GLOBAL ARTICLE 9
CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH WAR
PEACE CONSTITUTIONS FOR EVERY COUNTRY

For a Global Shift from Military Power to Peace and Sustainable Development
GLOBAL ARTICLE CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH WAR

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Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution was adopted in 1946, immediately following the end of the Second World War.

Prior to and during the war, Japan colonized the Korean peninsula, Taiwan, and several islands in the Pacific; invaded China, the Philippines, and other Asia-Pacific countries; and committed war crimes by forcing twenty million people in the region into coerced labor, human experiments, and sexual slavery. At the same time, approximately three million people, many of them civilians, lost their lives in Japan in the air raids on Japanese cities, the ground war in Okinawa, and the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Article 9 was thus designed to acknowledge the crimes of aggression and colonial rule that Japan imposed on its neighbours during the first half of the 20th century and to guarantee that never again would Japan repeat its mistakes and wage war against the people of Asia, the Pacific, and the world.

Yet, Japan has failed to fulfill its constitutional obligations, including by acquiring Self-Defense Forces (SDF). Despite the restrictions of Article 9, Japan's Self-Defence Forces have gradually expanded over the years, bringing Japan's military expenditure to one of the highest in the world.

While some rightly criticize that Article 9 has in effect, not been enforced, it has nonetheless acted as a restraint on the further militarization of Japan. On the basis of Article 9, the country has maintained what it calls an "exclusively defense-oriented policy" and has refrained from dispatching the SDF to foreign territories to engage or participate in military combat overseas. Moreover, the peace clause has prevented the country from conducting large-scale arms exports, building nuclear weapons and deploying troops for active combat abroad, thus playing an important role in establishing trust between Japan and the Asia-Pacific region, and especially its Northeast Asian neighbors.

In other words, Japan's Article 9 is not simply a provision of the Japanese law, but is acting as an international peace mechanism.

At the regional level, in July 2005, the UN-convened Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) submitted an action agenda for Northeast Asia, which declared that "Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia-Pacific region."

At the international level, there has been a growing recognition of the global impact of Article 9, including its relevance in regards to human rights, disarmament, nuclear weapons abolition, conflict prevention, development, the environment, globalization, UN reform and other global issues.
Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution renounces war as a means of settling international disputes and prohibits the maintenance of armed forces and other war potential. It is not just a provision of the Japanese law; it also acts as an international peace mechanism towards reductions in military spending, promotion of nuclear-weapon-free zones, supporting conflict prevention, and mitigating the negative environmental impact of the military.

### Development
Poverty has long been recognized as a root cause of conflicts. Instead of building and maintaining armies in preparation for war, governments should mobilize financial resources in support of sustainable development. The United Nations has been calling for a decrease in military spending, and reallocation of limited resources to solve global problems such as poverty, hunger, epidemics, disasters, and to protect human rights. Japan's Article 9 supplements the UN Charter (Article 26)’s call for regulating armaments and minimizing the world's resources used on military expenses, and promotes disarmament for development.

### Environment
From air, water, and land pollution produced by wars to the environmental and social stresses caused by the presence of military bases, the negative effects of military activities on wildlife and the environment have long been recognized. Growing awareness of climate change has led the debate to focus on what could be achieved with the colossal resources currently being spent on the military, if instead governments invested such sums in protecting our planet from the extreme impacts of climate change.

### Globalization
Article 9 offers an alternative to the current global trends of globalization. Instead of the drive for economic profit, competition for political interests, and rivalry for dominance, globalization should spread pacific, gender-balanced and human values to make our increasingly interlinked world a better place. The globalization of war can only be kept in check by a new global rule of law, such as outlined in the principles of Article 9. Additionally, the principles of Article 9 call for substituting the globalization of neo-liberal economic principles, which deepen disparities among rich and poor, with sustainable, community-based development that will bring equal opportunities to all.

### Human Security
Article 9 distances itself from the state-centered, militaristic approach to national defense, and brings a human dimension to security, which must be based on sustainable human development and the fulfillment of basic needs by non-violent means. First developed in 1994, the notion of human security was consecrated by the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document recognizing the under-valued and under-utilized contributions that women make and the environment has long been recognized. Growing awareness of climate change has led the debate to focus on what could be achieved with the colossal resources currently being spent on the military, if instead governments invested such sums in protecting our planet from the extreme impacts of climate change.

### Gender
By refusing reliance on armed force, Article 9 calls for an alternative approach to security and has paved the way for UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). This landmark UN document recognizes the under-valued and under-utilized contributions that women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building, and stresses the importance of women’s equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

### United Nations
Drawn up a few months after the founding of the United Nations, Article 9 is a logical extension of the spirit of the UN Charter. Sharing the same values of multilateralism and pacifism, Article 9 supports and strengthens UN dispositions such as Article 2(4) prohibiting the use of force and Article 26, which promotes the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources.

### UN Reforms
As governments negotiate how to reform the UN, Article 9’s principles encourage the strengthening of peaceful and democratic norms that focus on the genuine prevention of armed conflicts and on peace-building efforts based on human rights and respect for cultural diversity. Any UN changes must be aimed at advancing multilateralism and pacifism.

### Nuclear Weapons Abolition
The devastation and immense suffering that followed these attacks led Japan to commit to the “three non-nuclear principles” which prohibit the country from possessing, producing, or permitting the introduction of nuclear weapons into its territory. The spirit of Article 9 rejects dependence on nuclear weapons in security policies and promotes Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones worldwide – an idea long advocated by Hibakusha (the victims of the atomic bombings). It also demands that nuclear weapons be outlawed.

### Conflict Prevention
Article 9 prohibits the threat or use of force as a way of settling international disputes. As such, Japan cannot pose a threat to the security of other countries. This principle has played an important role in establishing trust relationships between Japan and the Asia-Pacific region, and has contributed to keeping the peace for more than 60 years. Article 9 is of paramount importance for the prevention of conflict. In July 2005, the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)’s Action Agenda declared that “Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia Pacific region.”

### US Military Presence
The move towards revision of Article 9 partly comes from the US demand for Japan’s full-fledged military support and participation in its “war on terror.” Indeed, Japan and the US have been bound since 1960 by a treaty of mutual cooperation and security, under which Washington has committed to provide security for Japan, notably through the maintenance of permanent bases on Japanese soil. Under Obama, the new US administration has pledged to move away from the military-centric policies of the Bush administration, favoring diplomacy over the military. Yet, his new approach has not rattled the US military hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. Article 9 acts as a restraint against US military expansionism.

### Pacifism
With its Preamble and Article 9, the Japanese Constitution proclaims pacifism as one of the nation’s fundamental principles. Article 9 not only renounces war and the threat or use of force as a sovereign right for itself; it also demands that all wars be made illegal.

### Human Rights
Japan’s constitution provides the right to live in peace – a basic human right not only for the Japanese people, but also for the people of the whole world. The Preamble reads as follows: “We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationships... striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.”

### Disarmament
Article 9 has acted as a restraint on the militarization of Japan, which has maintained what it calls an “exclusively defence-oriented policy” and limited Japan’s Self-Defence Forces (SDF) capability to the “minimum necessary level.” In addition, Article 9 prohibits dispatching SDF to foreign territories to engage or participate in military combat overseas. Japan has also interpreted Article 9 as prohibiting the country from exporting arms, thus preventing the resurgence of Japan’s pre-WWII military industry complex. Furthermore, Article 9 prevents development of an arms race and nuclear proliferation in East Asia.

### Nuclear Weapons Abolition
Article 9 was born out of the direct experience of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. The devastation and immense suffering that followed these attacks led Japan to commit to the “three non-nuclear principles” which prohibit the country from possessing, producing, or permitting the introduction of nuclear weapons into its territory. The spirit of Article 9 rejects dependence on nuclear weapons in security policies and promotes Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones worldwide – an idea long advocated by Hibakusha (the victims of the atomic bombings). It also demands that nuclear weapons be outlawed.

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ABOUT THE GLOBAL ARTICLE 9 CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH WAR

Background

The Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War emerged as a response to the debate over revising Japan's constitution.

Indeed, for several years, the Japanese government has been considering abandoning its historic commitment to pacifism and amending Article 9, partly to fulfill US demand for full-fledged military support from Japan. Despite the restrictions of Article 9, Japan's Self-Defense Forces have gradually expanded over the years, bringing Japan's military expenditure to one of the highest in the world, and they provided support to US military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The move to amend Article 9 gathered speed during former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's tenure. In September 2006, Abe announced he would seek a constitutional revision within five to six years. In May 2007, the Japanese Diet passed legislation to hold a national referendum to revise the constitution and amend Article 9. Although Abe is no longer in power, Article 9 related debates have continued to inflame Japanese politics, especially around the renewal of the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law, which has authorized the Maritime Self-Defense Force to refuel US vessels in the Indian Ocean for their operations in Afghanistan and participate in anti-piracy efforts off the coast of Somalia. In light of the difficulty to pass and renew these bills, some government officials are calling for a permanent law to dispatch Self-Defense Forces overseas whenever necessary, a move perceived as a first step towards amending Article 9.

As the debate over revising the Constitution has accelerated, Japanese civil society has increasingly mobilized. In 2005, Japan-based international NGO Peace Boat, together with the Japan Lawyers’ International Solidarity Association (JALISA), launched the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War. Since then, representatives from well over 60 Japan-based civil society organizations, including peace, religious and women groups, academic and medical institutions, legal associations and unions have voiced their support for the campaign.

At the regional level, in July 2005, the UN-convened Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) submitted an action agenda for North East Asia that declared that "Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia Pacific region." Likewise, in December 2007, the Asia Inter-Religious Conference on Article 9 and Peace in Asia brought together religious leaders from all over Asia, Europe and the US, and issued a final statement calling on religious circles to support the Global Article 9 Campaign.

At the international level as well, a strong international network of individuals and NGOs has formed in support of the campaign. And a growing number of groups continue to join, from the anti-war movement in the US, to organizations working for peace in Africa or the Middle East, NGOs lobbying for disarmament in Europe and women’s group acting worldwide.

Objectives of the Campaign

This growing international movement of support makes clear that the world does value Article 9 as an ideal to which all people aspire, as a model to follow. Thus, this campaign strives not only to protect Article 9 locally, but also to build an international movement supporting Article 9 as the shared property of the world, calling for a global peace that does not rely on force.

In a world where the chain of violence and war continues unbroken and militarization is gathering speed, the existence of Japan’s Article 9 provides encouragement to those who work towards a peace that does not rely on force. Article 9 gives hope – hope that another world is possible.

The Article 9 Campaign demonstrates the active value of Article 9 and proposes ways to realize its potential. To that end, the Campaign links Article 9 to other international norms and institutions, notably the United Nations, whose Charter calls for decreases in military expenditure and the reallocation of limited resources to solving poverty and to protecting humans from war and violence.

