands, like Takahashi’s, have virtually no grip.

Before Seigako began talking, she looked down at the table nervously. It was as if she was struggling to reach back into her life’s most painful memories, saying to herself over and over again, “It hurts, but I must tell.” Sentence by sentence, in agonizing detail, she described the morning of August 6th, 1945.

She was a fifteen year old girl then, walking to school. The bomb hit, roughly half a mile away. She remembered seeing a blinding light, being thrown, pulling herself from rubble, and hearing screams everywhere. Instinctively, she started walking out of town. But it took her some time to regain her orientation since all essential landmarks were destroyed. It was as if she had suddenly

been beamed to an unrecognizable planet. As she crossed over a burning bridge, she managed to ignore her third degree burns, draw water from the river, put out the fires, and save the bridge. Somehow, she reached a railway station that was shielded from the explosion by a hill. She finally remembered being carried in a railway car, jammed with other crying victims, to a nearby medical facility.

August 6th was only the beginning of her ordeal. Most of her friends and family died that day, rending the social and emotional fabric of her life. Left with horrible facial scars, she was unable to secure either a job or a long-term relationship. Yet she was one of a lucky few. Through plastic surgery in the mid-1950s, much of her face was restored. She was one of the Norman Cousins’ “A-Bomb Maidens.”

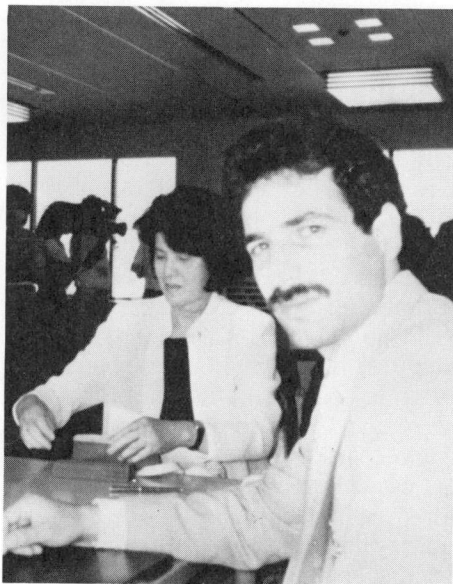
She related her story in an almost trance-like state, barely able to look at us. As the grisly details unfolded, she began crying. It was hard to believe this woman’s remarkable courage. For many years, she said, she had refused to talk. But gradually, she realized that she had a duty to speak out, to alert humanity to the horrors of nuclear weapons.

We assured Seigako, each in our own, awkward way that we would do our best to bring her story back to our cities. Barbara Weidner, the founder of a Sacramento-based organization called Grandmothers for Peace, grabbed Seigako’s hand and they cried together.

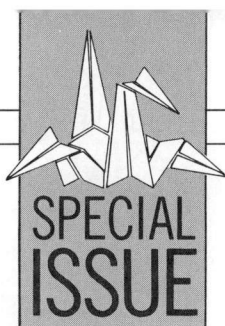
The “Other Conference”

I T WAS NOT EASY MOVING FROM Seigako’s story to an impromptu press conference in my hotel room, where Larry spoke at length with young reporters from the Associated Press and *The New York Times*. Yet this was the challenge of the conference—indeed, the challenge of all Hiroshima—to move quickly from miasmic reflection to coherent political action.

Larry described his efforts to organize American local officials against the arms race, emphasizing the economic costs. “Just look around you. The success of the Japanese economy is a living testament to the costs of military spending. While we are dedicating more than six percent of our economy to military spending, the Japanese are spending less than one percent.” “But wait a minute,” protested Clyde Haberman of the *The New York*



Seigako prepares to tell her story.



Times, "some would say that's because the United States is providing Japan's defense."

"Tell me," Larry prodded, "just what kind of threat do the Japanese really face? How is the Soviet Union—the same Soviet Union that can barely control Afghanistan—suddenly going to attack, conquer, and hold onto Japan? The scenario is ridiculous."

The scene changed quickly again as we returned to a banquet on the hotel's second floor. And once again, adjustments were challenging. From mutilated children...to Asian geopolitics...to an opulent feast, with huge tables of the most exquisite shrimp, lobster, sushi, sashimi, green noodles, beef, and tempura, all being dished out by formally dressed chefs.

Around the room, between the giant statues made of ice, one could see the familiar faces of the day. Doug Sutherland and the Australians were guzzling beers between their roast beef bits. Norman Cousins and Jack Lemmon were posing for pictures. Joan Kroc, the wealthy McDonald's heiress, was preparing to hear a children's choir sing a special peace song she had commissioned.

Congressman Ed Markey asked *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis if he had met any "hibakusha." "Just look around you," Lewis said. "They're everywhere. You can't talk to them because they don't speak English, but they're everywhere." Indeed, they were. Ambling from one side of the room to the other, I passed Seigako; we smiled, nodded, and continued on.

Every evening, the conference treated participants to a veritable orgy of food and drink. At my more cynical moments, I wondered how anyone could take our statements condemning hunger, inequality, and injustice seriously as we indulged ourselves in third helpings of twenty-dollar-per-pound steaks. If our actions never live up to our rhetoric, how will we ever be able to deal with the world's knotty problems?

Yet as the wine and food flowed, so did new ideas and relationships. If there's any truth to the adage that "the real work gets done in the bars," the banquet hall was akin to a massive factory, where hundreds of new understandings were being hammered together.

