

Yacht Phoenix Box 5199 -Honolulu, Hawaii Hiro shima, June ne Dear Mr. Baba - Jun M Thank you for your letter of June 14. Endonce is an article, "My Personal helatrain with Genswillyo," for publication in your mayagin. It is winderstand them comis de 20 changes in the article as written, without first consultation with ms. (and ky mars

I take great pleasure in being able to present Mr. Reynolds' account of his personal experience with Gensuikyo. I believe there is much in the following pages that bears serious consideration by those, of whom I consider myself one, who work for the achievement of a lasting peace.

Because we here in Japan have felt so acutely that ours was a special role to play in the anti-nuclear armaments aspects of the struggle for peace, what happened in our Gensuikyo movement strikes me as particularly worth study. As Mr. Reynolds brings out in his text, the struggle for peace can not be narrow in its councils or become partisan in its stand. Gensuikyo, unfortunately, has demonstrated that there are those whose sole aim is to exploit the people's desire for peace.

I hope that reading Mr. Reynolds' account will serve to augment your personal determination to prevent the kind of distortion we permitted here in Japan in Gensuikyo from undermining peace movements in your own country.

Sincerely

馬惕食怡 Kinji Baba, President

Jiji Mondai Kenkyujo

My personal relations with Gensuikyo Earle Reynolds Jiji Mondai Kenkyujo Kakyo Bldg. 3-6 Tsukiji Tokyo, Japan July, 1962

My first contact with Gensuikyo was in 1959. At that time I was in Honolulu, Hawaii, under trial in the U.S. Federal Court for the protest voyage of our yacht, <u>Phoenix</u>, into the forbidden nuclear test zone near Bikini. Prof. Yasui, chairman of Gensuikyo, invited me to attend the Fifth Annual Meeting. The court, however, refused permission for me to leave Hawaii, and Gensuikyo then asked that my son, Ted, be sent in my place.

Ted, therefore, attended the Fifth Meeting, held that year in Hiroshima. I gave him no instructions, but told him to keep his mind and his eyes open, and to report accurately what he saw and heard.

Ted's report is contained in my book "The Forbidden Voyage", Pages 205 - 207 : "••• the conference is totally in the hands of the far left wing ••• a complete anti-Western propaganda machine. And the people of Hiroshima know it, and have quietly given up on the conference."

In January of 1960 I was permitted to make a brief

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business trip to Japan, and had a conversation with Prof. Yasui. He asked me if I planned to attend the 1960 meetings. I replied, "Yes, if possible, and will, of course, consider myself free to report on it as I see it." ("Forbidden Voyage," page 261).

In the spring of 1960, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that, while awaiting the decision of the Appeals Court on my conviction for having sailed into the nuclear test zone (I was later acquitted), we were free to continue our travels in the "Phoenix". We then returned to Japan, completing our trip around the world, which we had begun from Hiroshima in 1954. We arrived in Hiroshima on July 30, 1960.

I was unable to leave our ship so soon after our arrival, and again Ted went to the Gensuikyo meetings as my substitute. The General Resolution of the Sixth Conferece consisted of 21 points. Here is a sample: "••• we strongly protest against the 2 U.S. government's intention to resume tests $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ We strongly oppose the French atomic tests $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ " But there is no mention of Soviet intentions.

And again: "We demand that the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France should adopt a sincere attitude in the negotiations for disarmament." Again, no mention of the attitude of the Soviet Government.

Ted found himself unable to support this document, and wrote a minority report. He presented it to the head of the American delegation, who refused to submit it to the Conference. In his minority report, Ted said: "••• in our estimation, the tensions, the fear of war, have been perpetuated by <u>both</u> power blocks ••• and we ask that the citizens of every country of the world recognize the role of militarism within their country and take conscious action against this force."