Inspired by the 1999 Hague Appeal for Peace’s call that “every Parliament should adopt a resolution prohibiting their government from going to war, like the Japanese Article 9,” and the 2006 Vancouver World Peace Forum’s declaration that calls “for governments to constitutionally renounce war (e.g. Japan’s Article 9),” we are urging global civil society to spread the “No War, No Military” message and lobby their governments to include this concept in their own countries’ constitutions.
Opening ceremony of the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War at Makuhari Messe, Tokyo

Keynote speaker Cora Weiss, Hague Appeal for Peace

Keynote speaker Mairead Maguire, The Peace People, 1976 Peace Laureate

Keynote speaker Yoshioka Tatsuya, Peace Boat

Welcoming ceremony of the Peace Walk that departed from Hiroshima on February 24 and arrived at Makuhari on May 4, 2008 for the Conference

Members of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) and international guests celebrate Article 9 at the Conference's reception
GLOBAL ARTICLE 9 CONFERENCE TO ABOLISH WAR (MAY 2008)

Overview

As a major part of the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War, a large-scale conference was held in Japan from May 4-6, 2008.

This three-day event attracted over 33,000 participants nationwide: over 22,000 in Tokyo, 8,000 in Osaka, 2,000 in Hiroshima and 1,000 in Sendai. Close to 200 international guest speakers and participants came from 40 different countries and regions to represent all continents at the conference.

With the participation of Nobel Peace Laureates, intellectuals, cultural figures and NGO activists, the conference has been a forum for dialogue and discussions on the role that citizens of the world can play to realize the principles of Article 9, through promoting disarmament, demilitarization and a culture of peace.

The opening plenary session on May 4th featured keynote speakers Mairead Corrigan Maguire (1976 Nobel Peace Laureate from Northern Ireland) and Cora Weiss (life-long US peace activist and president of The Hague Appeal for Peace), as well as many internationally renowned speakers, including Emmanuel Bombande (Ghana), Beate Sirotta Gordon (US/Japan), Iraqi and US veterans Kasim Turki and Aidan Delgado, Lee Suk-tae (Korea) and Carlos Vargas Pizarro (Costa Rica), to name just a few.

In an arena filled to its capacity, speakers gave outstanding and thought-provoking presentations, taking the public into palpable emotion and inspiring them with their own powerful experiences. For those 3000+ participants who were unable to enter the conference’s main event hall, an improvised venue was created at a nearby park, with speeches form keynote speakers and participants came from 40 different countries and regions to represent all continents at the conference.

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The day ended with live concerts and artistic performances.

KEYNOTE SPEECH BY MAIREAD CORRIGAN MAGUIRE DELIVERED IN MAY 2008 IN JAPAN

Mairead Corrigan Maguire won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1976 with Betty Williams for her work to end the violence in Northern Ireland. Mairead was the aunt of the three Maguire children who died as a result of being hit by an Irish Republican Army (IRA) getaway car after its driver was shot by a soldier. Mairead responded to the violence facing her family and community by organizing massive peace demonstrations appealing for an end to the bloodshed. Mairead is co-founder, along with Betty Williams and Ciaran McKeown, of Peace People, a protest movement committed to building a just and peaceful society through nonviolent social action. She currently serves as Honorary President.

Mairead is an active pacifist passionately committed to nonviolent social and political change. She believes, “When we reject nuclear weapons and war, when we uphold Human Rights and International Law, when we build nonkilling, nonviolent societies and world, refusing to kill each other but seeking nonviolent solutions to our problems, then we will have come of age as the human family.”

‘Abolish War – Building a Culture of Nonkilling and Nonviolence’

Dear Mina Sama,

I am very happy to be with you in Japan. I would like to thank Peace Boat for their invitation to attend this Global Article 9 Conference. This is a good time to be in Japan and to celebrate with you, on May 3rd, the 60th anniversary of the implementation of the Japanese Constitution. The core of the Japanese Peace Constitution articulated in the Preamble and Article 9, which renounces war, bans the maintenance of military forces, and denies the right of belligerency of the state, continues to inspire many people. For 60 years it has set the spirit of disarmament, helped keep peace in South/East Asia, and given hope to the World. The Japanese people have every right to celebrate their great social and technological achievements. They have shown the world what can be accomplished when resources are not squandered on militarism, and war, but used to improve the lives of their people.

However, many of us are concerned to know that there are those, both in the Government, and wider Japanese society, who wish to endanger such peaceful policies, and abandon article 9 and Japan’s Peace Constitution. All peace loving people must unite to oppose such a backward step and support all efforts to build a peaceful Japan and a world based on cooperation and understanding.

I am glad therefore to be in Japan to join in solidarity with the Japanese people of Peace, to support them in their campaign to save Article 9. The proposed rearmament and militarization of Japan threatens the safety of the Asian people, would increase fear, and could be the ‘trigger’ to set off an arms race in East Asia. The setting aside of Article 9 would strengthen militarism, and nationalism, could make Japan a target, and would make the world an even more dangerous place.

The world was made dangerous when in May, 2003, President Bush, after claiming ‘victory’ over Iraq, redefined war. He said ‘By a combination of creative strategies and advanced technologies we are redefining war on our own terms’ . This declaration means The American Government redefines not only war Strategies but also aims and doctrines of war. War aim has been redefined to mean occupation of the adversary state and/or regime change.
Pre-emption is redefined as ‘preventive war’ with the American Government claiming an exclusive right to it, even in defiance of international law and multilateral consensus. We all, to our horror, watched the ‘creative strategies and advanced technologies’ of shock and awe cruelly unleashed upon the Iraqi civilians in March 2003, by the American empire, and their allies. I believe this immoral and illegal occupation should be ended immediately, an apology by USA issued to the Iraqi people and a Marshall plan set up by them to rebuild Iraq. Japan, and all other world governments and citizens must be concerned in that America’s redefinition of war is ‘on our own terms’ i.e. the terms of the American Global Empire and its Imperial wars.

People, and especially women and youth, who now pay the highest price in wars, must unite to reject these doctrines of ongoing war by the American empire, and the proposed rearmament of Japan. We must not only work to abolish Nuclear Weapons and war but all forms of violence, starting with the disarmament of our own minds. We can do this when we empty our minds of prejudice and hatred, fill them with love and compassion, and work to build a culture of nonviolence.

The world is indebted to the Japanese people for their faithful commitment to world nuclear disarmament, and their suffering, with the nuclear holocausts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, must never be forgotten. The loving forgiveness of the Hibakushas (survivors) is an example of true forgiveness, and it is to be hoped that someday the American Government will say sorry to the people of Japan, for dropping the nuclear bombs. I also believe it would be a great insult to the Hibakushas if Japan abandoned its Peace Constitution.

Today the threat of Nuclear weapons is even higher, with increased proliferation in the past 60 years. The cost of nuclear weapons, human, financial, or the environmental consequences of even a small scale use of nuclear weapons, is so enormous, that we must continue to make nuclear disarmament a major part of our peace activity. The issue of nuclear arms control enters the politics of the USA places emphasis on the utility of nuclear weapons in US military strategy. The USA claims that nuclear weapons may be used in any war including preventative wars, and when it claims that nuclear weapons are indispensable, and continues increasing and upgrading them, it is ignoring, as is the UK, its obligations under the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. We must all oppose such policies and encourage the American administration, to lead the way in nuclear disarmament. We need also to challenge Israel to lead the way establishing a nuclear free middle east. So too the stockpiling of nuclear arms and their spread in the Asian region has to be strongly opposed. Of growing concern to us all is the threat from new weapons systems and the extension of the arms race to space.

Some western governments led by America, have defined (wrongly I believe) Terrorism, as the greatest threat to world security. In their misguided attempts to deal with this they are carrying out a ‘war on terrorism’ taking the form of war, invasions, occupations and abuse of civil liberties. The resulting human rights violations being committed by Governments under the guise of security issues have increased terrorism, set back the course of International Law and human rights and created not a safer but a more dangerous world. These policies must be abolished if we are to secure real peace. We must challenge our governments to deal with the real threats to human security, i.e. Poverty, Climate change; Competition over resources; Marginalization of the majority of the world; Global militarization; increasing violence and ethnic/political conflicts; Abuse of human rights & International laws by state and non-state players.

Terrorism: I believe all-inclusive dialogue with all parties to the conflict, including insurgency leaders, is the only way in which to genuinely address many of the world’s ongoing conflicts. Governments need to address grievances of groups and work for a win/win solution to the problems. The British Government spoke to the Irish republican Army and Loyalist armed groups which helped bring about a ceasefire and peace agreement in Northern Ireland. Insurgency groups must be challenged to use only non-violent methods, and civil society plays an important role in dialogueing with armed groups, and bringing them into ceasefire and peace processes.

In Northern Ireland after 30 years of violence, we now have peace. The roots of the long conflict was inequality, injustice, fear and separation of people. When the Peace People started in 1976 we realized that militarism and paramilitarism would not solve our ethico/political problems. We knew from experience that the way of violence never works but the way of dialogue does. We encouraged dialogue between the separated communities in Northern Ireland, between North/South Ireland, between Ireland/England. We put aside our old rivalries and hatreds and began to make friends. We organized dialogue, paramilitaries to politicians, people to people, town to town, country to country. We agreed a political agenda based on equality, justice, power sharing and human rights. We learned there are no quick fixes to peace, it demands peoples’ commitment and it takes a long time. Choosing not to kill each other, choosing to uphold human rights and dignity, choosing to build friendship, cooperation and trust amongst old enemies, is not easy, but it must be done. To embrace diversity, to go beyond nationalism and militarism and commit to solving our problems without threats of violence and war. We have proved in Northern Ireland peace is possible, it is our human right, and we hope this will be an example to others. In 2007 the Nobel Peace Laureates launched a Charter for a world without violence. It is hoped this charter will be adopted by Governments, Civil Society, and individuals. This Charter, whose spirit is summed up in Principle 1 invites us all ‘to work together towards a just, killing free world in which everyone has the right not to be killed and responsibility not to kill others’. I would like to propose that the Japanese Government adopt the Charter, and consider strengthening your own Peace Constitution, by including Principle 13. Also consider setting up a Ministry of Peace in your Government. This would be a fitting tribute to all those in Japan and neighbouring countries, who have died during war and violence, and give hope to others as they too build a Culture of Nonviolence and Peace.

Arigatou Gozaimasu,

Mairead Maguire

www.peacepeople.com
To implement that vision, the Hague Appeal for Peace has launched the Global Peace Education Campaign. Cora Weiss was President of the International Peace Bureau (Nobel Laureate 1910). As President of the Hague Appeal for Peace, she is currently leading a campaign dedicated to the abolition of war. It seeks to refocus our minds on the vision of a world in which violent conflict is publicly acknowledged as illegitimate, illegal, and fundamentally unjust.

Support Article 9 As Is – If the World Could Abolish Colonialism and Apartheid, Why Not War?

It is Time to Abolish Nuclear Weapons. It is Time to Abolish War.

Thank you. How beautiful you are! How historic this is! I am here to help put an Article 9 in every constitution!

You are not alone in honoring Article 9. Japan's Article 9 is in good company. Costa Rica has Article 12 which says that the Army is prohibited as a permanent institution. Panama’s constitution also calls for the elimination of the army. And the people of Bolivia will soon vote for a new constitution that will renounce war and reject an army. Those Articles are not threatened with extinction or with new interpretations.

