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THE 16TH CONGRESS
OF THE IADL
JUNE 7TH TO 11TH, 2005
PARIS

SPEAKER

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President, Chairperson, Friends, Brothers and Sisters,

It is my great honor and pleasure to speak at the opening session of the 16th Congress of the IADL in Paris. I'd like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the encouragement and supports given by you, when I ran for governor of Osaka a year ago. As a sole candidate for peace loving people in Osaka, I urged the whole prefecture should be a non-defended locality defined by the First Additional Protocol to the 1949 Geneva Conventions (art.59). In my thinking, the best security policy might be a complete disarmament of all belligerent States. It is my deep belief in international humanitarian law which clearly protects a non-defended locality. My wish is to declare Osaka as the first non-defended locality in Japan. Finally more than 500,000 men and women voted for me. I've no hesitation to say that more than 500,000 people chose a way to peace without arms. This was the first step. Even if it was only a small step forward, it can be a great leap for the human kind.

"In Larger Freedom"

Today, the world is starving. The world is suffering. The world is humiliated. It is so important for us all to have the world free from want and fear, and to make the world a place to live in dignity. In a report entitled "In larger freedom" submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan developed his vision of the world in the 21st Century (A/59/2005).

It is openly believed that more than one billion people still live below the extreme poverty line of one dollar per day, and that 20,000 die from poverty each day. Some of them drink filthy water, eat genetic-transformed food, and suffer from endemic diseases. Sometimes hatred flares up, and people kill one another. The poor becomes impoverished day by day, while the rich accumulates more and more wealth. Who loves such a discriminating life? Who forces us to lead such a life full of hatred and disgust? Who can in return change such a world?

In December last year, violent earthquakes occurred under sea off the Sumatra Island. Tsunami crossing over the Indian Ocean swallowed up more than 200,000 lives. The disaster attacked many countries in Africa as well as in Asia. Just at that time a fleet of the Japanese Sea Defense Forces was on a way back home from the Indian Ocean. It had a special mission. What was it? To tell the truth, the Japanese military vessels were sent to supply fuel to the US

fleets. Fuel was free of charge. Japan has been really a very generous supplier. The US Navy Forces were there to attack Afghanistan in order to arrest allegedly terrorists. When the only "hyperpower" has attacked heavily and invaded Afghanistan to arrest a group of terrorists; the second superpower has sent the most sophisticated defense vessels 10,000 kilometers off from the archipelago in collaboration with the operation to arrest and punish terrorists. Flatly speaking, Japan has collaborated with the USA on waging war of oppression and deception. It is a complete absurdity. While tsunamis attacked the population, the top of the economic superpowers has been militarily attacking Afghanistan and Iraq, wasting lots of resources and consuming lots of lives. It is a war, war that broke out allegedly for good reasons. President George W. Bush said that it was a war for removing plenty of weapons of mass destruction out of Iraq, crushing tyranny of axis of evil and prevailing democracy in their place. His explanation is nothing but a white lie embellished by sweet words.

We have some more to say. The Japanese defense vessels have on board very sophisticated radar systems, which cover 500 kilometers in diameter. High up in the outer space over the Ocean, military satellites keep watching the surface. All these military high technologies were proved to be in fact meaningless against tsunamis. the military radar system couldn't recognize tsunamis or military satellites didn't share the pertinent information with the population, even though they did really recognize it.

60 Years After the World War Two and the Pacifist Constitution of Japan

In August 60 years ago, two atomic bombs were dropped, one on Hiroshima, the other on Nagasaki. In instances, hundreds of thousands of the civil population in the two cities were evaporated, while those who have survived are still suffering from radiation sickness. In Okinawa, severe battle killed hundreds of thousands of people. Over ten millions were killed in China, Korean Peninsular, Pacific islands and Southeast Asia altogether. Those who injured or suffered from the scourge of the war were of far larger numbers. Thousands or more of women, and even young girls, were forced to be displaced from their native homes to send to battle fields. They were to serve as "comfort women" or sex slaves. They were victims of collective and systematic rape. They were victims of war crimes committed by the Japanese military servicemen. Korean women, Chinese women, Pilipino women, Indonesian women, Malaysian

women, or even Dutch women were victimized, when they had led peaceful lives in their native places in Asian before the Japanese Army invaded.

