

*Abrogate the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance  
Remove U.S. Bases from Japan*

## **2010 Japan Peace Conference in Sasebo**

**December 2 - 5, 2010**



***For a Peaceful Japan and Asia without Nuclear Weapons,  
Bases and Military Alliance  
Now is the Time to Unite with Okinawa***

Organizing Committee of Japan Peace Committee

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## Program of the 2010 Japan Peace Conference

December 2	International Symposium
December 3	Opening Plenary
December 4	Symposia, Workshops & Field Trips
December 5	Closing Plenary
	Rally & Demonstration – Peace Parade Sasebo

# International Symposium

December 2, 2010

## Theme of the Symposium

For a Peaceful Asia without U.S. Military Bases and Military Alliances

## Panelists

-Mr. Joseph Gerson, USA

Director of Programs, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) – New England

-Mr. Jun-Kyu Lee, Republic of Korea

Lecturer, Laborer's Academy for Alternative Society

-Ms. Corazon Valdez Fabros, the Philippines

Stop the War Coalition Philippines

International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases

-Mr. Ryuichi OZAWA, Japan

Professor, Jikei University School of Medicines

## Coordinator

-Mr. Keisuke Fuse, Japan

International Bureau Director, National Confederation of Trade Unions (Zenroren)

## Special Report

-Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Alkozai, Afghanistan, journalist

## Profiles of Panelists, Guest & Coordinator in the 2010 Japan Peace Conference

### Panelists

#### **Joseph Gerson (United States)**

##### **Director of Programs, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) – New England**

Dr. Gerson also serves as Coordinator of disarmament program of the AFSC, a pacifist Christian organization. He has taken part in the World Conference against A & H Bombs almost every year since 1984. He has also been a panelist in the Japan Peace Conference several times. As the Co-chair of the International Planning Committee for peace movement mobilization toward the 2010 NPT Review Conference, Dr. Gerson worked for convening the International Peace Conference, rally, march and festival in New York, as well as for the submission of anti-nuclear signatures to the NPT Review Conference. In his activities, he has constantly focused on the prevention of nuclear war, abolition of nuclear weapons, U.S. hegemony in Asia-Pacific, Middle East and Central Asia, and U.S. military bases in foreign countries. Dr. Gerson also played a key role in organizing a rally against the war on Iraq in New York on February 15, 2003.

His latest book is “Empire and the Bomb” (published in Japanese by Shin-Nihon Shuppansha).

#### **Lee Jun-Kyu (Republic of Korea)**

##### **Lecturer at Laborer's Academy for Alternative Society**

Starting his career as a policy-making member of the Democratic Labor Party's peace and disarmament campaign headquarters, Mr. Lee worked as the Policy Office Head of the Civil Network for a Peaceful Korea since 2003. As he visited Hiroshima in 2003 and has participated in the World Conference against A & H Bombs as well as the Bikini Day conference since 2005, Mr. Lee has worked for the development of the anti-nuclear-weapons movement in Korea and for deepening solidarity between Korean and Japanese peace movements. He is fluent in Japanese and familiar with Japan's politics, social issues, history, culture, and people's movements. He has taken part in the Japan Peace Conference in the past. Mr. Lee served as the South Korean coordinator of the Japan-South Korea joint publication committee of the “Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone” in 2004. He was a visiting researcher at Meiji Gakuin University in 2008 and 2009.

His recent work includes “Can we abolish nuclear weapons? Yes, we can!!” (Joint authorship, published in Japanese by Kamogawa Shoten).

#### **Corazon Valdez Fabros (The Philippines)**

##### **International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases**

##### **Stop the War Coalition Philippines**

Being a lawyer, Ms. Fabros has taken part in the World Conference against A & H Bombs and Japan Peace Conference many times. She is a coordinating committee member in charge of Asia of the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases, which was founded in 2007 in Ecuador and has been joined also by the Japan Peace Committee. She works for international solidarity between local and grass-roots movements in Okinawa and Yokosuka and other parts of the world, against militarism and for protection of human rights of women. Ms. Fabros is the Secretary General of the Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition, which was a core force in the movement to refuse the RP-US Military Bases Agreement and to remove U.S. bases from the Philippines. She is also a co-director of the Stop the War Coalition Philippines, the largest anti-war network in the Philippines established to oppose the Iraq

War and the Arroyo government, the supporter of the war. This coalition has a broad membership working for peace and social justice, including labor unions, women's organizations, NGOs, political parties, students' groups, and individuals.

### **OZAWA Ryuichi (Japan)**

#### **Professor of Law, Jikei University**

Born in 1959 and graduated from Hitotsubashi University Faculty of Law, Prof. Ozawa was an assistant professor and professor at Shizuoka University until 2006. His specialty is constitutional law. He has been active in giving lectures throughout Japan as a secretariat member of the "Article 9 Association." He has also made statements in the Diet on the questions of "deployment of the Self-Defense Forces to Iraq", "the national referendum law on the constitutional revision" and others.

His works include "Study on the power to pass budgets" (Kobundo), "Law in Modern Japan" (Horitsu-Bunkasha), "Should we really allow the Constitution to be 'revised'?" (Gakushu-no-Tomosha); "Beginner's guide to the Constitution of Japan" (Otsuki Shoten), "Defective points in the Japanese election system" (joint authorship, Gakushu-no-Tomosha); "Constitution in Closeup" (Joint authorship; Horitsu Bunkasha).

#### **Coordinator**

#### **FUSE Keisuke (Japan)**

#### **Executive Committee member and Director of International Bureau, National Confederation of Trade Unions (ZENROREN)**

Mr. Fuse has worked in the Secretariat of Zenroren since 1998 and taken an active role in the effort to develop peace movement among young people as the Assistant Secretary of Zenroren's Youth Department, as well as the head of the Secretariat of the preparatory committee (2005-2006) of the "International Youth Rally -- Let Us Get Rid of Nuclear Weapons!" Since he assumed his present position in July 2006, he has also served as a Steering Committee member of the Organizing Committee of the World Conference against A & H Bombs.

In addition to his work of developing international solidarity among workers and unions as well as their struggles against translational corporations, he is promoting cooperation with trade unions in other countries to help people understand damages caused by U.S. bases in Japan and the atomic bombings.