In Costa Rica people wear tee shirts saying the birds are the air force, the ants are the army and the fish are the navy! In Costa Rica, we see what one person has done to change the policy of a country. A 24 year old law student sued the government of Costa Rica for supporting the war in Iraq. The constitution forbids the government from supporting any armed conflict. The success of the lawsuit forced the Costa Rican government to remove its name from the list of countries supporting the war in Iraq.

One young person changed the course of his country's history. One young person prevented the loss of life of his fellow citizens. One young person saved his country money that can now be used for human security, not national security. One young person can make a difference. Everyone here can make a difference.

Congratulations to the judges in the Nanyo High Court for honoring the intention of Article 9. We are here to say we agree with their decision.

We are here to say we want to preserve the original intention of Japan's Article 9. We are here to support the UN Charter, to prevent succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We are gathered here to say that as long as the United States, Japan or any other country continues to mis-interpret the classic definition of self defense, and mis interpret the Charter of the United Nations a peaceful world order is not possible. We must not stretch the intention of the UN Charter or of Article 9 to meet our national security fantasies.

We are here to join a campaign to abolish war as an institution. Humanity abolished apartheid, why not war?, asked Bishop Desmond Tutu nine years ago, May 1999, at the Hague Appeal for Peace conference, where we also embraced Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. Humanity also abolished slavery and colonialism, and the laws that prohibited women from voting, so abolishing once cherished institutions is not a crazy idea. It has happened and can happen again. Change happens.

War is a life and death issue- We are asked to send our sons and daughters to kill and be killed. The majority of the dead and wounded are innocent civilians. The vast numbers of wounded suffer for a life time. Sending transport planes contributes to war.

It is time to abolish war.
War is an environmental issue- War is waste and waste is the greatest environmental crime. The consequences last for lifetimes. Ask the people of Vietnam who were sprayed with Agent Orange and napalm. Ask your fellow citizens in Japan who painfully survived radiation from the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Climate change will contribute to violence. People will become environmental refugees demanding protection.

Competition for energy resources has no limit to violent consequences in the name of national security. And now we are witnessing the tragedy of the violence of hunger. It is easily avoidable. The greed for bio-fuels is fueling the violence of hunger. If you think of yourself as an environmentalist, you need to join the campaign to protect Article 9 and prevent war.

It is time to abolish war.
War is a gender issue- Women are not at the tables where decisions to go to war are made. Women and children are the vast majority of the dead and wounded. Women are raped and left as refugees from war. Women are required by law, Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, to be at all tables where the fate of humanity is at stake. To protect women from being raped in Japan, we should evict foreign military bases.

It is time to abolish war.
War is an economic and development issue- The world is spending over one trillion dollars a year to support war, not including the $3 trillion cost of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. That is a criminal misallocation of precious resources. It robs money from development and human needs, from programs to improve the quality of life and increase the social stability of societies. We are told that there is no money to reduce pollution, no money for adequate foreign aid,
and no money for new schools. But there is always money for the military. We must stop military budgets from being treated as sacred cows. Military budgets must not be immune to reduction. No nation should have a military budget bigger than its health and education budgets combined.

It is time to abolish war.

War is a legal issue -
The Charter of the United Nations is a treaty which all governments have ratified and agreed to honor. It is designed to prevent war. Article 9 is one of the major components of Japan’s constitution. It is law. It says the Japanese people forever renounce war, ...and the threat or use of force... to settle international disputes. That’s the law of this land. It is time to abolish war.

War is a youth issue -
Our young people who are learning trades, professions, starting families, and are the promise of the future, are the ones who are sent to battle. It is time to abolish war.

Weapons for war cannot fight the real enemies: poverty, disease, illiteracy, human rights abuse, terrorism, or cure global warming. Today’s weapons contribute to poverty, disease, illiteracy, human rights abuse, terrorism and global warming.

I propose we become Article 9 Ambassadors. If everyone here would agree to do one more thing for the future, think of what power that would have. I propose that each person here look up a member of parliament in some country, any country. Or look up a civil society organization. Decide to "adopt" that person or organization, and start an e mail exchange. See if you can persuade that Member of Parliament or that organization to get their government to adopt a resolution based on Article 9, using the examples of Costa Rica, Panama and Bolivia to support you. So, now dear Article 9 Ambassadors, start thinking of the arguments you can use to persuade your new friends to follow Japan’s example. And stay with it. Change takes time. People are so fed up, so tired, so grief stricken, so impoverished, that we won’t have a hard time convincing organizations and Members of Parliament to support our campaign. We can work with Mayors for Peace and ask them to introduce laws into their cities, calling for No More War. Policy should not be left to national governments and heads of state alone. The louder the voices from the grassroots, the better. We need to move from being military powers to being moral powers, said the Nobel Peace laureate, Rev. Martin Luther King, jr. just 41 years ago.

To reach peace we need to teach peace. Peace does not come with our DNA. We need to introduce peace education into all schools, and non formal educational programs. We need to teach for democracy. We need to teach for and about non violence, human rights, gender equality, sustainable development, social and economic justice, disarmament, international law, human security and traditional peace practices.

We cannot abolish war or even prevent it as long as nuclear weapons hang over our heads. Nuclear weapons are not necessary for national security. We need to abide by the law and abolish all nuclear weapons.

There is a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention, which provides the legal, technical, and political measures to achieve and maintain a nuclear weapon free world. Civil society has figured it out. UN member states need to vote for it. Japan can lead the way.

"Article 9 is sacred", a Japanese government official told me. It is not threatened. We will have another interpretation he said and Article 9 will remain in the Constitution, but I fear empty it of its true meaning.

I propose that peace loving Japanese people think about debating teams, discussion groups to go to schools, initiate community forums, write letters to the editor, and challenge the new interpretation of Article 9. Make your interpretation, based on the true intention, public and popular.

Pick an action. Become an Article 9 Ambassador; bring peace education to your schools and communities; start a discussion group. Whatever you do, do one more thing for peace, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, for the preservation of Article 9 and the end to war. So one day, your granddaughter’s daughter will ask, Mommy what is war?

Can we do it? Yes, we can!

Today, the window is wide open- we must use the opportunity to call for total abolition of nuclear weapons.

These past months have seen incredible statements by former heads of state and former foreign ministers - always former... - from Australia and now Norway; members of the IPU, the EU, so many men, so many former leaders all saying it’s time to abolish nukes.

Change happens, but not over night. And while it is remarkable how much has already changed just with the election of Obama, - having an African American family living in the White House built by slaves, having women and blacks and Latinos in the administration once reserved for white men; and a president calling for a nuclear free future and increased diplomacy...and there is more...there are still policies that need to be changed, and a military budget that needs to be drastically reduced, and and and...so much still to do..

Now the challenge is to translate all those good statements and strong views into policy, to make the heads of state and members of parliaments make new policy - that’s the work for civil society. That’s our agenda. We need to mobilize together, work together; we need to get the discussion going in all our countries about the abolition of nuclear weapons....and only accept one 0, not three, total abolition.

June 2009
Symposiums, Panels, Forums and Self-Organized Events

Throughout the second day (May 5), thematic discussions and debates delved into non-violent alternatives to contemporary conflicts, the contribution of Hiroshima and Nagasaki’s experiences to international efforts to abolish nuclear weapons, women and peacebuilding, the role of Article 9 in Asia, its impact on the environment and more. Around 7,000 participants attended the 12 symposiums, panel discussions and workshops, the more than two dozen self-organized events, and the many movies and musical performances. Experts in different fields shared their experiences and examined the linkages between the principles of Article 9 and the many areas of work, such as peace, disarmament, conflict prevention, peacebuilding and the environment. They discussed how to take practical steps towards building world peace, social justice and global stability systems that do not rely on force.

Symposium 1:
“World Conflicts and Nonviolence: Mainstreaming the Nonviolent Approach”

This session studied nonviolent approaches to conflict resolution through direct experiences in the field in conflict areas, highlighting both the potential and challenges of nonviolence. Prevention was affirmed as the most important factor in this approach. To prevent conflict and eradicate the causes of conflict, the international community must intervene before hostility escalates into conflict, for example through directing international funds towards human security, implementing peace education including teaching about mechanisms of conflict and war, as well as issuing early warning and putting responses in place. Furthermore, the nonviolent approach has an even more decisive role when a conflict erupts. The example of Kenya was highlighted, showing how citizens and particularly women were able to calm the conflict as it emerged through actions such as creating a space for dialogue amongst the critical situation, including mediators from the international community, and spreading messages of peace through the media. In all aspects of these nonviolent approaches, Article 9 provides a moral and a vision. Panelists asserted that Article 9 is not only for Japan and that it must not be changed.

Symposium 2:
“Realising the Spirit of Article 9 in Asia”

This symposium debated the necessity to utilise the pacifism of Japan’s Constitution for the future peace of the Asia Pacific region. In order to realise the principles raised by Article 9, it is particularly important to understand Article 9 in relation to issues of historical recognition and the Japan–US Security Treaty. For example, mainland Japan has enjoyed the benefits of “peace” while imposing 75% of US military bases upon Okinawa. The relationship of Korea and Japan is also asymmetric in regards to US bases. If such contradictions can be overcome, then Article 9 could become the foundation for shared security in the Asia Pacific region. When the EU was formed, “the rule of law”, “democracy” and “human rights” became common values. To create a framework such as the EU for the Asia Pacific region, we would like to make the value of peace as a human right, as in Japan’s Constitution, a value shared by the entire region.

Symposium 3:
Women’s Power of Building Peace"

Cora Weiss opened the session by emphasising the meaning of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Coordinated by Akibayashi Kozue, eight women from five different countries reported about the influence of conflict and militarisation on women, and the contribution of women to peacebuilding; coordinated by Akibayashi Kozue. Ann Wright (US) spoke of the US military and sexual violence; Ellen Woodsworth (Canada) of the women’s peace movement in Canada; Florence Mqayi (Kenya) of the influence of armed conflict on women in Africa and the peace-building efforts of women; Jung Gyong-Ian (Korea) of the Korean women’s movement in opposition to conflict in both Northeast Asia and the world; Takasato Suzuyo (Okinawa/Japan) of US military violence against Okinawan women; Nishino Rumiko (Japan) regarding the international women’s movement towards the resolution of the “comfort women” issue; Takada Kimiko (Japan) of women’s activities opposing Japan becoming a country which wages war. Finally, each woman gave a comment regarding what women can do to create peace, and proposed to cease war and all forms of violence.