One evening, I was talking to Al-Hadeed, a member of the delegation from Amman, Jordan. I tried to blunt his anti-Israel barbs by getting him to show

some empathy for the plight of the Jewish people, particularly those who narrowly escaped the Nazi holocaust. "Come on!" he asserted. "You know, don't you, that the Jews were killed only on the advice of the Jews surrounding Hitler." At first, I was completely thunderstruck by this bizarre version of history. But then I saw another side.

It so happened that I had just finished reading Uri Avnery's insightful book, *Israel without Zionism*, which discusses the origins of Palestinian refugees. The prevailing view in Israel, Avnery writes,

If Amman's Al-Hadeed and his counterparts in Tel Aviv could begin meeting, then maybe they would find new common ground for resolving tensions.

is that, in 1948 and 1949, "Arab governments and the Arab armies called upon the Arabs to leave their homes. Unfortunately, this has never been proved.... On the contrary, it seems that the Arab governments asked the inhabitants not to leave."

I was struck by the symmetry of Al-Hadeed's myths with Israeli myths. The Jordanian could excuse himself from empathy for Jews by holding Jews responsible for their own misery, while Israelis could excuse themselves from empathy for Palestinians by holding Arabs responsible for their misery. It seemed to me that these are precisely the kinds of misperceptions that new relationships between Arabs and Israelis could help eliminate. If Al-Hadeed and his counterparts in Tel Aviv or Haifa could begin meeting and devising sister city arrangements, then maybe, just maybe, they would begin to develop empa-

thy for one another's plights, and with that empathy, find new common ground for resolving tensions in the Mideast. In the future, perhaps the conference could encourage visionary local leaders from both Jordan and Israel to take bold intercity peace initiatives. These relationships, then, could open up new channels of dialogue that maybe national leaders would mimic. The possibilities for local leaders succeeding where national leaders failed seemed enormous.

Forty Years Later

TUESDAY MORNING, WE BOARDED buses at 6:45 AM for the ceremonies at the Peace Park. For the first time since I arrived in Hiroshima, the weather was overcast. Tens of thousands of people converged on the park.

The solemn ceremonies ran like clockwork.

At 8:00 AM, the names of nearly a quarter of a million A-bomb victims were placed inside the eternal flame.

At 8:06 AM, wreaths were presented at the flame by "hibakusha," by Norman Cousins, by leading Japanese politicians, and by the mayors of Hiroshima's sister cities: Mayor Herbert Schmalstieg of Hannover, West Germany; and Mayor Vladimir Atopov of Volgograd in the Soviet Union.

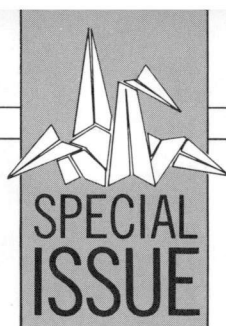
At 8:15 AM, the exact moment the bomb went off, the peace bell was rung as the crowd huddled in silent prayer.

At 8:21 AM, thousands of doves were launched into the heavens.

Throughout all of these events, we could hear the distant loudspeakers atop cars circling Peace Park. This was just one of many counter-demonstrations staged by a small band of Japanese ultranationalists. A harsh female voice de-



Ismael Armouti (left) and Al-Hadeed, both delegates from Amman, Jordan.



cried pacifism and urged the recrudescence of Japanese military prowess. The voice was an eerie reminder that no amount of goodwill and peace rhetoric would change the world overnight.

At 8:22 AM, Mayor Araki delivered a powerful speech proclaiming, "No more Hiroshimas." (The complete text of his speech is reprinted on page 13.) Then came a speech by Prime Minister Nakasone, who urged the superpowers to begin taking disarmament seriously.

At 8:45, a children's choir sang the "Hiroshima Peace Song," and the ceremonies ended.

Most of us were whisked away on a

Dozens of cities spoke of how they were opposing the arms race—reports differing only in tactics.

bus tour of the city. Ten mayors, however, including Anne Rudin, returned to the drafting committee, where they began hammering out the "Hiroshima Appeal." As we traveled around the city, a Japanese guide sitting next to me revealed that he worked in the city's financial office. When I asked how much of the city's budget went for peace activities, he answered ten percent. I was amazed. Most American representatives—myself included—were too afraid even to ask their city councils for five hundred dollars to support travel to the conference; meanwhile, Hiroshima is spending millions!

The World's Cities Report

AS SOON AS WE RETURNED TO our hotel, Anne Rudin reported that the Soviets had agreed to our resolution—a remarkable event since they were essentially taking a position very different than the Soviet government's. The one thing the Soviets asked for was a special floor statement commending Gorbachev's initiative. Anne agreed to their request and recruited Larry for the task.

At lunch, I discovered that there were at least two other Italian representatives at the conference almost as young as my own 29 years. Giordano Gasparini, an alderman from Reggio Emilia, and Dante Crucchi, the Mayor of Marzabotto, were both in their early 30's. Both men were instrumental in declaring their communities "nuclear free zones." And both were communists.

The conference actually was attended by a broad diversity of political parties. Most of the Italians were Socialists or Communists. Mayor Thaddaus Steinmayr was a member of Austria's conservative party. Herbert Schmalstieg was a Liberal Democrat, the dwindling probusiness party straddling politically between Christian Democrats and Social Democrats. And several of the Americans attending were relatively conservative. Robert T. Ouye, the councilman from Marina, detested the notion of nuclear free zones, and Dante K. Carpenter, Mayor of Hilo, California, shared many views of his community's biggest industry—the U.S. Navy. Yet despite these radical differences, the delegates' political views converged on one central point: local officials must take responsibility for reversing the nuclear arms race because national leadership has failed.