#### **Guest**

#### **Mohammed Ibrahim Alkozai (Afghanistan)**

#### **Journalist**

Mr. Alkozai was born in 1982 in Ningahar. Although he was originally studying computer science at a university in Kabul, he changed his major to journalism after the outbreak of the U.S. "war on terror" against Afghanistan, following the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, in order to reveal before the international community numerous criminal acts conducted by U.S. military forces. After working as a local assistant for the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Kyodo News of Japan, he is now a freelance journalist to make on-the-spot coverage of the damage from the war. This is his first visit to Japan, thanks to Nishitani Fumikazu, a Japanese freelance journalist, who continues to report on the situation in Afghanistan.

## Introductory Reports of the Panelists

**Joseph Gerson**

**American Friends Service Committee, USA**

### **Compensating for Decline: Revitalizing U.S. Asia-Pacific Hegemony**

I want to thank the Japan Peace Committee for the opportunity to join this year's Peace Conference. It is a privilege and a necessity to work together.

In an article about Obama's week in Asia, the journalist-scholar Fareed Zakaria wrote that, "Obama was making America's opening move in a new great power game unfolding in Asia." He and his advisors were reinforcing Washington's military alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, building tacit alliances with India and Indonesia, and putting China on notice that it will not have a free hand in Asia, the South China Sea, or the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The goal is to ensure that the U.S. can "moderate Beijing's behavior."<sup>1</sup>

The Obama Administration is attempting to leverage its allies' resources and power while taking advantage of the insecurities resulting from China's rising power and aggressive assertions of its territorial ambitions. The U.S. is weaving together a system of military and political alliances and relationships from Japan to India, and across Central Asia to Europe to NATO,

Even as China develops its "string of pearls" – basing and access agreements with Myanmar, Sri Lanka Pakistan and possibly Bangladesh – the U.S. is reinforcing its more powerful collar: alliances, military cooperation, bases, and access agreements with South Korea, Singapore,

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<sup>1</sup> Fareed Zakaria. "Hedged bets on China." Washington Post, Nov. 15, 2010

the Philippines, Guam, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, and Afghanistan. And, in pushing "the reset button" with Russia, it hopes to complete China's encirclement.

### **The Korean Crisis**

Let me say a few words about the Korean crisis. In the U.S., we were initially shocked by reports of an unprovoked and deadly North Korean artillery barrage on Yeonpyeong Island, the most serious such attack since the Korean War. Only later could we read that the target was a South Korean military base in disputed territorial waters, that the first dead were South Korean Marines, and that "The attack...occurred after South Korean forces...fired test shots into waters near the North Korean coast."<sup>2</sup>

The North Korean attack must of course be condemned, but we need to address its causes and to prevent it from escalating into an extremely dangerous wider war.

Numerous reasons have been given for the attack. Most cogent is North Korea's goal of "driving the U.S. to the negotiating table" to win U.S. recognition of its legitimacy, a peace treaty ending the Korean war, removal of sanctions, and aid, trade and investment.<sup>3</sup>

Washington initially coordinated its responses with South Korea and then escalated the

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<sup>2</sup> Editorial. "A Very Risky Game", New York times, Nov. 24, 2010

<sup>3</sup> Simon Tisdall. "The keys to Pyongyang", The Guardian, Nov. 23, 2010.

confrontation with military exercises, including the aircraft carrier George Washington and its support fleet, in the Yellow Sea. This threatens not only North Korea but the DPRK's Chinese patron as well. And, rather than encourage resumption of the Six Party talks, the Obama Administration repeated that it will not resume negotiations until the North abandons its uranium enrichment program and demonstrates that there is no possibility of additional North Korean nuclear or missile tests.<sup>4</sup>

This policy is marketed as "strategic patience", whose purpose is to break North Korea's cycle of provocations by not rewarding Pyongyang's "bad behavior". U.S. negotiations with the DPRK are not to resume "until the North cease[s] provocations and demonstrate[s]" that it is "living up to past commitments to dismantle, and ultimately give up, its nuclear capacity."<sup>5</sup> This approach, combined with provocative U.S. military exercises threaten to bring us to "the brink of war."<sup>6</sup>

### **Geopolitical Considerations:**

In the aftermath of the Cold War, Zbigniew Brzezinski published his primer about the U.S. Empire and how to maintain it. He explained that dominating the Eurasian heartland is essential for U.S. global hegemony and that to do so the U.S. must have geostrategic footholds on Eurasia's western, southern and eastern peripheries. Japan, South Korea and western Pacific client states serve that function in the

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4 "No 6-party talks without halt to uranium enrichment", Asahi Shimbun, Nov. 24, 2010.

5 David E. Sanger and Mark McDonald. "South Koreans and U.S. to stage a Joint Exercise", New York Times, Nov. 24, 2010

6 Terms of a threat made by North Korea, as reported by U.S. National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" Nov. 26, 2010.

East, just as NATO does in the West.<sup>7</sup>

At roughly the time Joseph Nye voiced concern about China's rise. He warned that during the 20th century the dominant powers (U.S. and Britain) failed to integrate rising powers (Germany and Japan) into their systems, resulting in two catastrophic world wars. It is therefore of the utmost importance, he concluded, to ensure China's integration into U.S. dominated global systems through engagement and, as necessary, containment. He has since written that maintaining our alliance with Japan would shape the environment into which China [is] emerging. We want... to integrate China into the international system...but we need... to hedge against the danger that a future and stronger China might turn aggressive."<sup>8</sup> This remains the crux of U.S. Asia-Pacific policies.

The situation in East Asia is, of course, further complicated by North Korea's nuclear arsenal, and by China's perceived need for a buffer state to secure the Manchurian, keystone of its territorial integrity.

### **Articulated Policy**

Washington and Beijing understand the opportunities and challenges of our "competitive interdependence". However, our respective cultures, histories and domestic political considerations tend to obscure our common interests. With the U.S. economic crisis, still more resources will likely be devoted to containment as our 2012 presidential election

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7 Clyde Prestowitz. The Betrayal of American Prosperity: Free Market Delusions, America's Decline, and How We Must Compete in the Post-Dollar Era, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010

8 Joseph Nye. "An Alliance Larger Than One Issue", New York Times, January 6, 2010.

approaches.<sup>9</sup>

The Obama Administration's Asia strategy explains that "Our alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand are the bedrock of security in Asia..." In addition to Japan's role as "the cornerstone" of U.S. policies, it stresses that "Japan and South Korea are increasingly important leaders in addressing regional and global issues."<sup>10</sup>

Even as the "Strategy" reiterates that the U.S. seeks "to pursue a positive, constructive, and comprehensive relationship with China", it warns that "We will monitor China's military modernization program and *prepare accordingly to ensure that U.S. interests and allies, regionally and globally, are not negatively affected*"<sup>11</sup>

#### Cornerstones and Confrontations:

The Obama Administration cannot be faulted for the fall of the Hatoyama-Ozawa government, but it was not an innocent bystander. Hatoyama's vision of an East Asian Economic Community, which by definition would marginalize the United States, the DPJ's commitment to renegotiate the Futenma relocation agreement and to confirm the existence of the secret agreement which allowed the U.S. to bring nuclear weapons into Japan all undermined Washington's confidence in its principle Asia-Pacific ally.