In a later report, Ted said, "This year, all subtlety and subterfuge were laid aside, and the pretence

made in earlier conferences that universal disarmamement is edesired gave way to a castigation of American (and Western) arms and policies only · · · The Conference, as of 1960, is not representative of world peace movements · · · Prof. Yasui, the permanent chairman, (is) fantastically anti-American and pro-Communist · · · I and a very few delegates strove for a moderate and objective viewpoint. We got nowhere."

In July, 1961, I received a letter from the Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Seventh Conference of Gensuikyo, which stated: "As Chairmnn of the Provisional Committee I would like officially to invite you to be present as a member of the American delegation \cdots " I accepted this offer. I knew that many people in Japan and elsewhere shared my doubts of the integrity of Gensuikyo, and I hoped to be of some influence in persuading the Conference 4 to adopt a more balanced and objective viewpoint. Early in June, I had some evidence that many members in the inner circle of Gensuikyo had the same desire fo reorient its basic policy.

For instance, in the Japan Times there was an article on June 11, headlined "Gensuikyo May Review Basic Policy". The story pointed out that two strong national organizations, supported by a third, were strongly critical of Gensuikyo. These groups were the National Liaison Council for Regional Women's Organizations (Shigeri Yamataka), the National Council of Youth Organizations (Suehiro Ohnishi), backed by the powerful General Council of Japan Trade Unions, or Sohyo.

These groups said that the differentiation of "the Soviet Union as a friend and the United States as an [enemy" of antinuclear influences will not do. They agreed that Gensuikyo needed a drastic reorientation before developing into a real nationwide organization supported by the whole nation, according to

the report.

This was encouraging news, and I hoped that Prof. Yasui would act wisely in view of these criticisms. However, in the following month, I attended a meeting of the International Religionists' Conference in Kyoto, where I heard Prof. Yasui's reply to his critics. At this meeting, Prof. Yasui made an unscheduled speech on the last day. He vigorously defended his policies, and said they would be continued unchanged. He seemed quite angry at having been criticized.

At this same Religionists' Conference I made the following statement, on this problem: " $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ peace movements should be followed by everbody, not just an elite group. Also such actions should be based on broad humanitarian principles. In this connection, mention has been made of splits in the Japanese Peace Movement. Although this is regrettable, it must be remembered that such counter-movements have been caused by a narrowing of the objectives of the original movement, and by a drift toward *6* ideological emphasis. Therefore, I would suggest that, if splits in the peace movement in Japan are not desired, the original movement must return to its early broad humanitarian principles."

Late in July, I was invited by Reverend Kiyoshi Tanimoto, wellknown religious leader in Hiroshima, to attend a peace meeting. As it is my policy to attend all peace meetings possible, I accepted. It was a preliminary meeting of a newly organized group, known as The People's Conference to Ban Nuclear Weapons ("Kakkin"), with Prof. Masatoshi Matsushita, president of Rikkyo University, as national chairman. At this meeting I was asked to say a few words, and I repeated in essence the same statement I had made earlier at the Religionists' Conference in Kyoto.

Now the time arrived for the Seventh Annual Gensuikyo meeting. On August 5, I met the other members of the American delegation in Hiroshima, where

they had come to attend a rally prior to the Tokyo meetings. (By this time, Gensuikyo had been asked by the people of Hiroshima not to hold its annual meetings there.) Only one member of the American delegation, Mr. Corliss Lamont, was known to me. He had supported me in the trials in Honolulu.

On the evening of August 6, Hiroshima Day, a rally was held by Gensuikyo, directly in front of the cenotaph in Peace Park. It came at a time when the bereaved families of the Hiroshima tragedy were praying for their dead. This meeting, with loud speakers, searchlights and banners, seemed to me like a circus. I refused to participate.

On that same day, I had had a conversation with Dr. Yasui. He criticized my appearance at the recent Kakkin meeting, and asked me to promise not to attend any other peace meetings. I refused to make such a promise. Later, Prof. Yasui made two con-8 ditions: 1) that I cooperate in the future with the basic policy of Gensuikyo, and 2) that the American delegation take responsibility for my actions during the Seventh World Conference.