Symposium 4:
“Linking Environment and Peace”

Two moderators facilitated very lively and diverse discussions with three guest speakers from Ecuador, the US and Japan on the premise of questioning not only Pax Americana, but also Pax Economica. Unless we break free from the mindset that assumes “development” as panacea bringing wealth and happiness, problems of the next phase will not be solved. Renewable energies including solar, wind and geothermal can provide all the world energy demand tens of times over, and cut world-wide greenhouse gas emissions by 50% by 2050 without nuclear power. Japan with Article 9 must withdraw from nuclear power generation and plutonium recycling which have no inherent safeguard against nuclear weapons application. Because issues of environment and energy are basically questions of democracy and self-governance, we can learn a lot from Native American democratic tradition of Iroquois Confederacy and on-going practice of grass-roots democracy in Cakchiquel, Ecuador. Article 9 will only be put to full use when abnormal condition that US–Japan Security Treaty actually stands superior to Japanese Constitution is normalized. Let us step forward to a new age of “Pax Ecologica” by radically reviewing the US–Japan Security Treaty in 2010!
Symposium 5:
“The Nuclear Age and Article 9”
63 years have passed since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the world is still burdened with 27,000 nuclear arsenals. In this symposium, pioneers in the nuclear disarmament field, including a hibakusha (atomic bomb survivor), came together as panelists and discussed the connection between the nuclear issue and Article 9. Mr Asai insisted that the 21st Century is not the nuclear age, but rather, the age of denuclearization. The discussion also focused on how one of the main keys to escape from nuclear dependency lies not only in focusing on nuclear weapons, but also on nuclear energy, and to seek for alternative resources such as sustainable energy. Active learning through audio and visual materials such as using the bee bee pellets and the screening of a short film stimulated people’s imaginations regarding the threat nuclear weapons pose to the world today. Hibakusha Mr Yoshida stated that “Article 9 is a sign of the strong will not to seek revenge” – a message positively received by the audience. Article 9 itself is based on the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Therefore, the issues of Article 9 and nuclear abolition cannot be separated. Japan is the only country, which has experienced nuclear bombing during wartime, and possesses the unique Article 9. Thus, it is extremely important that Japan becomes a pioneer of nuclear abolition. Spreading Article 9 will contribute to nuclear nonproliferation, and encourage the nuclear weapon states to give up their nuclear arsenals.

Symposium 6:
“The Crisis and Future of Article 9”
Who is trying to get rid of Article 9? It is the US, it is Japanese politicians protected by the influence and power of the US, and economists who have only eyes for the fruits of capitalism. As Japan now becomes weaker and loses its confidence, the authorities are calling for constitutional amendment. The inflammatory media is practicing self-censorship, and a weak civil society ingratiates itself to whatever is stronger. The argument for amendment, based upon the “logic of power” = masculinity where whatever is stronger wins, is like Viagra increasing the weakening, fading power of the state. The current reality of Japan, including growing economic disparity and the high suicide rate, demonstrates that this was a wrong prescription. What is necessary is the consciousness that sovereignty lies with ourselves. A shift of values to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary. The session emphasised the need for peace education (of shifting values to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary) to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary. The session emphasised the need for peace education (of shifting values to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary) to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary. The session emphasised the need for peace education (of shifting values to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary) to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary. The session emphasised the need for peace education (of shifting values to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary) to realise that “strong/big happiness” is not true and that creativity, and making use of this creativity is necessary.

Panel Discussion:
“Globalization: Towards Development or More Wars?”
Economic globalization increases disparities and inequities among the people of the world and speeds up the degradation of our environment. Sustained by the international financial system and institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, globalization benefits the powerful corporations that plunder developing countries of their resources and make money without any respecting for human rights. Military forces are used to maintain this situation of social injustice. Foreign (mostly US) military bases, as well as mobile armed forces present throughout the globe prevent peoples from voicing and acting for their rights and freedom. Rich countries still spend far more for their defence than they do to promote ‘human security’ in the world. A shift in our spending priorities and security policies is necessary. There is an urgent need to counterbalance the rule the United States and its allies impose on our world. Therefore, civil society needs to strengthen its mobilization and to channel its efforts in the same direction, which is the building of a peaceful world. The call for an immediate moratorium on the trade and production of all small arms and light weapons should be reiterated. Increased pressure should be made as well on our governments towards the adoption of the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention.

Special Forum 1:
GPPAC Asia Pacific Conflict Prevention Forum
Delegates from the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), the world-wide civil society network that works on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, representing South Asia, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and West Africa, reported on challenges and solutions of their work in their respective regions. A particular focus was placed on the role and potential of Article 9 beyond Japanese borders, the UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), and civil society. Historical and regional contexts were detailed in each regional report, however all delegates underlined the importance of transforming the emphasis from reaction to prevention; instead of responding to conflict to preventing them to become violent. The importance of building on and utilizing international individuals, civil society organizations and networks to achieve national and regional peacebuilding goals were highlighted. Concrete proposals were drafted, including ensuring the participation of civil society organizations in the activities and process of the PBC, and obliging PBC focus countries to incorporate an “Article 9” in their constitutions, especially while Japan still is the Chair of the commission. It was also noted that Japan, instead of amending Article 9 to be able to join in peacekeeping missions, should take a leading role in advancing peacebuilding activities.

Special Forum 2:
International Lawyers Panel
Article 9 is based upon the promise since the end of World War II not to wage war ever again. Amending Article 9 would affect the whole of Asia, and the entire world. Ensuring world peace and people’s rights to live peacefully cannot be done with only efforts for one’s own country. It is thus necessary to internationalize Article 9, and to spread its principles to all parts of the world. Realizing this goal requires lawyers from various countries to cooperate in order to realize the principles of Article 9 in each country, in the fields of law, policy and judicature. In this session, panelists from Korea, USA, France, Syria, Cameroon, Costa Rica and Japan reported on the war and peace situations of each country, and emphasized the importance of the role of lawyers in creating peace. Peace is the foundation for life. It is a precondition for ensuring human rights and democracy, which are deeply interconnected - a fact confirmed by reports from the panelists and comments from the floor. It was also demonstrated that even if Japan has a good clause, it will remain meaningless unless lawyers interpret and utilize it appropriately. Not until the principles of Article 9 are met by lawyers from all around the world and are utilized appropriately will Article 9 turn into a reality.
Self-organised Events

Popoki Peace Project / "Popoki, What Color is Peace?"
In this workshop, participants first considered the meaning of peace through using picture books of a cat called Popoki. Then several group activities were held in which they imagined peace through creating mobiles and picture story books.

The Article 9 Association of Grass Roots Media
As a concrete action plan, it was proposed to hold the Second Global Article 9 Conference at the Tokyo Dome in 5 years time, with the assumption that Article 9 will not be amended at the national referendum planned to be held in three years from now.

The Role of the Media in Peacebuilding
Journalists from Japan and Korea including the former president of the Journalists Association of Korea participated as panelists in this program, opening up a lively discussion with the 200 participants. The Korean participants were so touched by the whole conference that they promised the audience that they would take the excitement home to Korea with them. President Kim, who is planning to hold a meeting with journalists from North Korea, emphasized the necessity of peace and the importance of Article 9.

Practical Use of Japan’s Article 9 in Conflict Areas
Many youths gathered at the session organized by the Nonviolent Peaceforce, including many sitting on the floor after seats were all filled. There are commonalities between challenges for peace through nonviolence and demilitarization, and challenges through “utilizing Article 9.” The session was a good opportunity for all participants to consider the issue in further depth.

Article 9, Yasukuni, Historical “Reconciliation”
Covering up violence during the colonial rule, concealing the aggression by the Japanese military... This symposium clarified the reality that Yasukuni Shrine justifies the Japanese wars in recent history, as well as those of the current age through “enshrinement.” Overcoming the Yasukuni issue is a big challenge in protecting Article 9.

Many more self-organized sessions were. All rooms were full and people enjoyed lively discussions in each of the sessions.

Outcomes

On the last day (May 6), participants issued a declaration in which they pledged to carry on the international campaign to support Article 9 “as a shared property of the world” that can “act as an international peace mechanism” and called on governments to adopt similar peace clauses in their constitutions.

Drafted through a participatory process which involved all official guests and the over 200 members of the Japan organizing committee, the Global Article 9 Declaration to Abolish War provides a set of recommendations to governments and reiterates civil society’s commitments to implement them.

Adopted on behalf of all guests and participants, the declaration has been endorsed by Nobel Peace Laureates Mairead Maguire, Jody Williams, by the Nobel Women’s Peace Initiative, as well as by former UN Assistant Secretary General and Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq Hans von Sponeck.

In addition to the declaration, two statements signed by key participants of the Conference were released - one addressed to the Second Session of the Review Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) taking place simultaneously in Geneva, and the other to be taken to the G8 Summit in Hokkaido, Japan in July, under Japanese presidency of the G8.

Moreover, messages of support to the conference were sent by high profile guests who, unfortunately, were unable to join the conference at the last minute, including former International Court of Justice Judge Christopher G. Weeramantry and Chief of the NGO Section of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs Hanifa Mezoui.

From the Conference Onwards

The conference was a success! Many expressed the feeling that it was a “historical moment”, when people from all over Japan and abroad came together to share ideas and energies towards building a world without war. The high number of participants reveals that the debate in Japan was in dire need of a new impetus. The Japanese audience was positively surprised to discover the global interest in the issue, while international participants were enthused to learn more about the Article 9 debate in Japan and reflect on the potential of Article 9 principles as an international mechanism to promote global peace and stability.

Like in The Hague in 1999, the prospect of changing the state of the world appears achievable. Japanese participants left motivated and feeling empowered to continue resisting the conservative attempts to amend the Japanese constitution. Likewise, our international colleagues left Japan inspired and eager to bring the principles of Article 9 back to their home countries and to spread those principles abroad.
A selection of photographs from the self-organized events, music performances and booths held on the second day.
Throughout history, humanity has strived for a world without war. Indigenous traditions and great figures in our collective history, especially women who have always actively opposed war, have sought to move humankind along a trajectory to peace.

In the last century, the sufferings inflicted by modern warfare have led us to take steps along this path. In 1928, the Kellogg-Briand Pact clearly renounced war as an instrument of national policy and in 1945 the United Nations’ Charter bound its members to “refrain from the threat or use of force” except under well-defined extraordinary circumstances.

Created in 1947 in the aftermath of Japanese aggression in the Asia-Pacific region and the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Article 9 builds on the foundations of the UN Charter and is a step further in the evolution of international norms towards maintaining world peace, for it does not foresee any exception allowing the use of force. In 1949, Costa Rica followed Japan’s precedent, demonstrating that states can exist peacefully without maintaining armed forces or self-defence forces. Indeed, the spirit of Article 9 demands that all wars be outlawed and promotes the inherent human right for all to live in peace, free from fear and free from want.

Today, however, the world remains engulfed in violent conflicts, massive poverty, increased disparities, arms proliferation and global climate change. The open-ended US-led “war on terror” has resulted in further wars, undermined the role of the United Nations, renewed the global arms race, encouraged torture and eroded human rights worldwide.

In addition, despite the growing awareness of the impact of violent conflict on civilians; especially on women, children and the elderly; the percentage of civilians killed, wounded and displaced in wars has reached unprecedented and horrifying heights. This desperate situation, crystallized by the war and occupation in Iraq, has made it clear that peace and democracy cannot be imposed by force. In this critical context, it is more important than ever to maintain and extend the principles of Article 9 as an international mechanism to promote peace and global stability.