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9 David W. Chen. "In more U.S. races, China is the villain", International Herald Tribune, October 11, 2010

10 Kurt M. Campbell, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Principles of U.S. Engagement in the Asia-Pacific. Testimony to the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC, January 21, 2010,

<http://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2010/01/134168.htm>.

11 Ibid. Emphasis added by author.

While the DPJ's failing policies, scandals and vacillations, and Japan's stagnant economy all contributed to the Party's loss last July, the U.S. did its part by playing "hardball" on Futenma, highlighting the DPJ's weaknesses and vacillations.<sup>12</sup> With Japanese fears being fanned by Cheonan incident and by China's increasingly assertive military exercises, the Pentagon refused to consider alternatives to building the new base at Henoko. The implicit message was if Japan refused to honor the Futenma-Henoko agreement, it could face North Korea and China alone.

Soon after Prime Minister Kan defeated Ozawa in the DPJ party election, Washington's game became more apparent. While in Japan, Richard Armitage praised Kan's victory and "suggested he send China a subtle reminder that Tokyo and Washington remain firmly in step." Armitage advised that "the best way" to further heal the Hatoyama-Ozawa rupture of U.S.-Japanese relations would be "to send a signal" to China by slightly increase Japan's military budget. "You don't have to say anything about the Senkakus," he advised, "the message would be there."<sup>13</sup>

Kan and Maehara did more. They pledged that the Futenma base relocation would not be permitted to disturb the alliance. During the APEC summit, Prime Minister Kan committed engage in the Trans Pacific Partnership negotiations pressed by Obama and confirmed that Japan would continue to provide the U.S. with \$2.26 billion a year as "host nation support". In yet another violation of Japan's constitution, Kan signaled his willingness to send medical officers to join the U.S. war in Afghanistan. More importantly, he pledged to

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12 Joseph Nye. Op. Cit.

13 Cameron McLaughlan. "Armitage hails Kan's 'normalcy'", Daily Yomiuri, Sept. 16, 2010



work with the U.S. to develop new “common strategic objectives...to enhance the Japan-U.S. strategy toward China.”

Most important are the commitments Kan made for the strategic defense review to be issued this month: It will urge new deployments of Japanese troops onto western Okinawan islands to monitor and respond to Chinese naval activities, removing the ban on arms sales, and spending trillions of yen to triple the size of Japan’s submarine fleet and to buy U.S.F-35 fighters

All of this makes Washington very happy. As one U.S. official put it, “We don’t hear the teeth-sucking caution any more...there is finally talk about what we can do together, rather than what we can’t.”<sup>14</sup>

### **The Obama Administration and China**

During the past year China has pressed the limits of the U.S.-Japanese dominated system. Of greatest concern to Washington was Beijing’s declaration of its complete sovereignty over the mineral rich South China Sea, whose sea lanes also serve as East Asia’s energy and trade lifelines, as a “core national interest” equal to its claims to Tibet and Taiwan. This challenges U.S. regional hegemony, but it also provided the U.S. an opportunity to remind ASEAN nations that they “have this friend from Washington, and he’s really big...”<sup>15</sup>

Thus Secretaries Clinton and Gates responding that the freedom of the South China Sea is a “core” U.S. national interest. This was followed by a carefully orchestrated an Obama-ASEAN heads of state meeting at the U.N. to demonstrate unity against China’s claims. And,

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas L. Friedman. “Containment-lite”, International Herald Tribune, Nov. 11, 2010.

soon thereafter we had the astonishing image of a Vietnamese general being welcomed aboard the George Washington, joint U.S.-Vietnamese military exercises, and U.S. warships being welcomed back to Cam Ranh Bay. Elsewhere in ASEAN, President Obama returned Indonesia, which his advisers see as “the intersection of a lot of key American interests...[and] a partnership that is very important to the future of American interest in Asia.”<sup>16</sup>

In terms of encircling China, the importance of Vietnam and Indonesia pale in comparison to India, the first stop President Obama’s November itinerary. India has difficult history with China: border wars, and competition for influence in Central Asia, and a naval arms race in the Indian Ocean. Beginning with the nuclear agreement negotiated between the U.S. and India, New Delhi and Washington have created a tacit alliance on the basis of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend.” Thus Obama came to India with promises to end export controls on sensitive technologies and of U.S. support for a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council, and he announced that the U.S.-India relationship is a “defining partnerships of the 21st century.”<sup>17</sup>

I should add a few words about the role of the U.S. Navy in securing what Hillary Clinton calls “the new American moment” U.S. geostrategists believe that, like Britain before it, U.S. is an island power, with naval power remains being essential to its ability to influence Eurasia. For this reason, “maritime rimland remains pivotal”. Just as conquering Hawaii, the Philippines and Guam as stepping stones to Asia was essential

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<sup>16</sup> Reuters. “Obama in Jakarta to boost trade ties”, Daily Yomiuri, Nov. 10, 2010

<sup>17</sup> Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Jim Yardley. “Countering China, Obama Backs India for U.N. Council”, New York Times, Nov. 8, 2010; Japan Times. Obama backs India on Security Council”, Nov. 9, 2010.

to building the U.S. 19th century empire, retaining and modernizing these bases of intervention are seen as equally important in the 21st century.<sup>18</sup>

Thus we have the “diversification” of the U.S. infrastructure of military bases across the Asia-Pacific, including U.S. plans for Okinawa, the transformation of Guam into a military “hub” at the expense of the Chamorro people, the U.S. courtship of Indonesia, the tacit alliances with Vietnam and India, and the call by a congressionally mandated panel to “expand the Navy to deal with threats from rising powers in Asia.” The bi-partisan report by senior advisors to Presidents Clinton and Bush urges that the U.S. Navy be expanded from 282 to 346 warships, and they advised that “The United States must be fully present in the Asia-Pacific region to protect American lives and territory, ensure the free flow of commerce, maintain stability and defend our allies in the region. A robust U.S. force structure, one that is largely rooted in maritime strategy and includes other necessary capabilities will be essential.”<sup>19</sup>

### **Resistance and Common Security**

Friends, given the realities of history, the crisis in Korea, and the competing ambitions of the region’s great powers, utopian dreams are hardly in order. There are, however, powerful historical forces – the actions of people over time – that demonstrate that a different future is not only possible, but if we work for it, assured. First is the resistance and inevitable victory of Okinawans, who will win withdrawal of all U.S. bases.