This convergence was borne out in the second plenary session, where dozens of cities spoke of how they were opposing the arms race—reports demonstrating only differences in tactics.

● Erhard Krack, Mayor of East Berlin, proclaimed peace as the "supreme human right," from which no mayor could shirk responsibility. He boasted of his city's officially sponsored peace activities, which included 474 peace-related conferences and a peace march of 700,000 people. Later in the conference, Jiri Weiss, a stringer for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, asked him how the East German government would react when it realized that the conference was ultimately urging local governments to challenge national governments. "In my country," he responded, "we are in complete agreement with our national government. Nevertheless, there are some areas where we can act creatively—and do."

● Robert Gray, Lord Provost of

Glasgow spoke of how his city, along with 150 others in Great Britain, has become a "nuclear free zone."

● Boxi Zhong, Mayor of Hangzhou, China, described a special exhibition of Hiroshima photographs his city sponsored "in order that our people, the young generation in particular, might get a clearer understanding of the destructiveness of nuclear war and the importance of peace..."

● Saburo Ito, the Mayor of Kawasaki, Japan, led a campaign demanding the "undedication" of local property being used for military purposes.

● Edmund S. Rajapakse, Mayor of Nuwara Eliya, Sri Lanka, was eager to mobilize his city to help the conference become an institutionalized monitor of every city's municipal foreign policies.

● Anne Rudin used her speech to describe her efforts to educate Sacramento's voters on the importance of a nuclear freeze and on the adverse local impacts of military spending.

● Michael Harcourt discussed some of Vancouver's educational activities and urged the cities to take more direct action, perhaps by sending aid to the Third World for economic development.

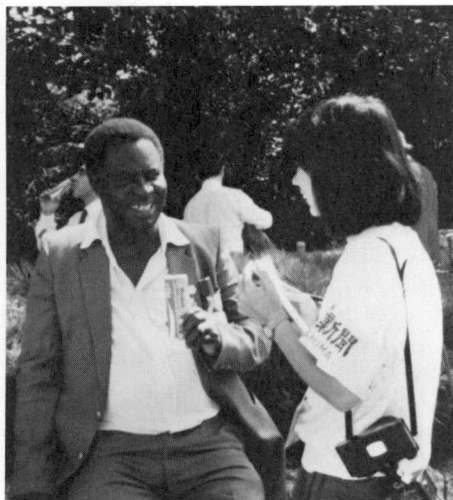
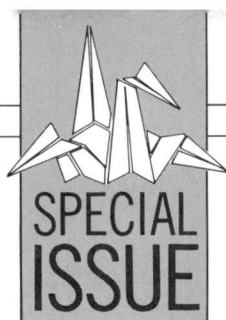
● Jacques Barat-Dupont, Mayor of Verdun, France, described how his city, like Hiroshima, has erected monuments and museums to remember its own wartime devastation and to educate townspeople and visitors on the need for halting war.

● Mayor Vladimir Atopov described the benefits of Volgograd's sister city relationship with Hiroshima.

Following these speeches, Larry delivered—on cue from the Secretariat—a short congratulatory message to Gorbachev for "his courageous initiative." He also brought up the subject of institutionalizing the conference, and urged the Secretariat to seriously consider proposals for meeting again in a year. Jubilant, I quietly slipped Larry a note: "I owe you three turkey dinners."

Mayor Sata of Lusaka, Zambia, made a passionate argument that the conference begin looking past nuclear weapons to the conventional arms trade, which, he contended, were killing millions of innocent Third World civilians. Mayor Atopov smiled nervously as Sata attacked Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

As others made statements, I decided that I wanted to reiterate the points in my memorandum. I asked a representative of the Secretariat if I could speak but was



Mayor Sata from Lusaka, Zambia.

informed that my request could not be honored because of insufficient time. It then became clear that none of the floor comments were spontaneous. All were either initiated by the Secretariat, as in Larry's case, or permitted by the Secretariat for special reasons; Sata, for example, had complained bitterly the previous day about needing more time to speak. The proceedings were a marionette on the Secretariat's strings.

During a coffee break, Virginia Fanelli, Mayor of Saratoga, walked up to Larry and chastised him for having spoken on behalf of the entire American delegation. "I was never consulted on this statement congratulating the Soviets." Larry tried to explain that he was speaking merely on behalf of himself and *some* other Americans, including delegates like Anne and myself. In the end, she was not really complaining about the substance of Larry's comments since she, too, wanted President Reagan to accept Gorbachev's initiative. Her tone, however, was worrisome; would she still go along with the "Appeal"?

After a coffee break, Michio Nagai, Senior Advisor to the Rector at the United Nations University, described the next speaker as a man with "good facial expression." Lord Mayor Douglas Sutherland of Sydney, not having his translation earphone plugged in, looked at the laughing audience in puzzlement. Good facial expression once again.

Douglas Sutherland is a quintessential Australian mix of British good manners and a blue-collar rebelliousness. His "lordly" side brought enormous measure to his description of how he had turned Sydney into a nuclear free zone. All Sydney residents regularly see signs

and receive educational materials describing the dangers of nuclear weapons and the need for disarmament. The city has also set up a national nuclear free zone "headquarters" to launch similar campaigns in other Australian cities. What's more, the city sponsors a Peace Day filled with city-sponsored educational events. And the libraries and school systems have been stuffed with anti-war materials.