By this time the entire group had travelled up to Tokyo, and the scene now shifted to the Takanawa Prince Hotel. At a breakfast meeting with the American delegation we again discussed the situation. I gave a statement explaining my position. I explained that I agreed with many of the objectives of Gensuikyo. "However, it is my opinion that past resolutions and statements made by Gensuikyo have tended to be biased. Therefore, based on its past record, I cannot at this time, prior to the current meetings, give my complete support. I accepted the invitation to become a delegate in good faith……I will consider myself a delegate until such time as the proper authority revokes my appointment."

Following that, I received a letter from Prof. Yasui, saying that, because I would not accept the conditions,

"we are unable to qualify you as a delegate".

This information had already been given to the press, some hours earlier. At the request of the press, I then also held a conference, and gave a statement, telling briefly the same story I have just told. I also said, "I sincerely hope the resolutions and conclusions to be drawn up by this Conference will positively promote the cause of peace throughout the world. There are many earnest and genuine workers for peace at this Conference. There are also delegates with political purpose. I hope the former will prevail."

Unfortunately, they did not prevail. The dismal failure of the 7.th Annual Meetings is now a matter of history. The Conference ended in confusion, and a strong condemnation of its excesses was issued by the three groups previously referred to——Chifuren, Nisseikyo and Sohyo—to which the Socialist Party itself added its voice.

In my case, my expulsion from the meetings caused wide comment, so that on the following day the head of the American delegation issued a second statement saying that I had not been expelled, but had withdrawn as a delegate. As the reader can see, this was of course quite untrue.

Now, briefly, as to Ted's situation: 1) He was accepted as an observer at the 1961 meetings; 2) His name was included in the list of observers as late as August 6; 3) In Tokyo, after I had been expelled, Ted was also refused permission to participate, even as an observer. It was explained that his name on the original list was a "typographical error"!

A few days later, on August 15, I spoke, by invitation, at the first national conference of Kakkin. It seemed to me to be an excellent meeting, with a sensible and well-balanced program.

Now, what is the future plan of Gensuikyo? I see in the papers that the Eighth meeting has been scheduled. I have seen no evidence of any change

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in policy, or any change in leadership. At the end of last year's meetings, the four large dissenting Gensuikyo organizations agreed that the present leadership of the Council, led by Chairman Yasui, is not suitable. As far as I know, he is still chairman.

Mayor Shinzo Hamai of Hiroshima made three suggestions to Prof. Yasui (Mainichi, August 15, 1961):

- 1. Stage the campaign on a fair and unbiased basis.
- Streamline the campaign policy by including both conservatives and progressives.
- 3. Refrain from including domestic and international political issues in the campaign plank.

As far as I know, Gensuikyo has not acted on this good advice.

Finally, I should like to give some suggestions as to what I think is a true peace movement.

A truly universal and objective peace movement must represent the hopes and feelings of all the 12 people, not the desires of a relatively few politically biased people.

It will not try to suppress opinion. On the contrary, it will ask for expressions of opinion from all people, and respect such opinions.

It will deal when necessary with political problems, but not with a political bias. It will comment, when necessary, in a balanced and objective fashion.

It will be conducted in an atmosphere of tolerance and fairness. It will be open and honest. Pressure groups will not be permitted to dominate the meeting.

The aim of a true peace movement is not to oppose some other group, but to work constructively for the conditions which will lead to peace.

Speaking personally, my family and I will contiune to work for peace, in every way that we can. We will continue to support actions which we believe will lead to world peace, and oppose actions which we believe will lead to war. Here in Hiroshima, which is our home, our relations with all peace

groups, including local Gensuikyo and Kakkin, are excellent, and we hope to continue to work in harmony with both groups.

We do not believe in blind loyalty to an organization. Our loyalty is to our fellow man, all over the world. Our loyalty is to peace.