Yet, even Japan has failed to fulfil its constitutional obligations to uphold Article 9, and the clause’s very existence is under threat. Today, Japan’s Self-Defense Force is one of the largest armies in the world; the United States holds military bases throughout the country; and the increasingly intensifying Japanese-US military cooperation is taking Japan even further away from the spirit of Article 9. In 1928, the Kellogg-Briand Pact clearly renounced war as an instrument of national policy and in 1945 the United Nations’ Charter bound its members to “refrain from the threat or use of force” except under well-defined extraordinary circumstances.

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Article 9 in the World Today

Vibrant examples of the rising power of global civil society as agents of change include the adoption of the Ottawa Treaty to Ban Landmines (1997), the holding of the Hague Appeal for Peace conference (1999), the establishment of the International Criminal Court (2002), the unprecedented mobilization against the Iraq war (2003), and current movements to ban cluster munitions, control small arms, outlaw nuclear weapons, and advocate for global peace, economic and social justice. It is time for global civil society to take up the cause and spirit of Article 9, extend its key principles, and carry out its mechanism for peace at the global level.

To implement the key principles of Article 9 at the international level, all states, from small to major powers, must bear the responsibility to prevent violent conflicts from arising and renounce the threat and the use of force under all circumstances, applying instead a non-violent human, gender-balanced dimension to security.

Poverty and inequalities have long been recognized as root causes of conflict. As current trends of globalization are deepening the North-South divide and increasing disparities everywhere, governments must achieve the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals as a first step and mobilize resources toward building lasting sustainable prosperity and social justice for all people.

By enabling states to exist peacefully, Article 9 paves the way to finding innovative financial mechanisms for development and supplements the UN Charter Article 26’s call to regulate armaments and minimize the amount of resources spent on military expenses.

The spirit of Article 9 thus discourages military build-up, arms proliferation and its industry, and instead advocates disarmament, including of small arms, landmines, cluster munitions, chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. It also rejects dependence on nuclear weapons in security policies, demanding that nuclear weapons be outlawed and abolished.

Decreasing worldwide military expenditures and reallocating the world’s limited resources to sustainable development will therefore, as UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon reiterated, increase global human security and mitigate the negative effects of military activities on the environment.

The World Summit and UN Commission on Sustainable Development have called on governments and corporations to develop regulations to preserve the earth’s climate, water, forests, biodiversity, food and energy supply. Investing to protect our planet from the extreme impacts of climate change is equally crucial, as the looming climate crisis threatens to generate, contribute to and exacerbate conflict.

In July 2005, the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC’s) Action Agenda declared that “Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia Pacific region,” recognizing its crucial contribution to stability and its enormous potential to help build a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region. Other parts of the world have built regional frameworks, such as the European Union, the African Union, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. In Northeast Asia, Article 9 could serve as a basis toward regional integration for peace.

Building a peaceful, just and sustainable world is achievable. However, it can only happen if all countries agree to engage in genuine multilateralism and respect their international commitments, particularly towards the United Nations. The implementation of Article 9 and its adoption by other countries requires parallel reforms of the international system. Additionally, the unique capacity of civil society for mobilizing, providing peaceful alternatives to violence and building peace through local, national, regional and global networks must be utilized to stop militarism and prevent future wars.

1. Article 9: 1) 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 a means of settling international disputes. 2) In order to accomplish the aim of the foregoing paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be mantained. The rights of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.
In order to achieve these goals, we, the participants of the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War, make the following recommendations. We call on all governments to:

- Honor their international commitments, including the UN Charter, the Millennium Development Goals, international humanitarian law, and disarmament agreements including the Non-Proliferation Treaty;
- Promote and protect all human rights; recognize and consecrate the inherent human right to live in peace without which other human rights cannot be realized; and strengthen accountability and reparation mechanisms for cases of human rights violations;
- Support and finance conflict prevention, peace-building and human security initiatives by peaceful means; and recognize the importance of working with civil society in these endeavors;
- Decrease military expenditures and invest instead in health, education and sustainable social development;
- Set up Ministries or Departments of Peace, and insist that Education Ministries make peace education systematic and compulsory at all levels of the education system, including in school curricula, teacher training and in the production of manuals and materials;
- Recognize the important role played by women as agents of peace and implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 to ensure the full and active participation of women in significant numbers in all decision and policy-making forums;
- Recognize conscientious objectors’ rights, and strengthen accountability and justice systems for crimes committed by military forces, particularly the possibility of prosecution for the crime of aggression in the International Criminal Court;
- Enact a comprehensive and effective Arms Trade Treaty and establish demilitarized zones (DMZs) as a first step towards the verifiable and irreversible disarmament of all weapons – from weapons of mass destruction to small arms and light weapons;
- Commence immediately to pursue in good faith, and bring to a conclusion, negotiations for the total abolition of all nuclear weapons in keeping with the 1996 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and the unequivocal commitments made in the 2000 Final Document of the NPT Review Conference;
- Promote the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZs) as a step in action towards the speedy, universal and verifiable abolition of nuclear weapons;
- Commit to address global climate change; reverse the negative environmental impacts of war and the military; and invest resources in establishing an International Sustainable Energy Agency that promotes and shares technology for clean and safe energy ensuring the sustainability of the planet;
- Make the United Nations, the best suited multilateral forum to maintain peace and security, more democratic by abolishing the veto power and revitalizing the role of the General Assembly;
- Renounce war, and the use and threat of use of force as a means of settling international disputes, by including a peace clause in national constitutions, similar to Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and Article 12 of the Costa Rican Constitution.

We encourage the Japanese government to:

- Respect, revitalize, and truly implement and protect the spirit of Article 9 as a shared heritage for the world, and realize its potential as an international peace mechanism;
- Resist the path of militarization and avoid taking steps that threaten to endanger the fragile peace in Northeast Asia;
- Take a leading role in the international community by investing in human security for sustainable development worldwide, and by fulfilling its responsibilities as a major economic power to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

We, members of civil society, commit ourselves to:

- Work relentlessly to mobilize globally to promote the maintenance and extension of the key principles of Article 9 and disseminate a culture of peace;
- Affirm the universality and indivisibility of all human rights (political, civil, economic, social, cultural), and call for the official recognition of the human right to live in peace as a sine qua non condition for the realization of all human rights;
- Build effective networks; strengthen local capacities by increasing cooperation among different sectors [peace, human rights, humanitarian assistance, disarmament, the environment, sustainable development etc.]; and establish regular communication channels with government officials, state bodies and international institutions for a more active civil society participation at the local, regional and global levels;
- Learn from the past and promote peace and reconciliation initiatives as a form of conflict prevention, learning from the experience of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission;
- Support peace education in formal and informal educational systems to empower people at all levels with the peacemaking skills of mediation, consensus-building and non-violent social change;
- Challenge the concentration of powers in the globalized economy that generates inequalities, damages the environment and generates conflicts; and support the creation of a just and demilitarized economy that invests in peace, development and the environment;
- Monitor and discourage the production and trade of weapons, and call for the inclusion of peace mechanisms among the accountability norms in Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives;
- Implement the above recommendations as well as other peace initiatives, especially the Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century (1999 UN Document A/54/98), GPPAC’s Regional and Global Action Agendas (2005), the Vancouver Appeal for Peace (2006), and the Charter for a World without Violence (2009); and
- Build on the outcomes of this conference and establish follow-up and monitoring mechanisms for the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War.

2. To read the full Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century, see: http://www.haguepeace.org/resources/HagueAgendaPeace_and_Justice4The21stCentury.pdf
4. For the Vancouver Appeal for Peace, see: http://www.vancouverpeace-network.org/resources/vap.pdf
ARTICLE 9 MESSAGE FOR DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR ABOLITION

With the Second Session of the Review Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) taking place in Geneva at the same time as the Global Article 9 Conference, key participants of the Conference issued the following statement to be circulated among the representatives of the States Parties and other participants of the Second Session of Preparatory Committee for the 2010 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.

Global Article 9 Conference Statement towards the NPT PrepCom
May 6, 2008, Makuhari, Tokyo

Article 9 of Japan’s Constitution was born out of the excruciating human agony and devastating destruction brought about by the nuclear bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Following the nuclear attacks on two of its cities, Japan renounced war and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes and prohibited the maintenance of armed forces and other war potential. Thus, the spirit of Article 9 reflects the appeal of hibakushas (the A-bomb survivors) calling for “No more Hibakushas, No more Hiroshima/Nagasaki, No more Wars” and rejects dependence on nuclear weapons in security policies and demands that all nuclear weapons be outlawed and abolished.

So far, however, the international debate has prioritized non-proliferation over nuclear abolition and no significant steps towards disarmament have taken place. Moreover, nuclear weapon states have not carried out their obligations under Article 6 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and have been modernizing and developing new nuclear weapons and systems for their delivery. Nuclear weapon states parties to the NPT must revive the process of disarmament and abolition of nuclear weapons by beginning immediate negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

We, the under-signed participants and supporters of the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War, reiterate the unlawfulness and immorality of nuclear weapons; express our strong support and solidarity to Abolition 2000 that held its Annual General Meeting on May 3; and make the following recommendations while the second Preparatory Committee meeting for the NPT 2010 Review Conference is taking place in Geneva.

We urge all governments to:

1. move beyond nuclear threats and preparation for nuclear wars, stop invoking the unstable security environment to justify their refusal to implement the NPT and engage constructively towards enhancing international security without relying on nuclear weapons;

2. respect their obligations under the 1970 NPT and the 1996 ICI advisory opinion to “pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control,” and implement their “unequivocal undertaking” as set forth in the 13 agreed practical steps of the 2000 NPT Review Conference Final Document;

3. support the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention produced by civil society and introduced to the UN as a basis for completing negotiations by 2010 on a treaty for the elimination of nuclear weapons;

4. immediately cease all programs for research, design, development and production of nuclear weapons and missile defense programs invoked to justify overwhelming military budgets, and reallocate these resources to cleaning up the toxic legacy of the nuclear age and provide for health, education and sustainable development, as well as develop non-military mechanisms to achieve and maintain national and global security;

5. support immediate negotiations for a Missile Ban Treaty and a ban on weapons in space;

6. promote the establishment of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones, especially in the Middle East and Northeast Asia, as a step towards the speedy, universal and verifiable abolition of nuclear weapons and as a way to avert possible nuclear crises, while at the same time fostering a basis for dialogue and peaceful solutions;

7. promote peace and disarmament education and ensure that the appeals and voices of sufferers of hibakushas are passed on to present and future generations;

8. institute a ban on uranium mining, support the establishment of an International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) and join with other governments immediately to fund the initiative and provide technological assistance, as an alternative to nuclear energy, thus avoiding the risk of proliferation and the deadly environmental and health consequences of nuclear power generation;

9. recognize the major role played by civil society in raising awareness and making proposals for the abolition of nuclear weapons as a step towards general and complete disarmament; support NGOs financially and press for NGO attendance and participation at all multilateral disarmament conferences and meetings.
BRINGING ARTICLE 9 TO THE G8

As the G8 Summit was held at Japan’s Lake Toya in early July, civil society members from Japan and around the world gathered in Hokkaido. The Global Article 9 Campaign also traveled there to report the outcomes of the Global Conference that took place in May, and monitor the summit from the perspective of Article 9’s principles of disarmament for development, and peace as a human right.