Next to speak was Mayor Herbert Schmalstieg of Hannover. He deplored the buildup of nuclear arms in the two Germanies and likened Europe to the "top of a volcano." His interest, like Sutherland's, was mostly in education. He recommended that children be required to learn how to "play peace" as well as to "play ball."

All of these reports seemed encouraging in showing just how broadly global concern about the arms race has spread. Through a variety of measures—declaring nuclear free zones, establishing sister city ties, distributing peace education materials, and lobbying the nuclear superpowers—cities throughout the world are now investing resources to bring about disarmament. And yet these reports also showed the political immaturity of the movement. Few spoke of specific actions that might make life more difficult for military establishments. All of the nuclear free zones, for example, were only symbolic and educational. And little concern was shown about what I regarded as the most important issue of all: transforming the conference into a permanent institution. As I listened to the various speeches, I was especially disappointed that no one spoke about that one essential ingredient for all of our activities continuing and succeeding—money.

During Schmalstieg's talk, I prepared a brief outline. After he finished, Nagai said "since the audience doesn't appear to have any questions, we'll now let the panelists comment on one another's talks..." At that moment, I waved my hand, caught Nagai's attention, and finally got the floor.

"I come," I began, "representing the City of Palo Alto in California. While our city is small, having only 55,000 people, it is also the home of Stanford University

and much of Silicon Valley, and consequently has enormous influence disproportionate to its numbers."

"Ever since becoming an early city in the United States to endorse the nuclear freeze, it has harbored an extremely active peace community."

"Yesterday, I distributed a long memorandum suggesting ways we might transcend our one week together here and form a truly lasting network to reverse the arms race. I realize the memorandum was long, but if you have a chance, I urge you to read at least the first three pages. In them, I make a series of recommendations for how we can—and should—institutionalize ourselves."

"There is one particularly important recommendation I would like to touch upon now—resources. Peace activities are not cheap, though they are certainly cheaper than the enormous costs of not pursuing them."

"We should appreciate that events like this conference are extremely expensive. Moreover, if we are ever to form a lasting lobbying force that can counter a nearly trillion dollar per year military-industrial complex, we will need plenty of resources mobilized for peace from every city in every country."

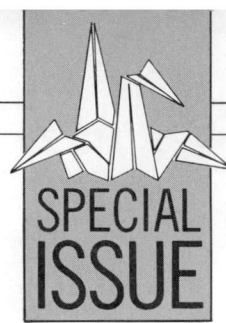
"I recommend that we leave this conference with a commitment to go back to our cities and secure a municipal contribution of, say, 10 cents—or 40 yen—per capita to ensure we meet again. For my city, Palo Alto, that would mean \$5,000."

"I hope the conference will seriously consider this proposal. We have an unprecedented opportunity to build a powerful international network of cities for peace. We must not let it slip away."

The mayor of Hiroshima, grabbed the microphone, said he was delighted with my comment, and added, with some glee, that that my comment about the



Larry Agran (left) congratulates the Soviet mayors from Vilnius (center) and Volgograd on Gorbachev's test ban initiative.



\$5,000 had been "duly recorded."

Following various floor comments and a coffee break, Mayor Araki presented the "Hiroshima Appeal." The language Larry, Anne, and I drafted was reduced to the following passage: "We urgently support an immediate and complete ban on nuclear testing....We shall urge the leaders of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to respect each other's initiative to reduce nuclear arms and to stop testing, improvement and production of nuclear weapons."

The moderator asked if anyone objected to the "Appeal." I nervously looked at Sam Abbott and Robert Ouye. I then turned to Virginia Fanelli. But no one raised an objection. In the end, all of the delegates supported the measure, demonstrating the capacity of local officials to leave aside their petty differences in the interests of peace.

Preparations For The Nagasaki Appeal

WE SPENT MOST OF WEDNESDAY riding trains between Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When we arrived, we were greeted by a long line of Nagasaki dignitaries including Mayor Motishima and a children's orchestra and choir. The pomp was dazzling.

Thursday we returned to business as more cities reported on how they approach peace. And again, the emphases were as varied as the mayors themselves:

- Tineke Van den Klinkenberg, an alderwoman from the Netherlands, said that, for her, "Getting to know each other is the door to peace." She was especially grateful for seeing "the other face of America" that was supportive of her city's stand against cruise missile deployments.

- William McKernan, Lord Mayor of Coventry, traced how his community emerged from the rubble of the V-2 blitzes to become a leading British peace advocate, both by resisting the government's civil defense program and by holding an annual peace festival in the town's central cathedral.

- Roger Dafflon, the Deputy Mayor of Geneva, boasted his city's role in hosting international organizations ranging from the the International Committee of the Red Cross to various United Nations Committees, and challenged other cities to begin involving themselves with these organizations as well.

- Larry Agran emphasized the impor-

tance of cities awakening to their role not only in peace but also in war. Cities like Irvine, he argued, must take responsibility for converting their bomb producers into nonmilitary enterprises. Taking inspiration from Sam Abbott, he suggested that cities curtail all municipal investment and contracts with firms producing nuclear weapons. He finally recommended that, as a minor gesture to the peoples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the world ought to agree to close all military establishments between August 6th and August 9th—a kind of international armistice day.

