For a World without War

“An In-Depth Discussion on Article 9
by Twenty People on Five Continents”

<Digest>

This book was published by the Japanese publisher Kamogawa. Co., Ltd. in August 2007. It brings together treatises which deal with how non-Japanese view Article 9 of the Japanese constitution and the issue of amending that article.

By doing so, this book demonstrates that Article 9 is decidedly not an issue for Japan alone, but one which has a great impact on the whole of Asia and the rest of the world.

What follows is a digest of the book.

Chapter 1  Hopes for Peoples in Conflict Areas

Jasna Bastic (Bosnia, Journalist)

“Yes, we all know that Japan has Self Defense Forces and the national contract with the USA, which is practically the military protector of Japanese soil and security. But, after cruel and horrible WW2 in Asia, with very well known role of Japanese Army at that time, it is true that since then Japan has never been the threat to its neighbors and didn’t participate actively in any armed conflict in the world. Article 9 in Japanese constitution has prevented any military activity of Japan abroad, with full support of majority of its citizens. That is amazing and magnificent, and extremely inspirational for many peace and law-makers around the world. ”

“Article 9 has prevented Japan to use actively any military force against other nations or to be a part of arms trade, which shamefully fuels many conflicts around the world. And such role of Japan has to be respected, admired and preserved. This has historical significance not only for Japan, but for all other countries as well. ”

Hassan A. Abod (Iraq, Journalist)

“Disarmament is the best way. It is important to spread disarmament throughout the world, to spread the seeds of peace. What we need quickly is to stop the production of weapons. Rather than investing money in arms production, we need to use the money to
support poor people. Some countries believe that being strong is being safe, for example if they have nuclear weapons then they can keep their country safe, however this way of thinking is wrong. The most important thing to achieve peace is to stop the production of arms. Japan's Article 9 connects to this. ”

Paul Saoke (Kenya, the International Physicians for the Prevention of nuclear War –IPPNW-Kenya)

“Possession of an army implies preparations for war. South East Asia and the Far East are currently polarized in a fragile balance of power. The North Korean and Iranian nuclear stand offs coupled with the China and Taiwan cold conflict may destabilize the balance of power in the region if Japan abandons Article 9. Already China is involved in a massive arms race in order to be a military super power in the region. The net effects of the destabilization of the balance of power would be felt largely in Africa. This may take the form of massive exploitation of mineral resources like uranium for intermediate production of plutonium for nuclear war heads. The African environment would therefore be subjected to further abuse. ”

Comments by participants in the January 2007 World Social Forum held in Kenya

• “I definitely want you to pursue the Global Article 9 Campaign while keeping Africa in mind. I hope that this becomes a worldwide campaign, and that someday the whole world can come together in this campaign.” (Kenya)
• “I found out about Article 9 when researching how to build peace. I’ve done much research and attended many meetings. In that process I read that Japan has a constitution which renounces war and does not send its citizens to the battlefield.” (Uganda)
• “Where to weapons come from? They come from Europe and the US, which are experts in the arms trade. We Africans have no need to fight or to kill each other. That’s why we need Article 9, which will move weapons away from us. Article 9 is what should be adopted in Africa. Article 9 will eliminate weapons from Africa.” (Kenya)

Chapter 2  In Contrast with Warfare States
Allen Nelson (US, Vietnam veteran)

“Article 9 of Japan’s constitution is more powerful than any military force, or any nuclear weapon. That’s because nuclear weapons will never bring peace, which is evident from history. Nuclear weapons have taken the lives of tens of thousands and destroyed a nation, but the world is still filled with war and violence...Such is the situation, and it’s here that Article 9 has a strength that replaces nuclear weapons. It’s precisely because Japan has Article 9 that your husbands and children and neighbors have gone through life without going to war. That is the power of Article 9. What’s more, Article 9 isn’t just saving the lives of people in Japan. It’s also saving lives around the world.”

“People like me who engage in peace activities all feel we want to tell citizens of other countries more about Article 9 of Japan’s constitution, and spread the word because only Article 9 can save us from the darkness of complete destruction.”

Peter Erlinder (The United States, lawyer, Law school professor)

“The apparently unstoppable dominance of the military-industrial complex in the United States during the last half of the 20th Century has lessons for the people of Japan, and the world. The struggle to defend and expand Article 9 and Japan’s Peace Constitution is more than an idealistic “wish for a peaceful World,” that is shared by ordinary people all over the World. The struggle to defend Article 9 is actually a struggle to prevent the rebirth of a Japanese “military-industrial complex” in the World’s second-largest economy.

