研究ノート

長崎市の事例から都市外交を探る

Exploring City Diplomacy
through the Case of Nagasaki, Japan

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Abstract / Short Outline

How do cities engage in diplomacy? Existing theory, which is typically based on the study of big cities, notes that cities usually act in global politics by forming networks and coalitions with other cities and NGOs, leveraging their positions as the gateways to globalization, and by fulfilling useful niches based on their unique histories, geographies, and expertise. This article will examine current theories of city diplomacy and aspects of International Relations (IR) theory through an examination of the case of Nagasaki's city diplomacy. We propose further study of Nagasaki's city diplomacy by examining activities such as the Mayors for Peace organization, Nagasaki's domestic public diplomacy, and sister city relations.

概要

都市はどのようにして外交を行うのか。大都市を対象とした既存の理論では、都市は、他の都市やNGOとネットワークや連合体を形成、独自の歴史、地理、専門性に基づいた有用な需要を兼ね備えるによって、グローバル化の入り口に立ち、グローバルな政治的活動を行うのが一般的であるとされている。本稿では、中規模都市に相当する長崎の都市外交の事例、現在の都市外交の理論と国際関係論の観点から考察する。さらに、平和市長会議、長崎市の国内パブリック・ディプロマシー、姉妹都市関係などの活動を検証することで、長崎市の都市外交に関する研究の必要性を提案する。

1. Introduction: City Diplomacy and Medium-Size Cities

　　Within the discipline of International Relations (IR) there has been an increasing interest in cities as global actors. Prior scholarship has found that cities are more than

capable of action by leveraging their resources as the hubs and nodes of globalization, through their ability to network and form coalitions with other cities, and through their ability to focus on issues in which they have unique experience or expertise (Acuto, 2013; Curtis, 2011; Curtis & Acuto, 2018; Van der Pluijm & Melissen, 2007). Yet, this theory has mainly been developed through an examination of the impact of big cities, for example the role of New York and London in the creation of the C40 Climate Leadership Group, a coalition of cities that shares expertise and resources to combat climate change (Acuto, 2013).

There is great promise in examining the role of medium-size (population: 100,000-500,000) and small cities (population: under 100,000), especially in Japan. Nagasaki is a city of approximately 406,000 people. Despite its modest size its historical importance is pronounced. As the one city during the Edo period that was open to the outside world, it bears a unique cosmopolitan identity. As one of only two cities to suffer the tragedy of a nuclear bomb blast, the city along with Hiroshima, serves as the source of conscience and moral authority on nuclear abolition and non-proliferation. In addition, as one of many Japanese cities struggling with population decline and a stagnant economy, it serves as an example of how cities are attempting to pragmatically globalize in ways that lead to economic revitalization.

This short research note will outline an agenda to explore the city diplomacy of Nagasaki, focusing on the Mayors for Peace organization, its domestic public diplomacy, and its sister city relationships. Such an investigation has the potential to lead to new insights regarding IR theory generally and theories of city diplomacy specifically.

2. Nagasaki and the Mayors for Peace Program

Cities are often able to leverage their local histories to speak with moral authority on global issues. This is particularly evident in Nagasaki's role in the Mayors for Peace program, an organization which seeks to create a world free of nuclear weapons. Nagasaki serves as a Vice President City within the organization and, alongside Hiroshima, was instrumental in its founding. According to the organization covenant, the main goal is to "contribute to the attainment of lasting world peace by arousing concern among citizens of the world for the total abolition of nuclear weapons through close solidarity among all cities" (Mayors for Peace, n.d.). The number of member

cities has risen continuously since the creation of the organization to 8,063 registered cities in 165 countries around the world as of January 18, 2022. The combined population of those cities represents over a billion people (Mayors for Peace, n.d.; see also, Kodama, 2010).

In 1982, the Hiroshima mayor Takeshi Araki spoke at the Second Special Session of the United Nation (UN) General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament in New York, USA, and first called "for the solidarity of cities throughout the world which share a common cause with Hiroshima" (Araki, 1982). As a survivor of the atomic bomb that struck the city on August 6, 1945, he wished for cities to go beyond their national borders and work together toward nuclear abolition in an act of solidarity. At that same session, Hitoshi Motoshima, the mayor of Nagasaki, proclaimed that "Nagasaki has to be the last city of the planet ever destroyed by nuclear weapons" (Motoshima, 1982). In 1986 the organization evolved into "The World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-city Solidarity." The organization evolved again in 1991 when it became "Mayors for Peace," an NGO with Special Consultative Status in the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