- In one of the most moving moments of the conference, Reinhard Wilmbusse, Mayor of Lemgo in West Germany, told of how his predecessor, forty years earlier, tried to save his city by negotiating a special peace treaty with the Third Reich. His efforts were met with a firing squad. Following this tradition of unconventional initiative, Wilmbusse described his own efforts to establish a sister city in Eastern Europe.

- Robert Scullin, the Mayor of Lismore, Australia, also laid special emphasis on his sister cities programs. He encouraged all cities to expand their current programs to involve the exchange of civic leaders, students, and businessmen.

- Mayor Sata from Zambia took this opportunity to emphasize, much to my delight, the importance of institutionalizing the conference. He recommended that the United Nations move its Center for Disarmament to Hiroshima and that a permanent union of mayors be formed there as well. He concluded by apologizing for the absence of Africans; "next year, I promise you, they will be here."

Throughout these speeches, I began scribbling some ideas about the the "Nagasaki Appeal." Perhaps with these specifics, I thought, this appeal could be more politically powerful than the appeal from Hiroshima. By the end of the session, I listed ten activities to which we should commit ourselves:

- (1) educating the public on the need for nuclear disarmament;
- (2) zoning out nuclear weapons activities;
- (3) refusing to invest in or enter con-

tracts with corporations or countries producing nuclear weapons;

- (4) establishing cultural exchange programs with cities in "hostile" countries;

- (5) establishing trade relations with cities in "hostile" countries;

- (6) lobbying for disarmament at both national and international levels;

- (7) dedicating some city money to perpetuate the conference;

- (8) returning to future mayors' conferences;

- (9) encouraging neighboring cities to join our efforts; and,

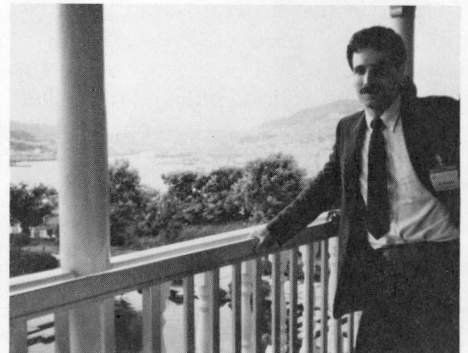
- (10) urging our own people and national leaders to travel to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Just before lunch, I handed several copies to two members of the ten-person Nagasaki drafting committee—Larry and Marion Dewar of Ottawa. Both agreed to try, if possible, to incorporate these items into the declaration.

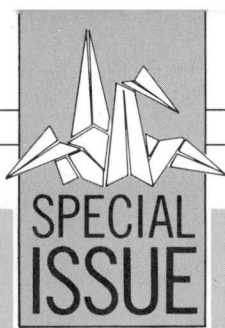
At lunch, I sat with a third committee member, Tineke Van Den Klinkenberg, and thanked her for her comment about "the other face of America." After some discussion, she, too, agreed to present my suggestions to the appeal committee.

The Decision Not To Quit

AT THE AFTERNOON PLENARY SESSION, as we watched a film about Nagasaki, all I could think about was the committee that was now meeting behind closed doors. The proceedings broke up and our guides escorted us to the Nagasaki Peace Museum. On the way, I bumped into Jiri Weiss, who said he had talked with some members of the Secretariat and concluded that they had given little—if any—thought to perpetuating the conference. His impression was "they seem only to be interested in increasing international recognition of their cities." I told Jiri he was being too cynical, but inside, I was



Shuman surveys the city of Nagasaki.



beginning to boil. Is that really why we were invited here? Were we really just serving as bit players for a Japanese agenda that would have no real, lasting influence over global peace?

I couldn't shake loose the questions as I walked through the Nagasaki museum. And the powerful exhibits hardly improved my mood. Pictures of charred children with their skins peeling off. Finger bones fused with melted bottles. Piles of rubble with arms poking through. It was all too much.

I rushed down the stairs from the third floor of the Nagasaki museum. Near our bus was Marion, looking glum. I knew what she was going to say, but I asked anyway: "So what did the committee decide?"

"Not much." Marion shrugged. She explained how various committee members presented specific planks for the appeal and how the Japanese Secretariat balked at each, arguing that specificity would divide the conference. It soon

"Marion," I said, "we need to do something. If we don't, this conference is going to die. Why don't we draft another plank..."

became clear that objections to specificity were only coming from the Secretariat. And that was that. No one pushed further.

"Marion," I said, "we need to do something. If we don't, this conference is going to die. Why don't we draft another plank for the platform and take it around for conference endorsement?"

Marion agreed to sit down with Larry, Jules, and me back at the hotel.

Within the hour, I had borrowed a primitive manual typewriter from the front desk of the Nagasaki Grand Hotel, typed a first draft of a new resolution, and had the Canadians and Americans discussing wording changes. Thirty minutes later, a final draft rolled off the typewriter. It read:

continued on page 14

A Mayor's Plea for "No More Hiroshimas"

MAYOR TAKESHI ARAKI OF HIROSHIMA delivered the following address to a crowd of ten thousand at an internationally televised ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the bombing of his city.

No more Hiroshimas.

It was forty years ago today during the hot summer that the heat waves, fiery blast, and radiation emitted by the first nuclear weapon ever used against a human target burned all living things in a blinding flash and turned the city of Hiroshima into a plain of scorched rubble.