Although the Japanese government today won't confess guilty in this regard, the same government in wartime knew very well the international humanitarian law or international law of war to the point Japan claimed the bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki as illegal under international law. It is very important, because such a claim might lead to urge President Harry S. Truman to give apology and compensation to the Japanese victims of indiscriminate and unnecessary damages.

In six decades after the war, Japanese people have climbed up a steep mountain of economic development thanks to the Pacifist constitution. It is really a mixture of established principles of international law such as Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1927 on the one hand, and an innovative system of disarmament such as general and complete renouncement of war potential on the other. It is true to say that the East-West confrontation during the Cold War era brought about Japanese Self-Defense Forces and US military bases in the land of the pacifist constitution. But it would be untrue to say that constant struggles for peace in Japan have failed to reduce heavy burden of US military bases from their shoulders, or to prevent an overseas deployment of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces at full strength. More important is it to understand that Japan is now at the crossroads.

The government parties and some of opposition party alike are calling for a change in the Constitution. What is at stake here is the political wisdom to forecast the future of the Japanese people in particular, and the fate of the whole world in general. Against the majority of the Nation, political leaders and hard-liners in Japan urge vehemently to paint a picture in black by disseminating every kind of propaganda. They want to paint a lovely and peaceful Constitution in black color of militarization. Or they want to paint it in brown color of discrimination. We say NO to such shallow thoughts, which are to betray wishes of all peace-loving peoples in the world, and to reverse the history of human beings.

We must make things clear and grasp them in their true sense. A constitutional change in Japan at this stage is dangerous and premature. Agenda for peace is still inadequate. It is something far from a political risk-taking, or rather something like jumping into a fire. It is dangerous because proponents for the change never stop inspiring people with narrow-minded

nationalism, which may flare violent conflicts between neighboring nations. It is also premature, because the Japanese government has not yet assumed all responsibilities for war crimes, including apology and compensation towards individual victims of the scourge. For the victims, atrocities and humiliating treatments during the war-time are still lively nightmares.

Popularism Guided by Fear and Horror

As you might know, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi is an enthusiastic worshiper at the *Yasukuni* Shrine, which was built in Meiji era to memorize military personnel who died during wars. The *Yasukuni* shrine is also notorious for its posture toward war criminals rendered guilty for crimes against peace by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Extreme East or Tokyo Tribunal in 1948. School teachers and pupil are obliged to stand up and sing in chorus *Kimigayo* or "National Anthem" at school ceremonial meetings, while *Hinomaru* or "National Flag" hosted in the center of the meeting halls. *Kimigayo* is a song for admiring long reign of emperor. School teachers who refused to stand up and sing it are to be punished by disciplinary measures. It is all the more controversial, because the Showa Emperor himself was presumed responsible for a crime against peace. School textbooks on history spare less and less references to war crimes once the Empire of Japan committed. Blatant supports of the Japanese Government to the US invasion in Iraq went on to its zenith, when they sent their armed forces to Samawa.

Fear and horror are getting larger day by day. Workers are sucked, small or middle sized enterprises go bankrupt, more than 30,000 persons kill themselves in lost of hopes. Full time employments are yielding to part-time employments which may result in deterioration of working conditions It is no exception for a full-time worker to be sucked only to be reassigned to a part-time job even in the same enterprise. Deaths and suicides from overwork (*karoshi* and *karojisatsu*) are still high in numbers. Welfare families under public protection are also increasing, as their incomes are getting down. As crime rates are aggravating by and large, police agencies underline vulnerability of everyday life so as to inspire people with horror stories of crimes. Elementary schools are now most heavily guarded against dubious persons by putting higher fences around the premises.