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<sup>18</sup> Robert D. Kaplan. “Obama and the new Eurasia”, International Herald Tribune, Nov. 12, 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Eli Lake. “Defense review calls for Navy building: Refocus urged for Pentagon”, Washington Times, July 29, 2010.

Next is entropy. More than three generations after they were created and imposed, the institutions and alliances created to serve the U.S. Post WWII Empire are outmoded, tinsel and increasingly seen as illegitimate. As a result, fewer of the world’s people see the U.S. as a model to be emulated, with envisioning and creating futures free of U.S. political, economic, military or cultural hegemony.

Fourth is imperial over-reach. Even as powerful forces in the U.S. urge the massive military increases, the country cannot afford it. For the first time in my lifetime, serious proposals for cutting the U.S. military budget are being voiced in Congress, and the bi-partisan commission on debt reduction has recommended reducing U.S. foreign military bases by a third.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, we must recognize our common interests and our need to work together. None of us are safe and secure if others are in danger or fear for their security. Just as it makes no sense to liberate the people of Ginowan City at the expense of those in Henoko, we should not attempting to solve our problems by supporting Pentagon in further oppressing the people of Guam. .A generation ago, the concept of “Common Security” was used to end the Cold War in Europe. If the peoples of the United States, Japan, and other Pacific-Asia nations are to win future security and prosperity, we would do well to press for policies that replace the pursuit of hegemony with Common Security.

Domo arrigato.

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<sup>20</sup> Jackie Calmes. “Panel Seeks Cuts in Social Security and Higher Taxes”, New York Times, Nov. 11, 2010

**Lee Junkyu**  
**Lecturer, Laborers' Academy for Alternative Society**  
**Republic of Korea**

**Korean Peninsula in Crisis**  
**– Testing the Will and Force for Sustainable Peace in East Asia**

Thank you for inviting me to the Japan Peace Conference again this year. My name is Lee Junkyu and I come from South Korea.

As you know, since North Korea shelled South Korea's Yeonpyeong Island in the Western Sea – Yellow Sea--, tension is heightening on the Korean Peninsula and in North East Asia. For somebody like me, who was born in 1973 and did not experience Korean War, the artillery bombing by North Korea against a island in South Korea was quite shocking.

There have been several military collisions between South and North, but they were accidental and localized ones along the cease-fire line or between North and South troops in sea areas the two countries have territorial claims. For people of my generation, it was the first time since the Korean War that the DPRK attacked an area inhabited by civilians.

**Reviving the Memory of “War without Mercy”**

North Korea maintains that it merely exercised the right to self-defense against the military exercise South Korean troops conducted near the sea border. It also asserts that South Korea and the U.S. forces drew the Northern Limit Line (NLL) unilaterally, although it actually belongs to North Korea. However, North Korea's attitude of hesitating to use force for provocation to accomplish their claims represents a reckless act that could not find support either in South Korean society or in the international community.

Nobody can deny the possibility of such provocation escalating into a total war at some moment. For example, South Korean troops, each time they collide with their North Korean counterparts, they change the war rules to more aggressive ones. I think that they will further give these rules an aggressive turn after the recent incident.

I think the hidden aim of North Korean provocation is to impose negotiations for peace agreement they have been asking for. It means that North Korea is trying to drive South Korea and the United States into negotiations by dramatizing the instability on Korean Peninsula. However, the behavior of North Korea is creating a self-contradictory situation: instead of setting a favorable environment for peace agreement, it is escalating the risk of war.

The passage of time may be considered as a natural physical phenomenon. But it is the “privilege” of us human beings to give it a particular meaning and memorize it as “history”. And if humans are entitled to that particular “privilege”, they need to have something that makes them deserve it. I do believe that that something is “reflexivity” or the capacity to draw lessons from history and capitalize them for creating history of today and tomorrow.

This year marks the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Korean War. Elites within the North Korean regime are historically responsible for the war that caused “atrocious actions among the same family” and “fratricides” on the pretext of “war for national liberation” or “war for unification”.

What these elites need the most is the capacity of thinking that enables them to draw lessons from history.

### **Nostalgia of Hegemony and Revival of Alliance Policy**

North Korea's armed provocation has negatively affected the possibility for resuming the Six Party Talks, the prospects of negotiations for a peace agreement to establish a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, as well as the normalization of relations with the U.S. and Japan. The Chinese proposal to hold an urgent meeting of chief representatives to the Six Party Talks continues to be turned down by South Korea, the U.S. and Japan.

The war of nerves between the U.S. and China over the Korea-U.S. joint military exercises in the Yellow Sea is creating a fear of the advent of a "new Cold War" in East Asia. Even though it is unlikely to escalate into a "new Cold War", it is evident that the U.S.-China conflict in economy before and after the G20 summit is extending to political and military fields. While pretending to have accepted the demand of South Korea, the U.S. has not denied that the large-scale military exercise involving the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier George Washington was meant to put pressure on China. In other words, the U.S. succeeded in killing two birds with one stone: it met South Korean demand by showing off its commitment to South Korea's security, while holding China in check.

In addition, with Japan participating in the game, due to its accumulated frustration caused by territorial dispute with China, the mini "Cold War" over the Yellow Sea is taking shape. If this confrontation emerges all the way, it will be more difficult to resolve the problem, because the North Korean issue will become a problem between the U.S. and China, or between Japan

and China, or even between South Korea and China.

South Korea and Japan are reinforcing their partnership with the U.S. It can be said that the U.S. is given a good opportunity to sell the relevance of its military presence in the region. The U.S. can also emphasize the need for forward deployment of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier George Washington for South Korea and Japan, as they seek to reassure themselves by relying on the U.S. hegemony.

It cannot be denied that North Korea is responsible for creating the current situation in North East Asia. However, it is more precise to say that North Korea is providing an excuse to South Korea and Japan for strengthening their alliance policy.