A workshop was held as part of the People’s (Alternative) Summit in Sapporo, focusing on A World Without War – the Role of the G8 and Japan’s Peace Constitution.

Speakers from Peace Boat, the Foundation for Human Rights in Asia, the Japan Catholic Council for Justice and Peace and a special guest from Action Aid Bangladesh shared the outcomes of the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War, and participated in a lively discussion on the significance of the campaign for both Japanese domestic politics and the broader international peace movement. Debate ranged from topics as varied as the role of the media, links between war and poverty, and how pacifism is seen from conflict regions. Rashed Al Titumir of Action Aid shared his perspective on the importance of Article 9 as a mechanism for disarmament and peacebuilding, ending with the memorable quote that “there were two important achievements for humanity at the end of World War II. The first is the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the second is Article 9 of Japan’s Constitution.”

Lobbying activities at the International Media Centre also highlighted Article 9 and its relation to disarmament, non-proliferation and development. The Global Article 9 Conference’s statement to the G8, endorsed by the Japan Organizing Committee and key international participants and supporters, was introduced. This statement calls for the G8 countries, who together make up 70% of the world’s military expenditure, to reduce their military spending and redirect resources to peace, development and the environment.

Global Article 9 Conference Statement to the G8
May 6, 2008, Makuhari, Tokyo

In our globalized world, the problems facing humanity are inter-connected more than ever. Global issues such as the environment, development with the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals as a first step and political issues including the “war on terror” and nuclear non-proliferation, can no longer be dealt with separately. Peace cannot take place in the absence of peace.

As major powers, G8 countries must take the initiative to break the cycle of violence and work multilaterally towards building a peaceful, non-violent, gender-balanced, just and sustainable world for all, based on respect of human rights and the fulfillment of human security. To achieve this goal, disarmament must take place and innovative financing mechanisms for development must be mobilized.

In its annual resolutions on the subject, the UN General Assembly has urged the international community “to devote part of the resources made available by the implementation of disarmament and arms limitation agreements to economic and social development, with a view to reducing the ever-widening gap between developed and developing countries.” It also encourages governments to “make greater efforts to integrate disarmament, humanitarian and development activities.” The Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War joins UN efforts to push forward the promising debate on the relationship between disarmament and development.

As top military spenders (accounting for 70% of the world military expenditures), the G8 countries must take the lead in drastically reducing their military expenditures and diverting such resources towards peace, development and the protection of the environment.

We, the undersigned participants and supporters of the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War, recall the recommendations made in the final declaration of the conference about the potential of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution as an international mechanism to promote peace and global stability, and further call on G8 leaders, ahead of the Summit taking place in July in Hokkaido, Japan, to:

**Peace**
Promote and realize the fundamental human right to live in peace by supporting conflict prevention, peace-building and human security initiatives by peaceful means.

**“War on Terror”**
Put an end to the open-ended US-led “war on terror” that generates fear and repression and promotes hatred and violence; and instead address the root causes of terrorism through international cooperation, using international law and respecting human rights.

**Disarmament including the abolition of nuclear weapons**
Strengthen multilateral efforts to achieve nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament towards the abolition of nuclear weapons. G8 countries must promote negotiations towards the early conclusion of the Arms Trade Treaty; foster a government-level process towards a total ban of cluster munitions; ensure the full implementation of the Landmine Ban Treaty; and build an international consensus for prohibiting the use of depleted uranium as a first step towards a comprehensive process of disarmament and demilitarization.

**Development**
Promote initiatives linking disarmament to development and human security, and establish a ratio of military spending to be dedicated to national development expenditure towards the MDGs and beyond.

**Environment**
Recognize and reverse the negative impacts of war and the military on the environment and commit to address the well-recognized threat posed by outside interference and fight for control of the increasingly scarce natural resources and energy sources as a catalyst of conflict.

**Global Corporate Social Responsibility to Peace**
Create and enforce structures and systems to uphold the corporate social responsibility of the private sector, including towards peace, human rights and environmental protection.
GLOBAL ARTICLE 9 CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Following the Global Article 9 Conference, Conflict Prevention, Disarmament for Development and the Environment, and the Human Right to Peace have emerged as the main themes of the campaign.

These three themes, in which the Global Article 9 Campaign can play a meaningful role and contribute significantly in the future, encompass many dimensions, ranging from nuclear abolition to peace education, demilitarization to peacebuilding, the promotion of peace constitutions worldwide, and much more.

Building partnerships

For the past year, the Campaign has focused on building alliances, strengthening partnerships and developing joint activities.

In addition to the solid and long-lasting relationship with the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, the campaign joined forces with partners working on disarmament for development issues, notably with Peace Bureau’s Disarmament for Development Campaign and Freres des Hommes’ Disarmament to Combat Poverty Campaign, among others.

Together with these groups, we have been advocating a shift in resource allocation from the military to sustainable development and human security, while seeking to jointly develop a global network of organizations and institutions that would work together towards the reallocation of resources spent on the military.

More recently, the Global Article 9 Campaign endorsed the Pacific Freeze Campaign – an initiative bringing Asian issues into the US peace movement and supporting peace efforts in Northeast Asia.

This campaign aims not only at building on the momentum of the Six Party Talks; it also calls on the participating countries to freeze and reduce their military spending, thus addressing the dangerous escalation in global military expenditures.

Recalling the declaration by GPPAC’s action agenda for Northeast Asia that “Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia Pacific region”, the Global Article 9 Campaign adds its voice to the call that the hundreds of billions of dollars spent on preparing for war must urgently redirected towards improving the lives and welfare of millions of people in order to achieve human security in the region and globally.

Conferences and worships

In early 2009, the Global Article 9 Campaign participated in a number of international meetings.

In May 2008, we spoke at the fourth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) of the Global Article 9 Conference and Campaign, and more specifically of the potential of Article 9 as a peace mechanism and its relevance in peacebuilding.

During the G8 Summit in July, a workshop was held in Sapporo as part of the People’s (Alternative) Summit, focusing on A World Without War – the Role of the G8 and Japan’s Peace Constitution.

For the International Day of Peace on September 21, events around the common theme of Article 9 were held by GPPAC’s Northeast Asian members in Taipei, Tokyo, Ulaanbaatar and Vladivostok.

Early 2009, the Global Article 9 Campaign was featured as one of the main examples of global campaigning on disarmament for development at an international conference held in Bangalore in February around the theme “Warfare or Welfare: Disarmament or Peace, Human Security and Development in 21st Century India.”

In the context of the missile launch by North Korea in April 2009, two important events were held in Seoul: the International Conference against the Asia Pacific Missile Defense and for the End of the Arms Race, and the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict’s (GPPAC) Northeast Asia Regional Steering Group meeting. Reiterating some of the fundamental messages of the 2005 GPPAC Northeast Asia Regional Action Agenda, participants praised the use of Article 9 of Japan’s Constitution as the foundation for Northeast Asian security, including its three fundamental principles of renunciation of war, no maintenance of military or other war potential, and the right for people to live in peace.

Finally, in May, we participated in a panel discussion co-sponsored by Sejong Society of Washington DC and the Institute for Policy Studies held at John Hopkins University, in Washington D.C. on “The Future of the Six-Party Talks - A view from civil society,” during which experts and activists from South Korea, Japan and the US shared their insights on how to resume the stalled Six-Party Talks [SPT], work towards the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and bring about peace in Northeast Asia. The need to pursue confidence-building measures and promote conflict prevention in Northeast Asia was emphasized, as well as the role played by Article 9 in promoting a less military dependent security mechanism in the region.

Peace Vigil in Bangalore, India as part of a three-day event on disarmament for peace, human security and development (February 2009)

International Conference against the Asia Pacific Missile Defense and for the End of the Arms Race in Seoul, Korea (April 2009)
Advocacy Projects

The Global Article 9 Campaign has engaged in a number of advocacy efforts at the international level, highlighting the global impact of Article 9, including its relevance in regards to development, disarmament, nuclear weapons abolition, conflict prevention, the environment, and other global issues.

In August 2008, we endorsed a public appeal sent to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, urging him to call on government to redirect 10% of their military expenditures and arms trade towards social investments to develop access to basic rights such as social security, health and education for all, as a way to finance the Millennium Development Goals. The letter also proposed the launch by 2010 of an international citizens’ conference to promote global partnership for human security.

Ahead of a UN Security Council debate on “strengthening collective security and armament regulation” organized during Costa Rica’s presidency in November 2008, Peace Boat and the Global Article 9 Campaign sent a letter to all Council members reiterating that Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution supplements Article 26 of the UN Charter and called on governments to regulate armament, reduce worldwide military spending and reallocate the world’s limited resources to sustainable development and peace promotion.

Likewise, in December 2008, we participated in a call for action presented at the UN Conference on Financing for Development in Doha. The appeal called for the reallocation of resources from defense to development and social budgets, in a time of financial crisis.

Planned Events in 2009

Article 9 and Article 12 Conference
Peace Constitutions For Global Disarmament
(Puntarenas, Costa Rica, July 15-16, 2009)

A year after the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War highlighted the growing international movement of support for the principles enshrined in the pacific clause of the Japanese Constitution as an international peace mechanism and the linkages with many global issues, such as conflict prevention, disarmament, nuclear weapons abolition, development, peace building and the environment, this international follow-up event will explore the value of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and of Article 12 of the Costa Rican Constitution in their historical perspectives and contemporary contexts, as well as their regional significance.

1) 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 settling international disputes. 2) 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.

Furthermore, in light of the current financial and food crises, as well as violent conflicts and massive poverty that ravage the world today, the conference will look at the links between these peace clauses and Article 26 of the United Nations Charter, which calls for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments with the least diversion of the world’s human and economic resources for armaments in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security.


Welcoming the Costa Rican initiative, the conference will discuss its significance and explore how to develop and synergize national, regional and global efforts towards shifting priorities by which resources are allocated. It will advocate for a decrease in military expenditures to invest in financing sustainable development and human security. Participants will conclude by adopting a declaration, possibly proposing a UN resolution acknowledging the role Peace Constitutions play in promoting global disarmament.

The event is being co-sponsored by Peace Boat, International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA)-Latin America Branch, the Faculty of Law of the University of Costa Rica, Japanese Lawyers International Solidarity Association (JALUSA), and the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War.
This event is co-sponsored by Peace Boat • International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA)-Latin America Branch • Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War • Faculty of Law of the University of Costa Rica • Japanese Lawyers International Solidarity Association (JALISA)

Wednesday
July 15

MORNING:
Arrival of the Peace Boat’s chartered passenger ship, the SS Oceanic, in the port of Puntarenas, Costa Rica

Boarding of conference participants and welcome

Opening Ceremony

Conference Session I: Japan’s Article 9 in the Asian and the US contexts
Created in 1947 in the aftermath of Japanese aggression in Asia-Pacific and the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been considered as the foundation for Northeast Asian security, thanks to its three fundamental principles of renunciation of war, no maintenance of military or other war potential, and the right for people to live in peace.