Standing in the ruins, we, the citizens of Hiroshima, foresaw that any war fought with nuclear weapons would mean the annihilation of humanity and the end of civilization—and we have consistently appealed to the world for the total abolition of nuclear weapons.

Despite these untiring efforts, more and more nuclear weapons have been produced; they have been made more and more sophisticated; and they have been deployed ready for strategic and tactical use. Humankind continues to face the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Although the nuclear superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, finally resumed their long-suspended negotiations on nuclear disarmament this March, the talks have made deplorably little progress as the superpowers use the facade of negotiation to jockey for advantage while they expand the nuclear arms race into outer space.

Today's hesitation leads to tomorrow's destruction.

In order that Hiroshima's inferno never be repeated anywhere, we strongly urge the United States and the Soviet Union, who hold the fate of humankind in their hands, to halt all nuclear testing immediately and to take decisive steps at the summit talks in Geneva toward the total abolition of nuclear weapons in the interests of all humankind.

As the only country to have experienced nuclear devastation, Japan and the government of Japan should steadfastly adhere to its three non-nuclear principles policy and should take the initiative in seeking the elimination of nuclear weapons. . . .

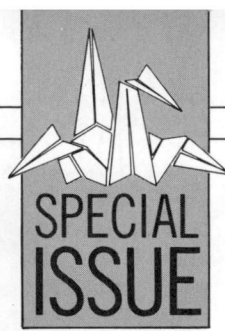
Along with these efforts, Hiroshima, an A-Bombed city, has been devoting itself to building a city dedicated to peace—a living symbol of the ideal of lasting world peace. It is in this spirit that we are hosting the First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity this year, for it is our hope that all the cities of the world aspiring to lasting peace will be able to develop inter-city solidarity transcending national boundaries, ideologies and creeds and will impart added momentum to the international quest for peace.

This year also marks the International Youth Year. We hope that the young people of the world—the leaders of the twenty-first century—will inherit the Spirit of Hiroshima, strengthen friendship and solidarity among themselves, and exert their utmost efforts in the cause of peace.

The fates of all of us are bound together here on earth. There can be no survival for any without peaceful co-existence for all. Humankind has no further future if that future does not include co-prosperity. In order to save this verdant planet from the grim death of nuclear winter, we must draw upon our common wisdom in overcoming distrust and confrontation. Sharing our planet's finite resources in the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation, we must eliminate starvation and poverty.

No more Hiroshimas.

We must strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity among all peoples so as to save the world from the evil of war. Today, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, we pray for the souls of the A-Bomb victims and rededicate our lives to the eradication of nuclear weapons and the pursuit of lasting peace.



continued from page 13

"To amplify our voices, expand our numbers, and build a more powerful global movement of cities striving to ensure the survival of humanity through the elimination of nuclear weapons and war, we resolve to build upon the pioneering work of the First World Conference of Mayors by creating a permanent Secretariat in Hiroshima and Nagasaki that will undertake the following:

"(1) Bring together participating cities for a Second World Conference of Mayors on August 6th, 1986, in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, or another city the Secretariat may deem appropriate.

"(2) Raise funds for the ongoing activities of the Secretariat by generating contributions from participating cities

The house lights came on. The delegates began removing their headsets and getting up from their seats. And I grabbed my microphone.

and securing donations from private, national, and international organizations.

"(3) Facilitate communication among participating cities through a regular newsletter and other written communication.

"(4) Establish and coordinate a system of regional councils of participating cities that shall meet regularly and the representatives of which shall be part of the Secretariat.

I made fifty copies of the resolution and gave a handful to Vera, Marion, Larry, and Jules. In the next six hours, between the eating and drinking, we each made our inroads.

Charlotte Townsend feared we might offend our hosts and, at first, resisted the resolution, but she agreed to go off and read it carefully.

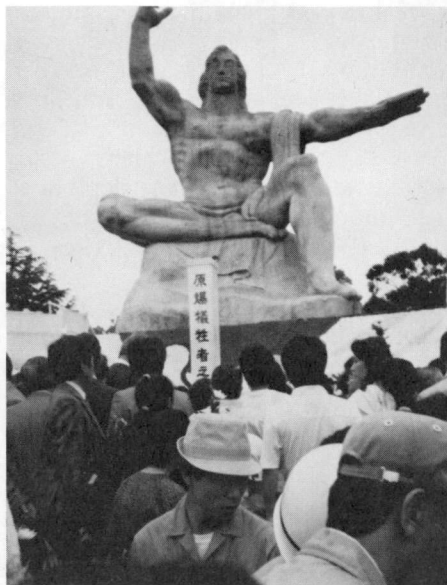
At dinner, I approached the Italians, who, by this point, had virtually adopted me as a favorite son. They were all flailing their arms, screaming, "Hey, Palo

Baso! Sit down, sit! Have a drink!" I passed around the resolution, and Luciano Pallini, the Mayor of Pistoia, said he didn't think any of them would have trouble with the resolution, though he emphasized his own interest in our working more closely with the International Union of Local Officials.

Next—the Arabs. Sitting in a circle were the representatives of Syria and Damascus. "Sit down my friend," urged Amman's Deputy Mayor, Ismael Armouti. I asked him to review the resolution, but he just smiled and wanted to know the gist. "It is basically so we can get together again," I said, "and become better friends." Armouti's smile broadened, "It sounds great."