That said, can such persistence in alliance deter North Korean localized provocation? For example, if North Korea conducts another armed provocation, can we envisage a situation where it is retaliated by mobilizing a nuclear aircraft carrier?

More fundamental is the fact that embracing the ghost of U.S. hegemony and persisting in alliance policy might revive the Cold War heritage. In the case of South Korea, since the Lee Myon-Bak came into power, frustration has grown among policy elites and conservative experts over China's reluctance to side with them in taking hard line policies towards North Korea. They think that North Korea's sinking of a South Korean warship "Cheonan" and "artillery barrage of Yongpeyon Island" could be exploited for enhancing the South Korea-U.S. alliance and for putting pressure on China.

However, in international relations, just like in any other relations, we need to have the other party with whom we have interactions. And if

one adopts alliance policy, the other party may well respond by adopting the same policy. South Korea, the U.S. and Japan may criticize China for supporting North Korea, but for China, it is logical that China strengthens ties with North Korea and Russia as part of strategy to counterbalance the consolidation of the U.S.-Japan-South Korea alliance. China is no more what it used to be before. It often adopts offensive posture in the event of a conflict with the U.S. or with its neighbors, calling it “big power diplomacy”. Strengthening of an alliance leads to strengthening of other alliances. The result will be the reproduction in larger scale of hostile relations.

South Korean and the U.S., while conducting joint military exercises in the Yellow Sea, the thing China dislike most, are asking China to join them in sanctioning North Korea. On the other hand, they all refuse China’s proposal to hold an urgent meeting of Six Party Talks members. I believe however that, given the situation of North-East Asia where there is no mechanism for solving conflicts peacefully, it is more efficient to hold an urgent meeting rather than an ordinary Six Party Talks session for discussing the issue and deciding who is responsible.

#### **What is to be done?**

The main slogan of this year’s Japan Peace Conference is “Realizing A Peaceful Asia and Japan without U.S. Bases and Military Alliance”. This may sound quite unrealistic when we look at the current situation on the Korean Peninsula and North-East Asia. In South Korea in particular, the push for restoring the dialogue with North Korea that broke down after the inauguration of Lee Myon-Bak Regime is weakening.

Yet there is something we must squarely look at. The recent shelling of Yeonpyeong Island was caused by the Cold War structure and Cold War

thinking that have been preserved until today. I am not trying to say that the division of the Korean Peninsula is a product of the Cold War. The problem of Northern Limit Line in the West Sea is a legacy of the Korean War and of North-South Cold War confrontation. The shadow of the past is now obstructing Today’s political decision.

We see some clues to resolving the problem of the NLL in the West Sea. During the former Roh Moo-hyun administration, the heads of state of North and South Korea issued on October 4, 2007 a joint statement in which they agreed to build a “West Sea Peace and Cooperation Zone”. It was a manifestation of the will of the two countries to make the sea areas and land along the NLL in the West Sea not a zone of conflict but of joint use and co-prosperity for the two countries.

Nevertheless, the South Korean conservative and right wing forces condemned their agreement as an inadmissible concession to North Korea. The Lee government proposed to drastically revise the North Korea policy implemented by the previous governments, and scrapped agreements concluded by the two previous governments (under Kim Dae Jun and Roh Moo Hyun) with North Korea. The Lee government’s policy on North Korea is to cooperate with the U.S. and Japan relying on the strong military alliance, and wait for North Korea to surrender. The U.S. and South Korea call it “strategic patience”.

This is the context in which the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island occurred. It is not exaggeration to say that this incident was originally caused by the Cold War thinking. However, the Lee government is responding to the incident by reviving the Cold War structure. This will turn backward the progress of history not only in the Korean Peninsula but in the

whole North East Asia. It is tantamount to the refusal of recognizing its political failure and attempt to create an illusion by conducting large-scale military exercises relying on the U.S. military power.

What was acutely felt in the aftermath of the incident is the need for a peace agreement on the Korean Peninsula. We should give up a “simplistic” reaction of categorically rejecting every demand from North Korea. We should instead seriously consider what has to be done to keep peace and make peace on the Korean Peninsula and make effort to implement it.

Another thing is the need for a framework for multilateral consultations in East Asia. For the sake of finding solution to the current issue and for a future peaceful order in the region, we need the framework of multilateral consultation, not bilateral military alliances.

There are number of problems in East Asia other than the one regarding North Korea that could trigger extensive conflicts. To name a few, the confrontation between the U.S. and China, the territorial dispute between Japan and China that drew public attention before the Yeonpyeong Island Incident, and the conflict between China and Taiwan. A framework should

be established to prevent conflict before it breaks out, and to resolve it in a peaceful manner after it breaks out.

The Six Party Talks started to deal with the North Korean nuclear issue and a consensus was once formed with the progress of talks on creating a framework for multilateral security cooperation. The Six Party Talks therefore should be promptly resumed because of the urgency of the problem of the “uranium enrichment facilities” North Korea has recently shown to a U.S. expert. They should also be used to obtain positive results and developed as the framework for multilateral cooperation for the sake of the future in East Asia.

A problem can be solved with “relevant action that aims at solving it”. Resorting to the memory of the Cold War era and its legacy every time a conflict occurs will not solve the problem but on the contrary aggravate it.

In these circumstances, what is needed is our will for peace and the strength to realize our will. I hope that I can share these ideas with you here. Thank you for your attention.

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**Stop the War Coalition Philippines**

**The Philippines**

### **US Global Domination and the Continuing Peoples’ Struggle for a Peaceful, Nuclear-Free, Bases-Free Asia-Pacific<sup>1</sup>**

It feels great to be back in Sasebo after 12 years! During these challenging and difficult times, I feel fortunate to be here, to be at an important gathering “For the Future of Japan

and Asia without Nuclear Weapons, Military Bases, and Military Alliance--Solidarity with Okinawa Now”. I would like to thank the Japan Peace Committee as well as the other

organizations in the Peace Conference Organizing Committee for making us part of this work. I feel honored and grateful for the opportunity to be here.

I bring warm greetings from the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases here in Asia and the Pacific. Solidarity greetings from the Stop the War Coalition Philippines and our campaign networks of grassroots movements focused on the Philippine-US military relations: the SCRAP VFA Movement and Citizens Peace Watch.