Yet, for decades Japan has failed to fulfill its constitutional obligations, including by making its Self-Defense Force one of the largest armies in the world and by increasingly intensifying military cooperation with the US. Today, Article 9 is under threat, as proponents of constitutional changes are using the North Korean crisis, among other excuses, as a pretext to push for amending Article 9.

This session will explore the current and future challenges facing Article 9, as well as the positive role Article 9 has had and continues to play in Asia and in the world.

After having discussed the significance of the UNSC and other initiatives at a time when global military expenditures reach new records, participants will explore ways civil society and governments can follow up on the ideas put forward and create opportunities to carry out advocacy and bring about changes at the national, regional and global levels.

Conference Session II: Costa Rica’s Article 12 in the Latin American context
Costa Rica abolished its army in 1948 – a move incorporated in the Constitution the following year as Article 12. Throughout the 60 years that have followed, Costa Rica has demonstrated that states can exist peacefully without maintaining armed forces or self-defense forces. Since adopting Article 12, Costa Rica has not, unlike its neighbors, experienced civil war or conflict. Moreover, after allocating its military budget to education and culture, the country has consistently ranked high in terms of human development and environmental performance indexes.

Following the Costa Rican precedent, several Latin American countries have taken significant steps towards peace in recent months: the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), signed in May 2008, includes a clause promoting a culture of peace and a world free of nuclear weapons. A few months later, Ecuador and Bolivia adopted new constitutions in which they define themselves as pacifist countries that promote a culture of peace and universal disarmament, and that condemn the use of weapons of mass destruction and the imposition of foreign military facilities on their soils.

This session will study Costa Rica’s unique experience in the context of these regional developments.

Conference Session III: Global Disarmament: UN Charter’s Article 26, initiatives at the UN and beyond
During its presidency in the UN Security Council in November 2008, Costa Rica initiated an open debate on “strengthening collective security and armament regulation,” as part of an effort to re-invigorate and re-energize work to implement Article 26 of the UN Charter that calls for the “least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources.”

This session will look at this initiative, as well as at the Costa Rica Consensus, which seeks to “create mechanisms to forgive debts and support with international financial resources those developing countries which increase spending on environmental protection, education, healthcare and housing for their people and decrease spending on weapons and soldiers,” and other UN efforts aimed at pressuring the international community to bring concrete proposals and commitments to reduce global spending on armaments and refocus spending on human security needs towards lasting peace, sustainable disarmament and sustainable development.

Adoption of the Declaration
Press Conference

EVENING:
Reception followed by dinner

Thursday
July 16

MORNING:
Follow-up strategy session
After having discussed the significance of the UNSC and other initiatives at a time when global military expenditures reach new records, participants will explore ways civil society and governments can follow up on the ideas put forward and create opportunities to carry out advocacy and bring about changes at the national, regional and global levels.

Peace Boat departs for Acapulco, México, its next port of call

** English will be the working language of the conference.
GLOBAL FORUM ON PEACE CONSTITUTIONS
(Manta, Ecuador, November 2009)

Building upon the success of the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War (May 2008) as well as the many significant steps towards peace that have recently taken place in Latin America, and using the momentum created by the Article 9 and Article 12 Conference – Peace Constitutions for Global Disarmament (July 2009), a Global Forum on Peace Constitutions will be held in November in Ecuador.

Background

The Latin American region took several significant steps towards peace in 2008. Indeed, in May, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay and Venezuela approved the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), which promotes a culture of peace and a world free of nuclear weapons. This, reaffirming the strong commitment to Non Proliferation that was first enshrined in the form of the Tlatelolco Treaty, signed by the Latin American countries in the 1960’s and which established Latin America as the first nuclear-free populated area of the world.

At the national level, following the path towards peace as Costa Rica did 60 years ago, Ecuador adopted a new constitution in September 2008, in which Ecuador defines itself as a country that promotes peace, universal disarmament, condemns the use of weapons of mass destruction and the imposition of bases or facilities with military purposes of some states in the territory of other nations. The new constitution thus puts an end to the presence of US military facilities whose forces will have to leave by November 2008.

In January 2009, Bolivia too enacted a new constitution, in which it defines itself as a “pacifist state” that “rejects all wars of aggression as an instrument to solve differences and conflicts between states” and “promotes a culture of peace” and “cooperation between the peoples of the region and the world.” Like in Ecuador’s, the Bolivian constitution prohibits the existence of foreign military bases on Bolivian soil, as set forth in its article 10.

About the Forum

The objective of this conference is to discuss the concrete functions and responsibilities that emanate from the adoption of peace constitutions, transmit their value and legitimacy to the world and serve as a catalyst to the global peace movement.

Therefore, the event will convene governments that possess or support peace constitutions, international organizations, Nobel Peace Laureates, as well as civil society to share perspectives and discuss the implementation of Peace Constitutions worldwide.

Jointly organized by the Government of the Republic of Ecuador, NGO Peace Boat, the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War, NGOs and CSOs in Ecuador and beyond, the event will take place on November 2009 in the city of Montecristi, the symbolic venue where the new Ecuadorian Constitution was adopted, and adjacent to the port of Manta, Ecuador.

More information will be available shortly on the Global Article 9 Campaign’s website at www.article-9.org

ARTICLE 9 AND ARTICLE 26:
Twin campaigns to move the world towards peace and social justice

By Colin Archer, Secretary-General, International Peace Bureau

In 2005, the International Peace Bureau (IPB) launched a major programme focusing on the relationship between disarmament and development. It aims at shifting the priorities in the use of public and private resources, from investment in the military to investment in health, education and sustainable development. It also seeks to demonstrate, and help alleviate, the negative impact on development of militarization and the use of certain types of weapons. Since 2008, IPB has been working in close partnership with the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War.

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Introduction – Article 9 and its significance

Anyone who has followed the progress of the US-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in the last few years would have difficulty in arguing that the military-led responses to the 9–11 attacks on the US have proved successful. Indeed, the truth is quite plainly the opposite. US military might, based on the Cold War doctrine of deterrence (‘Mutually Assured Destruction’), no longer seems to deter anyone. Given the central role that the ‘global war on terror’ plays in the mass-media presentation of the current state of the world, it can be argued that this is a potentially fruitful moment in which to make the critique of militarism. Large sections of the general public in many countries are cynical and distressed about what the Pentagon and its allies have done in the Muslim world, and are hungry to know that there may be better ways of tackling intractable conflicts. Belligerence and military threats don’t seem effective. Analysts are more and more urging attention to employment creation and economic development as ways to undermine the appeal of the extremists. Moreover, recent developments such as the recent diplomatic settlement of the dispute over North Korea’s nuclear programme, also provide some hope that conflict does not inevitably spell war.

For all these reasons, then, it is therefore a promising time to be building support for the efforts by the Japanese civil society to protect Article 9 of the Constitution. The International Peace Bureau has long believed that they represent a vital contribution to the global effort of restraining militarism and ensuring a transition to a world free from aggressive wars and interventions.

Furthermore, Article 9 is an excellent model of what can be done at the juridical and political level to embed a firm non-aggression position into the policies and the very structure of the state. While this is not entirely unique – Costa Rica, Haiti, Panama and 24 smaller states have abolished their armies (1) – it is certainly rare. While it is true that Article 9 was drafted in very specific historical conditions – after the defeat of an imperial power at the end of a very bloody world war – it remains a prime example of how a state and its people, with some help from their former enemies, can turn the page and set their face against aggressive military methods.

Japan, a pacifist state?

It is of course no secret that Japan long ago abandoned (under pressure from the US in the atmosphere of the Cold War) the literal pacifist interpretation of Article 9. It now maintains Self-Defence Forces of over 200,000 persons (all technically civilians), which makes it one of the larger collections of military personnel in the world. It also has a Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security with the United States, under which approximately 50,000 troops are stationed in Japan.
Furthermore, Japan’s USD 43.70 billion/year budget makes it the fifth largest military spender in the world, after the United States, China, the United Kingdom and France. The SDF consume some 6% of the government budget or almost 1% of Japan’s GDP.

Thus it can in no sense be said that Japan is a de-militarised society. However, the renunciation of bellicosity, and the specific abandonment of nuclear weapons aspirations (through adopting the Non-Nuclear Principles and by signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty) represent two very important bulwarks against aggressive war in the Asia-Pacific region.

Even though Japanese forces have been involved in overseas operations, they have been small in scale and always unarmed. Even when the JSDF were sent to Iraq, no use of force was allowed; Japanese personnel are protected by other Coalition armed forces. No Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Forces have ever been involved in armed incidents near the various islands that are points of territorial dispute between Japan on the one hand and Russia, China or Korea on the other. Thus we can deduce that, up to now at least, Article 9 acts as an effective restraint.

More broadly it is important to perceive that the strong grass roots support for Article 9 in Japanese society acts to undermine excessive respect for the military, a fact that is observed in the relative lack of prestige attached to military careers and status in the SDF, and the poor social benefits allocated to SDF staff compared to other sectors. In some sense Article 9 acts as a common reference point for the whole country, as a constant reminder of its imperial past and its disastrous consequences for the entire region – and indeed for the world. An increasing proportion of Japanese are too young to have personal memories of the war, and there are signs of impatience with the restrictions imposed by the post-war settlement. Yet the experience of Germany since 1945 shows the importance of a legally-grounded framework that holds back any signs of a return to the aggressive militarism and imperialism of the past.

Article 9 – A moral beacon

Article 9 also stands as a moral beacon to the world. It embodies an absolute rejection of the projection of state power through military aggression. This is a fundamental value shared by religious and non-religious pacifists alike. And not only pacifists; many of those in every country - who accept the need for self-defence are firmly opposed to the kind of war-fighting forbidden by Article 9. As was declared at the historic Hague Appeal for Peace conference in 1999, “Every Parliament should adopt a resolution prohibiting their government from going to war, like the Japanese article number nine.” (2)

This is especially important given the signs on the political horizon of the dangers of future inter-state wars. Not only on account of nuclear proliferation (the alleged reason for the invasion of Iraq; and the source of the persistent tensions with Japan and North Korea); and not only due to severe inter-cultural strains between the ‘West’ and the ‘Rest’. Most importantly, it is because climate change and resource depletion may well lead states in the coming decades to use force over oil, water, land and other precious assets. If the temptation is there, then both international law and national legislation along the lines of Article 9 could be important in reining in the militarists.

IBP and disarmament for development

A sense of global history is crucial for successful peace work. Efforts to constrain violent conflicts are as old as humanity itself, and though often unsuccessful, they hold valuable lessons for those of us who feel moved to promote the ‘no-killing’ principle in today’s world. The IPB is privileged to be a very old-established organisation, since it was founded in 1891, even before the creation of the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice – two institutions that the early IPB pioneers argued should be set up in order to avoid recourse to war between states.