Incidents relating to North Korea or People's Democratic Republic of

Korea are highly favorable subjects for demagogues to make use of in inspiring general sentiments of insecurity. Right-wing journalists are prone to flare fear and disgust against PDRK by demonstrating on every occasion eventual missile attacks with nuclear heads. Ordinary people are getting more and more accustomed to dismal pictures tainted by hatred, which are fueled by shower of disgustful information; we should be cautious to such dismal pictures, which might shut up a way of friendly and intimate exchange of views toward peace and prosperity.

The Future We Are Heading For

Against these degenerating situations, we need now a straightforward thinking and action for peace.

From ashes of complete destruction by atomic bombs, people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki stood up and urged world peace. They have never stopped to claim general and complete nuclear disarmament. As they put it, we will exterminate nuclear arms, or we shall be someday exterminated by nuclear arms.

From the land in ruins, people in Okinawa stood up and urged world peace. They have never stopped to claim general and complete removal of military bases from their soil. As they put it, we can never be either aggressors or the aggressed.

In 1999, a hundred years after the first world peace conference in The Hague, tens of thousands of people gathering from all corners of the planet agreed unanimously "The Basic Principles for Equitable World Order." At the top of the ten, we can vividly remind that "Like Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan, every parliament should make a resolution prohibiting its government from waging a war."

By Article 9, Japanese people express from the bottom of our hearts the calamity of atomic bombings and the absurdity of use of force. Article 9 is also a pledge to renounce war, particularly vis-à-vis Asian people who suffered most..

We have to face real problems before us. Firstly, the Security Treaty between Japan and the USA allows the Marine Third Expeditionary Force (MEF) to station in Okinawa, and the US Navy Seventh Fleet to use Yokosuka as its home port. The presence of the US Forces in Japan as well as in South Korea is a hindrance to build up a regional framework of security and cooperation in the

East Asia.

Secondly, justly like in Southeast Asia, Japan, South Korea and China are all willing to give green light to build a regional community so as to form a free trade zone in East Asia. A regional community would be wrong if it went for the benefits of capitalists or investors by leaving workers disadvantaged or reducing quality of life in this region. People's right and human rights must be promoted and protected, and what we need is a regional organization in favor of full enjoyment of human rights of all the peoples living in this region.

Thirdly, international solidarity for peace and human rights must be promoted. As all in this theater realize, the world-wise anti-war movements against the war in Iraq have shown a strong example in this regard. It may tell the advent of new world in denial of violence and in creation of peace.

Peace and Human Rights for All

Let's turn our eyes toward the near future.

In June shortly after the Congress, an NGO meeting will be held to discuss directions and procedures of UN reforms. Mr. Kofi Annan has already outlined his project to be adopted next September at a Summit in New York. His report "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All" (A/59/2005) should be read in detail.

Another important initiative is taken by Mr. Annan's suggestion ("Prevention of Armed Conflicts," A/57/985-S/2001/574). It's "Global Partnership for Prevention of Armed Conflict" or GPPAC in short. Experiences and initiatives in favor of peace-building process are all discussed in 15 regional meetings, which will be compiled into a pile of recommendations to be submitted to the UN Headquarters in mid-July. The East Asian regional meeting adopted a regional agenda, which affirmed the pacifist principle enshrined in Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan as the guiding principle, and included various items ranging from nuclear disarmament to gender justice passing by confidence-building. The heart of such an initiative is net-widening of peace loving people. It is a process to raise voices and to prevent armed conflicts at any event.

Now in concluding, I ask your attention to one more courageous initiative taken by our friends in South Korea. It is the Fourth Conference of Lawyers in Asia and the Pacific, or COLAP-4, which will take place in Seoul, in September 2

and 3, 2005. Here we have the core members of the organizing committee. In collaborating with our colleagues, we are calling on every progress lawyers and citizens to participate in the conference, and share with us experiences and views in a way to realize "Peace, Human Rights and Co-existence in Asia and the Pacific." As you may know, in regard with a prospective reform of the UN Security Council, there is a turmoil or severe discrepancy between State Parties of the UN. The Japanese Government is longing for a permanent seat there, while South Korean and Chinese governments won't like to go on that way. It seems to me wise to discuss the matter from broader point of views. The Congress here in Paris and the Conference in Seoul will be a good example to fill the gaps.