As we set out to look at the future of Japan and Asia and the Pacific without nuclear weapons, military bases and military alliances, we feel compelled to know and understand the recent developments that would point to us the direction of the United States military in this part of the world. This new US strategy to step up its military presence in the Asia-Pacific region comes after reviews of strategic policy concluded that the Bush government's attempts to project power from North America were not working.

The Pentagon has set out the plan for the US military presence in the region that would become "more politically sustainable, operationally resilient, and geographically dispersed". The US had increased its naval presence in Singapore and engaged more with Thailand and the Philippines on counterterrorism. And they also created new parameters for military co-operation with New Zealand. That refers to the more streamlined procedures for waiving the ban on exercising with New Zealand - a reprisal for the anti-nuclear legislation of 1986.

Recently, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton visited the Asia and Pacific countries of New Zealand, Australia, Vietnam, China, Cambodia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, American Samoa,

Fiji, Indonesia (where else?). It is her sixth visit to the region in 20 months. The region is important to the United States. In their move to counter Fiji's strong relationship with China, the United States has chosen Fiji as the site for its expansion of aid to the Pacific despite its military regime. Hillary Clinton made the announcement before her eight-country tour of the Asia-Pacific area. The US abandoned its Pacific aid post 15 years ago, leaving a gap that has been keenly filled by China, which is expanding its international influence through aid.

It had been considering other locations for its USAID base, including the Solomons. But because of the strengthening relationship between Fiji and China and the fact that Fiji is a hub for the Pacific, it chose Fiji. The USAID hub will begin with a budget of \$27.5 million specifically for climate change mitigation. The military regime of Commodore Bainimarama has approved the establishment of the office, which is where the secretariat of the Pacific Islands Forum is also based.

Mrs. Clinton visited Melbourne for the annual "Ausmin" talks between the top Defence and Foreign Ministers of Australia and the US where it was made clear that the US intends to step up its engagement in the region on every front - development, military, bilateral relationships and regional organizations such as the East Asia Summit and the ASEAN. As U.S comes under pressure to leave its all important bases in Okinawa, access to Australian Defence Force facilities will allow its military presence as concern grows about China military expansion.

Australia has agreed to a major escalation of military co-operation with the US. This would mean more visits by American ships, aircraft and troops and their forces exercising more regularly in Australia. While US forces will not establish new bases on Australian soil, but they

will be welcomed into existing facilities – an arrangement that is definitely beneficial to the interest of the US but a burden to Australia. There will be increased numbers of U.S. personnel in Australian facilities and military exercises more frequent and sustained. You see, when the U.S. gets its one foot in, it usually would eventually want more space. That is learning from our experience of US colonialism.

The United States is the world's sole military superpower and it continues to extend its reach in every corner of the globe. U.S. Unified Combatant Commands: Northern Command, Southern Command, European Command, Africa Command, Central Command and Pacific Command.

The US "big four" (Obama, Hilary, Gates and Mullen) are all over Asia and the Pacific. In India, US President Obama (styling himself "America's first Pacific president," being born in Hawaii and spending his childhood in Indonesia) has successfully transformed himself into a topnotch arms salesman. In India, he announced a \$10 Billion in business deals with his host country which he claimed will contribute to 50,000 new American jobs. In fact half of the transactions will be for India's purchase of U.S. military equipment and half the new jobs will be in the defense sector. He clinched "a \$5 billion sale for 10 of Boeing's C-17 cargo planes" which represents "the sixth biggest arms deal in U.S. history." "This and the pending \$60 billion deal with Saudi Arabia will certainly help to jump-start the economy, as they [arms sales] have for the past fifty years." Job creation in the U.S. is an abysmal failure except in the military sector. "The profile of Indian military hardware is becoming US-oriented. This will bring definitive change in Indian military doctrine because it's dependent on [imported] equipment."

The U.S. is also pressuring the Indian

government to sign several military-related agreements, including a Logistics Support Agreement which could prove "dangerous because the use of US ports by Indians will be zero while the US can or may use Indian bases frequently because of their presence in the region. So, technically speaking, if the US should have problem[s] with Iran or Pakistan they, under the agreement, may use bases in Indian soil and can become a launching pad for refuelling or servicing." India's rise, and its strength and progress on the global stage, is deeply in the strategic interest of the U.S.

Indian troops have been engaged in joint military exercises with the US "involving airborne specialist operations in sub-zero temperatures in Alaska" of a sort that could be put to use along India's Himalayan border with China in the event of an armed conflict like that which occurred in 1962. The exercise is designed to promote cooperation between the two militaries "to promote interoperability through the combined military decision-making process, through battle tracking and maneuvering forces, and exchange of tactics, techniques and procedures." That sounds familiar to me.

The focus of U.S. military strategy has shifted from Europe, subjugated through NATO expansion, and Africa, subordinated under U.S. Africa Command, to Asia. An Asia-Pacific analogue of NATO and AFRICOM is being expanded by the day.

Thinking of Africa, we must unravel the hidden agenda behind the humanitarian aid programs and interventions carried out by the United States in troubled parts of the world as insightfully exposed by Dr. Paul Roberts in his recent article "The War on Terror" where he revealed that US and UK government interference of South Africa to recover control over the vast reserves of the world's strategic



minerals in that country.

From India. Mr. Obama headed to Indonesia where he used his childhood history with Michelle Obama providing the entertainment and then to the G-20 meeting in South Korea and the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) summit in Japan.

On November 13, Japanese Prime Minister Kan "Thanked the United States...for supporting Tokyo. In a tete-a-tete ahead of APEC summit in Yokohama, Prime Mister Kan said "Japan and the US, at this meeting of APEC, of pan-Pacific countries, we shall step up our cooperation. So we agreed on doing that. And in Japan's relations with China and /Russia, recently we've faced some problems, and the United States has supported Japan throughout, so I expressed my appreciation to him for that. For the peace and security of the countries in the region, the presence of the United States and the presence of U.S. military I believe is becoming only increasingly important.

To which Obama "voiced support for Japan to become a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council and reaffirmed the U.S.-Japan Security alliance." He so assured Mr. Kan that the U.S.-Japan alliance is "the cornerstone of American strategic engagement in the Asia Pacific" and "the commitment of the U.S. to the defense of Japan is unshakable."