I approached Rhonda Graham from Manchester, who had just emerged from a verbal altercation. "I'm in a lousy mood, but speak your peace." After I explained the resolution, she expressed concern that this new organization might compete with the International Registry of Nuclear Free Zones, the headquarters of which is in her city. "Think about it," I said, "and let's talk some more tomorrow."

And so it went, from delegate to delegate, throughout the night. At about 10:30, I collected my breath with the Canadians. Charlotte Townsend passed by and said that she liked the resolution. She also said that she had arranged a



Crowds converged on Nagasaki's peace statue after the ceremonies ended.

meeting between Marion and the Secretariat at lunch the next day. Suddenly feeling triumphant, Marion leapt out of her chair to give me a big hug, saying, "We're almost there!"

The Final Push

FRIDAY MORNING WAS THE COMMEMORATIVE of the bombing of Nagasaki. True to the character of Nagasaki, the ceremonies were smaller and more intimate than those of Hiroshima. The centerpiece of attention was a large seated statue with one arm pointing to the heavens and the other arm stretched with the palm reassuringly facing down. The upward arm pointed to where the bomb exploded, while the outstretched arm represented the city's dedication to peace. In front of the statue was a dense arrangement of bright red, white, and yellow flowers forming the picture of a dove.

The Nagasaki commemoration proceeded much like Hiroshima's—wreaths, bells, doves, speeches, and choirs. But it was also more solemn. Perhaps it was because intermittent rains had forced mayors, "hibakusha," and other special guests all to huddle under a large tent. Unlike the massive Hiroshima gathering, here were elderly A-bomb victims quietly weeping by my side. At precisely the moment the bomb exploded 40 years earlier, a bird perched itself on the very top of the statue's upward pointing finger.

Just as the ceremonies closed, the heavens opened up and rains poured down. The photographers wrapped up their cameras in heavy tarps. The Nagasaki residents ran to their cars and buses. And those foolish enough to talk with the press—like Larry and I—were drenched. After changing clothes, I met with the Canadians once again at lunch. Marion's assistant, Vera Pantalone, reported that all of the Australians gave firm or tentative approval. Rhonda Graham came up to me and apologized for her awful mood the previous evening; "I still have concerns, but I'll support you." In all, support for the resolution was unanimous among everyone who had seen it.

Marion and Vera walked over several tables to talk with a representative of the Secretariat. I waited nervously in the distance, watching everyone flail their hands for emphasis.

The meeting ended and Marion



A photo from the peace museum showing the dramatic extent of blast damage.

seemed half-heartedly satisfied. The Secretariat's opposition to an amendment was resolute. But the organizers also seemed genuinely committed to everything we wanted—a permanent Secretariat, another meeting, a newsletter, and regional councils—and promised to emphasize this commitment in their final, wrap-up speeches. Marion was satisfied with this outcome, in part because she was beginning to understand that the Japanese position owed less to any insincerity in their commitment to peace and more to a natural, culturally bred conservatism.

I, however, remained skeptical. "What if the Secretariat's summary does not include our requests?" I asked.

Marion let me know that the Secretariat had chosen her to read the "Nagasaki Appeal," making it highly impolitic for her to make another speech. If a floor speech had to be made, it would have to come from someone else.

At the final plenary session, copies of the "Nagasaki Appeal" were distributed, and its generalities were even broader than the "Hiroshima Appeal." The most specific passage at the end read: "[W]e must transcend the barriers of differing racial, national, cultural, political, social and economic circumstances. We must promote various forms of inter-city exchange, enhance mutual understanding, and, when necessary, join together in solving common problems. We must also support and cooperate in the endeavors of international organizations for the elimination of poverty and the maintenance of world peace."

Marion dutifully took to the stage and read the "Appeal" aloud.

Perhaps fearing the possibility of a floor fight, the Japanese moderator asked, "All those in favor of the resolution, please applaud." After the predictable applause, he announced, "The resolution passes." Unlike the vote for the "Hiroshima Appeal," there was no opportunity for dissent.

Mayor Araki of Hiroshima and Mayor Motoshima of Nagasaki gave brief closing remarks. Both committed them-



After Shuman's final speech, Mayor Pallini from Pistoia gave him "a big Italian bug."

selves to begin planning for a second conference at some future place at some future time. But that was it. In the final speech, Masakazu Miyagawa, Vice-Chairman of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Committee to Promote Appeal for Peace, "summarized" our views as follows: "There was some concern about institutionalization. And in the coming weeks, the Conference Secretariat will be considering some of the specific recommendations made...."

"Was that all?" I wondered.

Without a second thought, I ran to Marion's table and asked, "Was that your understanding of what the Secretariat promised? That they would *consider* our recommendations?"

"No," Marion said, "but I think there's more coming."

"I don't think so," I replied. "Look at the program. This is it."

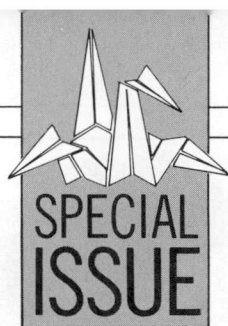
I don't remember what, if anything, Marion said then, except that her face showed surprise, confusion, and indignation.

I ran to a representative of the Secretariat and begged for time for a brief comment. The predictable response was, "We can't do that. If we let you speak, we'll have to let everyone speak, and we're out of time."