Without the limitations that Article 9 places of Japan’s “military industrial complex, the huge industrial capacity of Toyota, Mitsubishi, Sony and many other firms, known internationally for providing consumer products to a grateful world, will be free to follow the example of General Electric, Halliburton, General Motors, Boeing and other U.S. “defense” contractors into the super-profitable “business” of supplying the war machines of Japan, the U.S. and other countries.”

Peter Weiss (The United States, The International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA))

“At the time of the Gulf War, members of our organization and 30 members of Congress sued former President Bush on the grounds that a war cannot be started without authorization from Congress. Although we won, Congress gave the president the authority to declare war, and the first Gulf War started. So I think it would be better if the constitutions of all countries had something like Article 9 of Japan’s constitution.”
Roland Weyl (France, lawyer, International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL))

“Recalling the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference is not at all a waste of time. All European governments at that time in 1975 signed the document. The face-off between the East and West blocs was a reality at the time, but disarmament plans were foreseen through mutual inspections and other trust-building procedures.”

“In that spirit, all constitutions in the world should incorporate Article 9 of Japan’s constitution. If all countries were to pledge never again to go to war, give up the reasoning that arms underpin the state’s existence, and abolish their military forces, world peace would be a done deal. This indeed is the new international law declared in the UN Charter but never put into action. That requires none other than a joint struggle by the people.”

Chapter 3  Raison d’être of Article 9 in Asia

Lee Kyeong-Ju (South Korea, professor of law)

“A constitutional amendment by Japan that values a relationship of trust with the US but without building a relationship of trust with the rest of Asia could very well aggravate the arms race in East Asia. The reason is that, if Japan has a military and if its constitution recognizes the collective right of self-defense, that would finalize the military alliance of Japan, the US, and the Republic of Korea... Further, as long as this looks like a major threat to China, it is certain that Japan’s constitutional amendment would also stimulate Chinese military expansion.”

“The drift in Japan toward deleting the provision on the right to live in peace, amending Article 9.2, and having a military is, especially in the eyes of Korea’s movement for peace and disarmament, equivalent to losing a treasure. Our peace movement has achieved progress with the inspiration gained from the words of the Japanese constitution’s preamble, ‘We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace.’”
Zheng Zeshan (China, professor of law)

“If a country has a history of aggression against other countries, it stands to reason that neighboring countries will be on their guard if that country tries to expand its military force. Japan desires release from the constraints of its peace constitution, and is endeavoring to expand its military force. Clearly, this makes other East Asian countries distrustful and brings about an arms race in this region. East Asia was unstable to begin with, and this engenders even more instability. From the perspective of history and reality, Japan’s constitutional amendment is not merely a matter of one country’s constitution. In actuality, it is closely connected to what path Japan will take from here, to how the world views Japan, to world peace, and especially to East Asian stability.”

Gus Miclat (The Philippines, Initiatives for International Dialogue(IID) )

“In the Philippines, attempts to install a pacifist constitution have been incessantly stalled by the few perennial “saber rattlers” in our midst, but in 1991, the Filipino people rejected a treaty to extend the presence of American military bases on its soil. ・・・ Perhaps that was the closest we got to emulating the spirit of an Article 9. ”

“Even if not yet, the fact that Japan will now be unhinged from its commitment to pursue a no-war policy, it could then now bully other nations to tend to its political and economic appetites. Other nations like China, India, Korea and even the militarily weaker Southeast Asian nations will likewise scamper to flex its own meager muscles with the excuse of doing so in self-defense. If Article 9 goes, Japan, the region, the world, will never be the same again. ”

Michael T. Seigel (Australia, professor of international relationship)

“The security dilemma... is that actions taken for the purpose of security have instead augmented threats and have actually jeopardized security. Each side comes to perceive the other as a threat, an arms race ensues, and unless one is careful, the situation escalates to war.”

“Even if a country builds up its arms, if there is some circumstance under which that arms buildup does not threaten other countries, the security dilemma is not an issue. Japan does have such a circumstance, and that is its peace constitution.”

