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World Association of World Federalists
Burg, Patijnlaan 49
The Hague, Netherlands

President's Keynote Address the XIth Congress of WAWF
by Dr. Hideki Yukawa
President, World Association of World Federalists
August 24, 1963
at Tokyo Bunka Kaikan

In my dual capacity as President of the World Association of World Federalists and Honorary President of the Japanese Council for World Federation, I consider it a very high honor to welcome distinguished personalities come long distances from various countries of the world and various regions of Japan and to have this opportunity of addressing you.

The past ten sessions of the Congress of our Association were all held in the cities of Europe. For the first time, the World Congress is held outside of Europe, in Japan. Ever since the decision was made to hold the Congress in Japan, not only have I felt a great joy as a world federalist in Japan, but have commenced to feel keenly the tremendous responsibility placed on our shoulders. In this XIth Congress, what significance is there? Or, what significance should we attach to it? These are the questions which taxed my thoughts heavily.

Since the Vienna Congress of the year before last, the drift of international situation until very recently has had elements which discourage, rather than encourage us world federalists. I presume that the number of people who recognize the necessity and inevitability of world federation has been steadily on the increase. However, on the other hand, my worry has constantly been that if the actuality of international politics has not seemed to move man's society toward the ideal of world federation, it might tend to weaken the spirit of the people engaged in the movement for world federation.

More recently, however, we have received news of a kind that does not come but very rarely. That is of course the news on the conclusion of the treaty to ban the nuclear testing by the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R. Even on this treaty, I do have various dissatisfactions and misgivings. Conclusion of such a treaty does not mean that the distance to the great goal of world federation has shrunk to any appreciable degree. Nevertheless, it is certain that this was a step in the direction of banning all nuclear weapons and also in the direction of general and complete disarmament leading finally to the realization of world federation. No matter how tiny the first might seem, we recognize a mighty significance in that international politics has commenced to move in the right direction. I wish to share the joy with you that this Congress of ours, aiming at a world without wars, is convoked at such a crucial period. I do wish that by the success we achieve at this Congress, the movement for world federation shall leap into a new stage.

Now, I believe that there are factors enabling the world federal movement to leap, or the signs of doing so in almost everething. Traditionally

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the world federal movement has been the strongest in Europe, which indeed was the reason why the past ten congresses have all been held in Europe. Actually at the present Congress there are a very large number of delegates from the countries of Europe. The fact that the present Congress is held so far from Europe, in Japan, may be taken to symbolise the growth of the movement on a global scale. World Federation is of course a thing that by its very nature comes to shape through the participation of all countries on this globe. The movement has so far been the strongest in the countries of Europe, in the United States, and in Canada. These countries have received the heritage of western civilization. Nevertheless, I presume there will be nobody concluding that the ideal of world federation is lacking in universality. Japan, in which the present Congress is being held, has made the maximum effort during the past hundred years or so to take in western civilization, but being located far from either Europe or America, in a corner of Asia, Japan has inherited the age-long oriental tradition which is of a different nature from western civilization. The idea of world federation has taken root and grown to a height here, too. I believe that this has a profound meaning not only for us Japanese, but also for those who have inherited the long tradition of western civilization and those others who have no such heritage of either.

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For any detailed discussion on this point, I wish to leave it with my friend Mr. Ayusawa. Let me simply state that the source of the idea of world federation lies in the love of humanity which is universal among mankind and which transcends border, race, creed, or ideology. It is in this sense that I believe that the people in countries where world federal movement seems to be very feeble, will sooner or later come to join hands with us.

However, it is evident to anybody that the immediate or more direct cause of the growth of world federal movement on a global scale is the phenomenal development of science. One of the outstanding characteristics of western civilization was that it was accompanied by the development of science. Among the variety of new problems that arose from it, one that has the most decisive meaning for us world federalists, or indeed for whole humanity, is the advent of nuclear weapons and the other weapons of mass slaughter. As the result of the emergence of the new weapon, we see that the thought has come to dawn in the minds of men that "War can no longer be, and should not be, the means for settling disputes among nations". Now, it is trite to say that war is a thing that starts as the exercise of the sovereignty of a state. Consequently, the surest way to make it impossible for a war to break out is to have all states relinquish the right to engage in war.

Some people hearing this may ridicule it as "unrealistic". But there is before us a reality. Here is Japan which was defeated in World War II. Right before surrender she experienced the horrors of an atomic bomb. She enacted a new Constitution and has kept it all these years. Chapter 9, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution reads:



"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of setting international disputes".

Further, Paragraph 2 reads:

"In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized".

In this way, Japan unilaterally renounced war as an exercise of the sovereignty of the state. Having renounced war, where did Japan lay trust for the security of the nation? In the Preamble of the Constitution, ^{there} this is the following declaration:

"We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace loving peoples of the world.... We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations."

As the same time as renouncing the right of belligerency, the Japanese nation expected other nations to abide by the laws of political morality and believed that the security of the state could thereby be maintained. In order that this belief shall not be something detached from reality, it was necessary that man's society consisting of nations abides faithfully by world law.

In short, we cannot but conclude that the Constitution of Japan was established with the demand that world federation should be realized as the background. Herein lies the profound reason why the movement for world federation is so active in Japan.

I personally do not expect that the nations of the world under the present circumstances will take the bold action to renounce war unilaterally at once. The reason for this is that as there exist at present two hostile blocs each possessing huge armaments comprising nuclear weapons, no nation will seriously consider renunciation of war. In 1959, the resolution to hasten the realization of general and complete disarmament was unanimously decided upon at the United Nations Assembly. Certainly this was natural and most encouraging indeed.

I imagine, however, that there are few people who believe that security can be assured by disarmament alone. We have been advocating that a period of lasting peace will not come unless the United Nations develop

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into world federation. In the process of transition from the United Nations to world federation, there are many difficult problems to be disposed of. Among those problems, one that is of decisive moment is at which stage and by what means the various states will transfer part of their sovereign right to the supernational authority. While disarmament is considered an indispensable step toward world federation, it is likely that the process of disarmament will not progress unless different states recognize the existence of a supernational authority which supervises disarmament. In this sense, one might say that disarmament and world federation are (in the relationship of) two sides of a shield. One big problem that lies on the road of disarmament is the deep and far reaching economic consequence of disarmament. This has been pointed out by a large number of people. However, because it is certain that armament race is causing vast wastage for all mankind, it is equally certain that in the long run, the efforts to establish world federation cannot be contradictory to the efforts of the nations for economic development.

The main items on the agenda of discussion at this Congress are: "World Peace through World Law", "Disarmament and Economy", "Moral Aspect of World Federation", and "Steps to One World Without War." Each item is a challenge to the wisdom, farsight and dedication of the members of the world federal movement. I expect this XIth Congress of the World Association of World Federalists to rise to this challenge at this crucial period in the history of mankind.

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