I went back to my seat, stewing with a sense of betrayal. I debated whether to make a statement anyway. I had my doubts. Would the delegates resent my harping on the institutionalization theme? Would the Secretariat "lose face" and resist working with us in the future? But if we didn't speak up, would the Secretariat feel an obligation to go beyond mere consideration of our recommendations? Did we travel six thousand miles to watch the possibilities of powerful assembly of cities evaporate into pious generalities?

Miyagawa finished his last words. There was applause. The house lights came on. The delegates began removing their headsets and getting up from their seats. And I grabbed my microphone.

At that moment, Jacques Barat-Dupont, the Mayor of Verdun, France shouted into his microphone that he wanted to lodge a protest. After a few seconds of confusion, the lights dimmed again and delegates returned to their seats. Barat-Dupont complained that his wording changes in the drafting committee had not been adopted. Miyagawa replied, somewhat annoyed, that he had an opportunity to present his views in the



drafting committee and that the committee had soundly rejected his suggestion.

Barat-Dupont's intercession may have been picayune, but it provided just the break I needed. As the house lights came up again, I stood up and spoke into the microphone.

"Excuse me, I have another important comment to make."

I tried desperately to get my mike to work, but it wouldn't. Larry grabbed it and told me to "just start talking." I continued repeating "excuse me."

Miyagawa acknowledged me and Larry finally hit the right switch. As the delegates once again returned to their seats, I said, "I have what I believe is an extremely important addendum to add to the Nagasaki Declaration." In making this addendum, I do not wish in any way to contradict the declaration, which I fully support. Instead, I wish only to voice a view that, while not a consensus view and therefore inappropriate for the 'Appeal,' is still a view supported by dozens of representatives here. Since I

do not believe this important statement has been adequately summarized, I would like to read this addendum for the benefit of the delegates here, for the press, and for the permanent record."

As the Japanese television cameras rolled on, I read the addendum, word for word. When I finished, I emphasized, "I and the dozens of delegates supporting this addendum are extremely grateful to all of the hospitality you have shown us and we look forward to working with you in the months ahead."

The audience and Miyagawa warmly applauded.

I felt deeply relieved, and walked out of the room for air. A Japanese newsman asked if I was protesting the "Nagasaki Appeal." "No," I conceded, "I understand why the Secretariat resisted specificity in this first conference. But unless

we meet again, everything will have been wasted."

Luciano Pallini from Pistoia came out and gave me a big Italian hug.

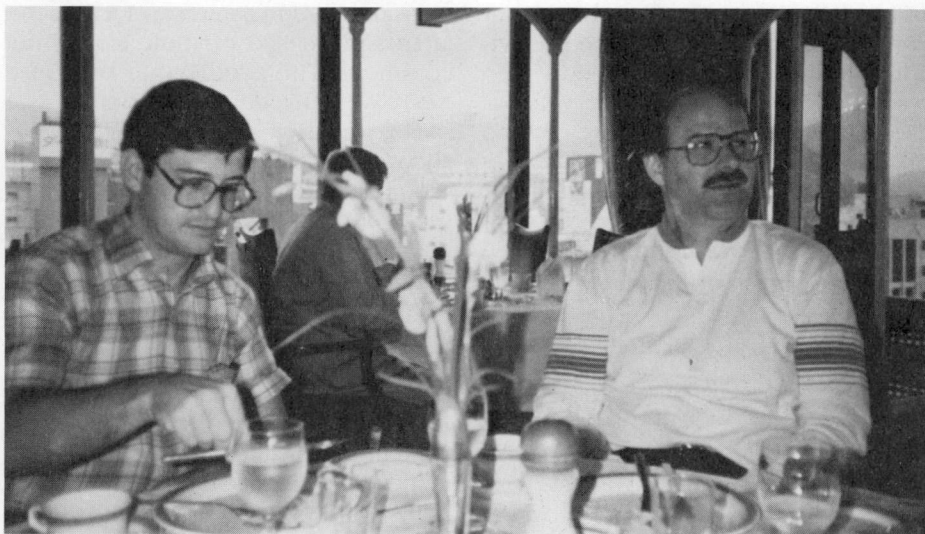
Shortly thereafter, at a press conference, the Secretariat was besieged by inquiries into "the institutionalization question." Our message got through.

The End of the Beginning

A FEW HOURS LATER, TOASTS flowed back and forth at our Nagasaki "sayonara party." We each signed farewell comments onto a large wall hanging. We exchanged addresses. The Italians invited me back to Bologna in March for the next International Nuclear Free Zone Conference. Kevin Moss promised a full tour of the bars of Sydney. Ismael Armouti renewed his invitation that I come to Amman and ride his 200 horses. Tineke Van Den Klinkenberg hoped I might visit Amsterdam. And Marion Dewar gave me an Ottawa tie, a token of our struggle for giving the conference concrete structure. It all reminded me of the final scene in Fellini's classic film *8 1/2*, where the characters from the protagonist's life join hands and start circling around a large circus ring.

The next morning, at 7:15 AM, Larry and I met with Marion, Vera, and Mike Harcourt to discuss our next step—a North American regional conference of mayors.

Against the vision of an empowered assembly of local officials, our efforts were only a baby step forward. Yet against the wreckage of forty years of an unceasing arms race and failed arms control efforts, our modest efforts offered the world a new kind of hope. A hundred cities' efforts were already blooming, and next year there may be a thousand. And then...



Larry Agran and Vancouver's Mayor Harcourt prepare for the next step—a North American Mayors Conference.

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