On the surface, the Mayors for Peace Program would seem to fit two tenets of theory regarding city diplomacy. As a city that seeks to use its unique history as a platform to engage the world and advocate for change, we can see similarities to other cities in Japan which have become the setting for international agreements and initiatives, such as Kitakyushu's Initiative for a Clean Environment (based on its experience of air pollution), Sendai's Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (based on its experience of the March 11, 2011 triple disaster), and Minamata's Convention on Mercury (based on the city's experience of mercury pollution). Second, the organization seeks to use networks and coalitions at various levels to maximize its influence on a single issue. However, there is an open question regarding how the organization works at different levels. The Mayors for Peace program is an example of an organization that works at different scales: engaging citizens through letter writing campaigns and events, enrolling cities as members of the organization, interacting with United Nations organizations, collaborating with NGOs, and pressuring national governments. Though the organization's website records an abundance of activity, the impact of these actions is hard to measure.

Further research could examine the impact of the organization at different scales. At the local level, a survey project could seek to understand how local students'

understanding of nuclear issues is impacted by the work of Mayors for Peace and other local educational projects on nuclear abolition. At the city level, in-depth research could be conducted to see how Nagasaki's policies work as resistance to central government security policies. Such research would build on the excellent work of Kawaguchi (2020) who has studied how local governments in Kobe and Koichi have challenged the central government's seeming monopoly on defense policy. At the city-to-city level, case studies could test how strong the internationalization of the Mayors for Peace program has been. A case study approach could answer the question of how active member cities in countries other than Japan are in spreading knowledge about nuclear abolition. For example, a case study of Mayors for Peace France (Maires pour la Paix France) would add to our understanding of the organization from an international perspective. Studies could also be conducted on what motivates cities to join the Mayors for Peace program. In terms of global impact, a study could be conducted examining how the Mayors for Peace organization has impacted ongoing multilateral negotiations over The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).

3. Nagasaki's Domestic Public Diplomacy

A relatively new field of practice and study is domestic public diplomacy, which can be described as encompassing "a series of initiatives which serve to inform, and acquire the assistance of, citizens within a nation. It is these citizens who play a powerful participatory role in the formulation of their nation's foreign policy and its interests overseas" (Tyler et al, 2012, April 30, p. 5). As a city with a cosmopolitan history, Nagasaki is uniquely positioned to promote local tourism, research on nuclear abolition, and activities that emphasize its history as an open city to the world. We can see domestic public diplomacy in practice both in Peace Boat's Hibakusha Project and in the efforts of Nagasaki University's Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA).

An important avenue of domestic public diplomacy is Peace Boat's Hibakusha Project. Peace Boat is a Japan based NGO formed in 1983 which travels the world with a crew of volunteers with the key mission of promoting peace, human rights advocacy, and sustainability, the latter in partnership with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals campaign. In the context of Nagasaki, Peace Boat's activities focus

on the atomic bombing history and the continuing relevance of the hibakusha survivors for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Peace Boat's website reports that as of 2019, 170 Hibakusha have travelled to more than 60 countries around the world giving testimony (Peace Boat, n.d.). As a project that is neither based in Nagasaki's city hall nor Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we can see a clear example of citizen-based diplomacy. And yet, there are still open questions about how activities such as Peace Boat work with or against the initiatives of Nagasaki City and Japan's central government.

A second important form of public diplomacy is the work done by Nagasaki University's Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA). This research center, which began in 2012, can be seen as an extension of Nagasaki's official diplomacy, but also something that is positioned outside of it. The center conducts research and disseminates its findings through its newsletters, policy papers, and pamphlets that break down key information about topics relating to nuclear weapons. The Center claims to be a "think tank of citizens" (Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition, Nagasaki University, 2019, April 1) emphasizing its position outside official channels of public policy. As a think tank situated outside the Tokyo area in a medium-size city, RECNA presents a contrast to the more established think tanks that reside within Tokyo's district of Kasumigaseki. These think tanks, especially the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), have historically had close relationships with Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with former bureaucrats enjoying positions at these institutions (Abb & Koellner, 2015, p. 598). Though Tokyo-based think tanks provide Japan's central government with auxiliary resources for conducting foreign policy, their close ties with the central government undermine their ability to formulate genuine foreign policy alternatives. RECNA's position outside of the Tokyo area provides it with a key advantage when formulating policy alternatives; however, the question remains whether the organization maximizes the potential of its outsider status.