Finally on Okinawa and Guam. These small Pacific islands are separated by about 2000 kilometers of the Pacific waters. But they are inextricably linked by being pawns in the staging of US military forces since World War II. Like the Philippines, both has been forcibly taken over and are US territory since the war. Both islands were scenes of some of the bloodiest fighting in the Pacific. Today, the dominant issue uniting the peoples of Okinawa and Guam is the planned relocation of thousands of US military

personnel from US bases in Okinawa to bases in Guam. The Japanese government (read Japanese taxpayers) is forced to pay for a majority of relocation costs, some US\$6 Billion. The Japanese government had shown initial resistance to agree to the unprecedented rip-off but it agreed just the same. It would be the first time ever that a foreign nation has had to pay such costs, and apparently with no legal basis. The Environmental Impact Statement of the US Navy has already indicated the impact on the people of Guam. It would increase social disruption, crime, and environmental degradation beyond what Guam has already suffered for decades. It is an urgent work that we all must try to work on and support strongly.

In such a short time, the Pentagon has made its military presence felt through the Asia Pacific Area as its recent military activities and sorties in the Asia Pacific would indicate. And as NATO today becoming incorporated into the US military umbrella - the Pentagon has indeed marked this as its Asia-Pacific Century.

In the homefront - 18 years after the US military bases were closed - the presence of heavily armed U.S. soldiers even in remote areas of the Philippine countryside is now becoming a normal part of the local scenery. The United States military is back thru the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) signed in 1999. The VFA has transformed our countryside into a free-fire zone for do-called joint military exercises using live ammunition and artillery that have killed, injured and maimed our people and children. These foreign troops enter our territory without passports or visas, without clearances from our customs or immigration authorities, without quarantine clearances from our health authorities, with neither licenses nor registration for driving their vehicles in our country. They have gotten away with murder, attempted murder, rape, harassment of our women, maltreatment of our countrymen, and

destruction of our environment.

More than 60,000 U.S. troops have entered the Philippines in more than 30 provinces this way since the VFA was put in place in 1999. They have come in more than 90 U.S. Naval vessels and fleets which include nuclear-armed aircraft carriers. Cruise ships. Submarines, in clear violation of the Philippine constitutional provision on the entry of nuclear weapons in any part of the Philippines.

The VFA is the most anomalous aspect of our foreign relations today, 18 years after the historic dismantling of the U.S. military bases in 1992. It is a shameless document that is one-sided because it is not reciprocal. It denigrates the Philippine constitutional provision about “equal protection of the laws” by the very fact that it grants special rights and privileges to armed foreign troops on Philippine territory. The VFA has been an indignity to our people, a travesty to our people’s rights and rule of law. This is why Filipinos from all walks of life all over the country continue to protest this so-called treaty as long as it is in place. It reminds us that we are still not really sovereign in our own territory as a nation.

U.S. military presence in the Philippines today relies heavily on covert U.S. military involvement through U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOFs), service intelligence organizations, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other covert U.S. intelligence agencies like the National Security Agency (NSA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) playing a central role. Other agencies include the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Peace Corps, which specialize in the “hearts-and-minds approach” using so-called humanitarian or non-lethal aid. Covert action includes unconventional warfare, intelligence operations and psychological operations (psy-ops) in target areas such as remote

communities suspected of being “controlled or influenced by insurgents”. Their activities provide the fundamental elements in supporting local counterinsurgency operations.

United States Marines and Special Operations Forces are actually doing battlefield intelligence and psy-ops as they conduct infrastructure, civic action and “humanitarian missions” with USAID personnel in many parts of the country today, using the VFA as a cover.

The abrogation of the Visiting Forces Agreement is a key campaign to move towards stopping the entry of U.S. troops. That is why we organized the SCRAP VFA Movement, a very focused network of organizations, institutions, networks and individuals in the Philippines united in a common goal to abrogate the VFA and to look into other related agreements being entered into by the Philippines.

Under the new government of President Benigno Aquino, the Legislative Oversight Committee of the VFA has convened last November 24 to review the VFA following renewed calls to abrogate the pact more than a decade since it went into effect.

The Filipino people will need to muster the will and determination to flush out foreign troops from our territory, as they mustered the will and power to dismantle the U.S. military bases in 1991.

Let us continue to put our energy and resources into grassroots movement organizing, strengthening, forging unities, solidarity work especially with US peace and justice movement. Our continuing hope and work for the important active involvement of the youth (the future of the movement!); maximizing the current media trends, popularizing our messages and calls; and creating for venues for peoples expressions (including art in all its forms: theatre, music,

poetry, dance, etc. We need to find value in the support and work of the academe, intellectuals, professional, including those in government and military for among them are likely allies who could provide the information and expertise in research, analysis and scholarship that are important in providing our campaign the necessary tools for effective, credible and powerful movement that we need today. The No Bases Network here in Asia and the Pacific hope to do its share in providing the mechanism for meaningful exchanges of information and analysis, people to people solidarity and venues for consolidating our efforts in the region.

We had looked forward to a victory for former Ginowan Mayor Yoichi Iha as Governor of Okinawa. A person most of us consider as committed to seeing Futenma closed and the replacement facility built somewhere else other than the Okinawa prefecture and he doesn't want the base in Japan at all. That must be the reason that the Social Democrats, the Communists and all of you supported him. Still, we congratulate the Okinawan and the solidarity movements here in Japan for the hard work that they have done to see that the recent election clearly indicate the will of the Okinawan people. A reality that Gov. Nakaima has to contend with in the coming days. His victory is still an expression of the peoples will for a no bases Okinawa. The fact remains that the sentiments of Okinawans – more than 80 per cent - oppose the current Tokyo-Washington relocation plan.

We need to work at further consolidating the big constituency that (297,082) that clearly expressed the will of a big percentage of the Okinawan population. I wish that former Mayor Iha will remain steadfast in remaining a strong and powerful voice for the movement in Okinawa. This is a great moment of taking stock of what we gained and use it to our political advantage. We must remain hopeful

that real change will come someday. The situation never stays the same ...and our struggle for genuine change is a process and being so – much of it is shaped by the continuing commitment and solidarity of men and women whose vision for a bases free Okinawa remains strong.

A strong and united peoples movement may someday finally push the U.S. military out of Okinawa and Japan. It might not be a smooth and easy process but it will happen. It's not going to happen anytime soon but it will happen. The *Kanji* is on the wall. The *handwriting* in the wall is clear: Okinawan people want the bases out of Okinawa! The Japanese people want the bases out of Japan! And the global movement has consistently called for the dismantling of these military outposts of the empire! And even if the *Yankees* don't know what the Japanese characters mean, they know that they are not wanted and they could tell (even if they refuse to see) in which direction the exit arrow is pointing. They know that someday, and I hope deep in my heart and with fingers crossed that it will be soon, that they will see the day when they have to say goodbye.