Over the decades the organisation, which currently brings together 282 member organisations in 70 countries, has engaged in many peace initiatives and campaigns. These range from efforts to prevent or end particular armed conflicts, to worldwide disarmament projects and educational schemes. In addition to its ongoing work in favour of nuclear disarmament, IPB is currently engaged in a long-term programme whose full title is Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development.

This work grew out of our earlier activities on Human Security. It builds on a long history of research into military spending by bodies such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (3), and political position-taking by states within the UN; notably the long series of UNGA resolutions urging the transfer of financial resources away from the arms race and into development (4). Unfortunately very few of these noble aspirations have so far been put into practice. No international fund, for example, has been created to channel monies released from the military sector into anti-poverty strategies. What has been lacking too has been a coordination of international civil society efforts in this field – a gap that IPB is attempting to remedy.

Military spending

The amount the world spent on the military in 2008 has been estimated by SIPRI as at US$1.464 billion. The larger part of this massive sum is spent on personnel, but military bases, weapons, training, communications etc. eat up billions more. The US alone spends approximately half the total sum; and the numbers are growing, with every additional troop request requested by the Bush administration ‘for winning the war in Iraq’. The UN estimates that with one-tenth of this overall sum it would be possible to achieve the Millennium Development Goals – something most economists and analysts say is impossible ‘for lack of funds’.

Article 26 of the United Nations charter

“In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.”

Article 26 is one of the lesser-known sections of the UN Charter, yet it is among the most important. For so long as member states fail to make serious and systematic attempts to implement its provisions, the UN’s two primary missions (the promotion of peace and development) cannot be effectively realised. Symptomatic of the problem is the fact that the Military Staff Committee has failed to function. Nevertheless the UN’s weapon-imposing 1980 to create a transparency tool known as the Standardised Reporting Instrument for Military Expenditures, which has been used by more than 110 states and provides at least a baseline for analysis of the phenomenon. (5)

Impacts of weapons

Among the most important developments in the disarmament field in the period since the end of the Cold War has been the enormous growth in public awareness of the effects of weapons on ordinary civilians, and the sense that it is possible to do something about them. This was notably the case with landmines (banned by the Ottawa Treaty of 1996) and cluster munitions (a Convention on Cluster Munitions was adopted in 2008) but also to a lesser extent with small arms, and now even depleted uranium, where some promising
Strategies and campaign activities

To make an impact on the global system of ‘wrong investments’ will require a formidable effort on the part of civil society. The sea-change in attitudes to militarism that will be necessary to shift policies and budgets into different paths is unlikely to be a rapid one in most countries. The International Peace Bureau’s approach is to encourage the development of ‘Article 26’ or ‘Disarmament-for-Development’ coalitions and national networks. To this end we organise, together with local, national and international partners in the peace, development and environment fields, meetings for exchange of perspectives and the development of joint advocacy. This year marks the 20th anniversary of the 1987 UN Conference on Disarmament and Development, held in New York. In 2007 we have raised our campaign issues at, for example, the World Social Forum (Nairobi), at the UN Committee for the Rights of the Child (Geneva), at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina (Egypt, November) and elsewhere. In 2008, we participated in the Global Article 9 Conference to Abolish War, held in Tokyo in May, and have since worked closely with the Global Article 9 Campaign to jointly advocate for a shift in spending priorities from the military to development and peace promotion. In addition, IPB is publishing campaign materials, and working on a major photographic exhibition, all of which make the case for a radically different set of priorities.*

CONCLUSION

We can thus conclude that the strengthening of the Article 9 campaign (both in Japan and overseas) and the construction of an effective global programme to promote Disarmament for Development (i.e. Article 26) must go hand in hand. Both are essentially political endeavours, in that they assert certain collective choices decided at the political level. However, their promotion does not belong only in the political realm. They both require mobilisation of a wide range of social sectors that are influential in national debates: not only parliamentarians and parties; but also labour unions, students’, women’s and religious organisations, youth and environmental and anti-poverty organisations. Even police and emergency personnel may be able to ally themselves with the argument that human security should be the guiding principle for protecting the population, rather than militarism. IPB is willing to put its experience at the service of all who share our perspective, and we look forward to continue working closely with Article 9 advocates in the pursuit of our common objectives.

* IPB gratefully acknowledges financial support from Rissho Kosei-Kai in the development of this programme

MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

“The standard set forth by Article 9 is a proactive instrument of peace. We at the Nobel Women’s Initiative believe that genuine peace and human security is a product of legislation such as Article 9. Peace and militarism cannot coexist.”

Nobel Women’s Initiative

“As a global citizen, I support Article 9. The world does not need more militarization; money and resources should be used to solve the many common problems we face today. In fact, I think that all constitutions should INCLUDE an Article 9 – and perhaps a global campaign to that end is needed – and certainly not the elimination of yours [Japan’s].”

Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Laureate, founding coordinator of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines

“... As people who work for peace, and as people who would like to see human beings learn to live with each other in peace, and not to feel the need to kill each other, I want to support this campaign. I want to say that this Article Number 9 in the Japanese Constitution is an ideal that, although it was imposed after the Second World War by the Allies, it is an ideal that we can live for. Those of us who work for peace, those of us who work for [the] environment, those of us who work for a more just and fair world are inspired by this clause and would like to see the world create this – as a dream, as a vision...”

Wangari Muta Maathai, Green Belt Movement, 2004 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

“I endorse the campaign as resources saved from ‘No War, No Military’ are very important to achieve the MDGs and to deal with the impact of Climate Change.”

Minar Pimple, Youth Activist and Deputy Director of the UN Millennium Campaign, Asia

“At this critical juncture in history, the Vancouver World Peace Forum concluded that a world without war is achievable... Specifically, to achieve this, we call for...”

Vancouver World Peace Forum (2006)

“Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia Pacific region.”

Global Action Agenda for the Global Partnership on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) submitted to the UN Secretary-General (2005)

“Every Parliament should adopt a resolution prohibiting their government from going to war, like the Japanese Article 9.”

Hague Appeal for Peace (1999)

These are a small selection of the many messages we have received from around the world in support of Article 9. Send your own message of the support to the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War at https://s107.secure.ne.jp/~s107017/en/support/index.html
SUPPORTERS OF THE GLOBAL ARTICLE 9 CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH WAR

**International Organizations**

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<td>Nairobi Peace Initiative - Africa Solidarity with the Victims and for the Peace, Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<td>North America</td>
<td>8th Day Center for Justice, USA Massachusetts Peace Action, USA National Lawyers’ Guild, USA Nevada Desert Experience, USA Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, USA Peace Philosophy Centre, Canada Peaceworkers, USA The House of Peace, USA The Tajiri Institute, USA Vancouver Save Article 9, Canada Washington Peace Center, USA US Peace Council, USA</td>
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<td>Latin America</td>
<td>Servicio Internacional Cristiano de Solidaridad con los pueblos de America Latina (SICSAL), Mexico</td>
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<td>Middle East</td>
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**Asia**

- Anjuman Asiaye Awam, Pakistan
- Asia Peace and History Education Network, South Korea
- Center for International Studies, Maritime State University, Russia
- Foundation for Democracy (FED), Pakistan
- Gaston Z. Ortigas (GZOD) Peace Institute, Philippines
- Global Peace and Justice Coalition, Turkey
- Hotline (Human Rights) Bangladesh, Bangladesh
- Hue Street Children’s Home, Vietnam
- Indian Association of Lawyers (IAL), India
- Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID), Philippines
- International Movement of Catholic Students Asia Pacific, Philippines
- Korea Youth Corps, South Korea
- MINSYUN—Lawyers for a Democratic Society, South Korea
- Pakistan Peace Coalition, Pakistan
- Peace Museum, South Korea
- Peace Network, South Korea
- People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, South Korea
- People’s Task Force for Bases Clean Up (PTFBC), Philippines
- STOP the War Coalition, Philippines
- Women Making Peace, South Korea
- World without War, South Korea
- Youth Red Cross Korea, India

**Pacific / Oceania**

- New Zealand Peace Council, Aotearoa/New Zealand
- Union Aid Abroad - APHEDA, Timor Leste

**Europe**

- APRED (Association for Non-Militarisation and Demilitarisation), Switzerland
- Augsburger Friedensinitiative, Germany
- Centro de documentazione “Semi sotto la neve”, Italy
- Comité Solidaridad Oscar Romero de Torrejon de Ardoz, Spain
- Coordinamento nord sud del mondo di Milano, Italy
- Dritt-Solidarität, France
- Euro-Mediterranean Youth Association, Turkey
- Freres des Hommes, France
- German-Japanese Peace Forum, Germany
- House of Examus, the Netherlands
- IKV Pax Christi, the Netherlands
- Mouvement de la Paix, France
- OCASHA-Cristianos con el Sur, Spain
- PeaceLink, Italy
- Quaderni Satyagraha e Gandhi Edizioni, Italy
- Rete Liliput di Vicenza, Italy

**Supporters of the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War**

Please visit our website to learn more about Article 9 and the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War: [http://www.article-9.org](http://www.article-9.org)

Our website provides further information about Article 9 and the Campaign, its activities and supporters, as well as links to resources and ways to get involved, including by subscribing to our free monthly e-newsletter and sending your own messages of support to Article 9.

Feel free to contact us at any time to send your support, share your ideas, inform us of the activities you are organizing in relations to the Campaign, and get involved!

article-9@peaceboat.gr.jp

For more individual supporters of the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War, visit our website at [http://article-9.org/en/support/list.html](http://article-9.org/en/support/list.html)
Peace Boat is a Japan-based international non-governmental and non-profit organization that works to promote peace, human rights, equal and sustainable development and respect for the environment. Peace Boat seeks to create awareness and action based on effecting positive social and political change in the world. We pursue this through the organization of global educational programmes, responsible travel, cooperative projects and advocacy activities. These activities are carried out on a partnership basis with other civil society organizations and communities in Japan, Northeast Asia, and around the world.

Peace Boat carries out its main activities through a chartered passenger ship that travels the world on peace voyages. The ship creates a neutral, mobile space and enables people to engage across borders in dialogue and mutual cooperation at sea, and in the ports that we visit.

Peace Boat acts as the Secretariat of the Global Article 9 Campaign to Abolish War

The Japan Lawyers International Solidarity Association (JALISA) was founded in 1957. Recognizing the perilous situations in the world today, i.e. the continued presence of nuclear weapons and military blocks in spite of the end of the cold war, and the pursuance of profits by giant capitals etc., threatening the people’s existence worthy of human dignity on a global scale, and being caused by the policy of the governments concerned, the Association deems it its grave mission to eradicate such threats and in justice.

As a member of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the Association engages in international solidarity activities in cooperation with other democratic lawyer organizations, taking a role as an interface to link various domestic activities for peace, democracy and human rights on an international level. Furthermore, as lawyers of Japan, the only A-bombed country in the world, JALISA also pursues efforts for the elimination of nuclear weapons.
GLOBAL ARTICLE 9
CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH WAR
PEACE CONSTITUTIONS FOR EVERY COUNTRY

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