“The world has tried to resolve the security dilemma for over half a century... I think Japan has showed how to resolve it: put a peace clause in one’s constitution. The more countries which put such provisions in their constitutions, the more world tensions will relax.”
Verena Graf (Switzerland, the International League for the Rights of Peoples (LIDLIP))

“There lies the proof that article 9 is a thought of Japanese origin, a Japanese product, to say the least, a wonderful product. It is an idea which should be leading the world’s peace movement. Japan should therefore realize what such a “peace article” means for the world today and be proud of it and propagate it wherever possible rather than put into question its abolition or modification – for whatever reason including counter-terrorism –, the more so by a country which has experienced and suffered in its own blood the horror and evil of the atomic bomb.”

“The best way for Japan to accept its past would be to send a strong signal to its neighbours in Asia and to other countries, by maintaining the “peace article” as a guarantee.”

Chapter 4  Abolishing the Military Forces

Carlos Vargas (Costa Rica, professor of law, IALANA)

“So that people have a firm awareness of things like human rights, democracy, and the environment, I think it is necessary to invest money and effort in education. I hope that the experience and reality of Costa Rica will in some way be made useful for protecting Article 9 of Japan’s constitution. It seems to me that Costa Rica’s experience, which is that disputes can be resolved without the use of force and without having a military, is proof that Japan must have Article 9.”

Michel Monod (Switzerland, Group for a Switzerland without an Army (GSOA))

“The Young Socialists were considering that Switzerland had no enemies and that it could give an example of disarmament. Having in mind the article 9 of the Japan constitution which forbids Japan to maintain an Army and following the examples of Costa Rica and Liechtenstein which are countries without an army, they decided to launch a popular initiative for the abolition of the Swiss Army.”

“The popular initiative to abolish the military found 35.6% in favor in 1989, and
23% in 2001. ”

**Christophe Barbey (Switzerland, lawyer and mediator, peace researcher)**

“It is interesting to compare article 9 with similar provisions in the Constitutions of the countries without armies. …

Article 9 is therefore nothing exceptional and very similar to the Costa Rican and Panama provisions. It is similar regarding the (textual) impossibility to reestablish an army unless the constitution is changed. But in my opinion, it goes further as it also promotes positive peace stating that war is not a possible mean and that peace is a goal. None of the countries without army has such a provision promoting peace and there again, if demilitarization is undertaken in Japan, Japan will have a leading position. ”

**Brian Concannon (The United States, lawyer, Institute for Justice & Democracy in Haiti)**

“The Haitian people still want to abolish the army through a constitutional amendment. They understand that their longest period of democracy and stability came when FADH was demobilized, and they know that as long as the army is there, it will divert money that is urgently needed for food, healthcare, education and infrastructure.

Haitians see Japan and its Article 9 as a model of what a civilized country can do to guarantee its own security while promoting economic prosperity in the country and peace in the world. ”

**Chapter 5  The World Begins to Make a Choice of Article 9 Among Other Things**

**Article 9 and Article 26: Twin Campaigns**  Colin Archer  
A Constitution for the People  Fernando Vegas T.  
From the Multicultural Canada to Japan and the World  Satoko Norimatsu  
Contributing Internationally through Non-Military Means  Charles Graves  
For Future Generations  Edith Ballantyne  
Article 9: Creating a Sustainable World without Military Forces  Tatsuya Yoshioka  
The World’s NGOs and the Global Article 9 Campaign  Akira Kawasaki
Resources

1, The Hague Appeal for Peace Conference: Ten Fundamental Principles for a Just World Order (1999.5)

"Every Parliament should adopt a resolution prohibiting their government from going to war, like the Japanese article number nine."

2, GPPAC (Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict)
   Tokyo Agenda (2005.2)

"We recognize Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution as one of the key elements to promoting regional peace. It has been described as a norm to affirm the security of people in the region through the containment of Japanese militarism. Notably, the principles of Article 9 – the renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes and of maintaining forces for those purposes – should be recognized as having universal value and be therefore utilized as a foundation for peace in Northeast Asia."

3, GPPAC (Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict)
   Global Agenda (2005.7)

"In some regions of the world, normative-legal commitments play an important role in promoting regional stability and increasing confidence. For example, Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution renounces war as a means of settling disputes and of maintaining forces for those purposes. It has been a foundation for collective security throughout the Asia Pacific region."

4, World Peace Forum Final Documents (2006.6)

"Governments to constitutionally renounce war (e.g., Japan's Article 9);"