Further research would certainly create a broader picture of the global activities of citizens in Nagasaki. Ide's (2009) study of the public diplomacy of Matsuyama City, which blends rich historical information with cultural insights, has shown the value of a deep exploration on this topic. Additional study of Nagasaki's domestic public policy would not only deepen our understanding of the activities of Peace Boat and RECNA, but also our understanding of the activities of organizations such as internationally oriented NGOs, the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Survivor's Council (Hisaikyo), Article 9

societies, the Nagasaki Peace Correspondent Program and university foreign exchange programs. Though it is often said that the international influence of city halls is overlooked (Acuto, 2013; Curtis, 2011; Curtis & Acuto, 2018), we can imagine that the work of citizens in international relations is overlooked to a greater degree. A granular approach to domestic public diplomacy would make these important influences visible.

4. Sister City Relationships

There may also be benefits to studying aspects of city diplomacy that are often ignored by mainstream IR. Sister city relationships, also known as city twinning, have a long history. Although there are a few important examples before World War II, the phenomenon became prominent after the war as a way to create relationships between previously rival peoples. The idea behind the initiative was that strong people-to-people relationships would make war less likely. The program grew rapidly after 1956, following an organized sister cities program at the behest of American president Dwight Eisenhower. This program would evolve into the nonprofit organization Sister Cities International (see De Villiers, Smit, & De Coning, 2007, p. 1; Sister Cities International, 2006). Though the rationale behind the sister cities project was to strengthen people-to-people ties in order to make war less likely, today these relationships also promote commerce, tourism, and cultural exchange, reflecting the logics of globalization and global competitiveness.

Nagasaki plays a special role in the history of sister city linkages. The first sister city link between the United States and Japan occurred between Saint Paul, Minnesota and Nagasaki on December 7, 1955, the anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor (Sister Cities International, 2006, p. 9). Over the 75 years of their relationship, the cities of Saint Paul and Nagasaki have exchanged city officials, sponsored student exchanges, and held public events such as concerts and cultural performances (Saint Paul - Nagasaki Sister City Committee, n.d.). At the moment, Nagasaki has sister-city relationships throughout the world, including: Fuzhou, China; Leiden, Netherlands; Porto, Portugal; Saint Paul, United States; Santos, Brazil; and Vaux-sur-Aure, France. The less formal "Citizen Friendship Relationship" (Shimin yūkō toshi) with Aberdeen in Scotland predates its sister city relationships. The connection reaches back to the time of Scottish merchant Thomas Glover in the Meiji period. Each of these partnerships has seeded numerous bonds that have tied peoples across nations.

Currently, the study of sister city relationships has been ignored in favor of the exploration of the more recent phenomenon of city networks and coalitions. However, the very longevity and consistency of sister city relationships signals a reason to return to the subject, at the very least to examine its potential for addressing twenty-first century problems. Moreover, because of the ubiquity of sister-city relations, there are many opportunities for primary data collection through surveys and semi-structured interviews (for one example of the use of semi-structured interviews for studying sister city relationships, see De Villiers, De Coning & Smit, 2007). Thus, even within the geographical boundaries of Nagasaki Prefecture, there are opportunities to understand how sister city relationships benefit and internationalize medium, small, and very small cities.

5. Exploring the City Diplomacy of Nagasaki: Proposals for Future Research

In the example of Nagasaki, we see all the signs of active city diplomacy: global advocacy, domestic public diplomacy, and a myriad of activities that help to maintain the city's global identity. Nagasaki's participation in the Mayors for Peace program seems to validate two important aspects of theory on city diplomacy. First, the main avenue in which cities act is through networks and coalitions (with other cities, as well as with intergovernmental organizations and NGOs); and second, cities fulfill important niches by focusing on issues where they have crucial experiences and local expertise (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006, p. 148-149; Curtis & Acuto, 2018, p. 4; Van der Pluijm & Melissen, 2007, p. 29). At the moment, the role of Nagasaki in the Mayors for Peace program is the most obvious and publicized aspect of its city diplomacy. However, less obvious facets of its diplomacy, even those aspects that seem mundane or trivial, might be of more theoretical importance. The domestic public diplomacy of Nagasaki is an area that has previously been ignored in the scholarly literature but holds great promise for future research. Similarly, sister city relationships, despite their long history and ubiquity, have thus far been ignored.

Overall, the exploration of city diplomacy is still in its infancy. For this reason alone, it is important to continue to add to the current stock of knowledge. By exploring outside the realm of big cities, scholars can learn more about the human desire to connect beyond national boundaries both to socialize with a larger world and solve shared problems. As the world continues to deal with intractable problems like

nuclear proliferation and climate change, we will continue to see cities network and collaborate to engage these issues. As Japan continues to deal with the compounding problems of a stagnant economy and aging population, we can also expect its cities – big, medium, and small – to both utilize global resources in solving local problems and turn local experiences and expertise into viable global resources.

Acknowledgement

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