In closing, let me say that during my those recent informal conversations that I have been fortunate (and grateful) to spend with some of you and other friends here (particularly in Aichi, Osaka and Kobe before coming to Sasebo), I have never failed to say – that we might not be so certain when the moment in our region's history for the eventual closure of these military outposts will come, yet we must be prepared for that moment. Our information, education, awareness raising, organizing and mobilizing as well as international solidarity work must continue systematically and consistently, building from one step to the next, to create that critical mass of peace and no bases advocates, that is necessary to challenge the empire.

Some friends and mentors to many of us and whose memory we continue to hold close to our hearts: Boone Schirmer, Howard Zinn, Chalmers Johnson, Jose Diokno and Lorenzo Tanada of the Philippines and many more whose names I would fail to mention now, have consistently explained the how and why of U.S. empire, and for that we all owe them an enormous debt of gratitude. It is unfortunate that they did not

live long enough to see that empire dismantled. But in the work we do toward the dismantling of the empire in this part of the world, we honor their name and their work. During this difficult and challenging times, may we continue to be inspired, to be courageous, to be united, to be happy, to be in solidarity, to be faithful in this great work that had brought us all together in this conference today. We shall overcome!

<sup>1</sup> Presented to the 2010 Japan Peace Conference, December 2-6, 2010 in Sasebo, Japan by Corazon Valdez Fabros of the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases (NOBASES Network) and the STOP the War Coalition Philippines

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## **How to Envisage an Asia-Pacific Region without Military Alliances Overcoming “U.S. Military Presence is a Deterrent” Theory**

### **Introduction**

In my intervention, I am going to discuss critically the idea that “U.S. military presence constitutes deterrence”, because this logic stands as a major obstacle in our current effort of getting Futenma Base withdrawn from Okinawa and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty abrogated. In fact, I believe that it is essential to criticize or combat this idea if we want to succeed in achieving an “Asia-Pacific region without military alliances.”

There is no doubt that the U.S. Marines stationed in Okinawa are not troops for the “defense” of Japan. They are “assault” troops that, as part of U.S. expeditionary forces, have the mission to invade enemy’s territory by participating in landing operations. These troops are very unlikely to be directly projected specifically for the “defense” of Japan. However, to claim that they are not deterrent and do not contribute in maintaining peace for our country just because of that is too weak an argument and it would be easily countered by pointing out, “Precisely because the U.S. forces, including the Marines, can be projected so rapidly, efficiently and powerfully that they can dissuade other countries from attacking Japan with weapons”. The deterrence logic cannot be effectively refuted merely by looking at it exclusively from the perspective of “peace of Japan.”

Given North Korea’s nuclear testing and nuclear development program, and more recently its shelling against South Korea that occurred on November 23, as well as China’s increasing

assertion of territorial claim over the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands), some Japanese tend to think or are led to believe, by media reports dealing these events, that Japan will be the one to be actually attacked. They also tend to link, in a simplistic manner, the actual U.S. military presence in Japan and the fact that there has been no armed confrontation around Japan, which lends more strength to the “deterrence logic.” Although the absence of military confrontation in the areas around Japan is the result of many concurring factors that are not all military, people easily discard such factors that are hardly visible. We therefore must develop and elaborate our argument well in criticizing the “deterrence” logic more efficiently.

### **1. What is the deterrence logic all about?**

What is needed at first for overcoming the “deterrence” logic is to grasp correctly what this logic is all about. This means that we also have to understand precisely why it is so widely accepted by the public. By exploring its specific nature, we can identify the “obstacles” it poses that prevent us from overcoming it and in so doing, we might, even unexpectedly, come across some clues for overcoming it.

What are then the characteristics of this logic of deterrence? For here, let us adopt the definition of the “deterrence” as it is given in the “2010 Defense White Paper”: “Deterrence is the force “to dissuade another country from aggressing Japan by making that country clearly understand that it will incur unbearable damage in exchange for any act of aggression it may

commit". It needs to be noted that, of two major categories of definition of deterrence usually used, one being "deterrence by punishment" and the other "deterrence by denial", the above definition weights towards the former. The prevalence of such one-sided definition is that the ongoing debate over the deterrence in Japan gives too much emphasis on the U.S. "nuclear umbrella", the Japan-U.S. security regime and the stationing of U.S. forces in Japan. But leaving this problem aside, let us now look at the characteristics of the "deterrence" doctrine in general.

First, this doctrine can invoke as its strong ground the fact that there has been no invasion or "no armed conflict". However, the absence of invasion or armed conflict is not the result of the presence of military forces alone. It can be attributed also to the strong peace-oriented opinion of citizens within and outside Japan and political forces that want to avoid armed conflicts as well as the intention and policy of the government (including its ambition to remain in power) that reflects the will of the population. As a matter of fact, it is very unlikely for the government of a nation of parliamentary democracy, and even for a country of military dictatorship, to use force inconsiderately, disregarding the public opinion and therefore taking the risk of being overthrown.

One must elaborate more carefully when asserting, "Article 9 of the Constitution is the biggest deterrent." One should in particular explain that there is a strong popular support for Article 9 and that it is not easy to amend constitutional provisions in the text. This works as strong brakes on any potential armed invasion of another country by Japan (by its Self-Defense Forces), whose fact in turn prevents other countries from perceiving Japan as a threat against them. But this type of

"deterrence logic" easily discards the presence of such various factors other than military strength concurring to put the brakes on the use of military power. In short, it is too simplistic and cannot accommodate other factors and therefore cannot withstand any verification.

Another characteristic, or rather an advantage, of the "deterrence" logic is that, even in the absence of armed attack, it can use any move, however small it is, of a foreign country that generates "fear" of potential military attack or "perceived fear" of increasing military threat, as the ground for its validity. The deterrence logic does neither call into question the background and the aim of such a move, nor ask whether the use of force, i.e., the deterrent, against such move is effective and appropriate or not. Asking these questions may eventually remove the "fear" of military attack or reduce the relevance of "deterrence" itself. Therefore, insisting on the "deterrence" without asking these questions tends to shift the debate over how to deal with the vague "psychological insecurity" of the population.

As seen above, of existing "deterrence" logics, some are built on military rationality, but others are put forth in expectation of "political or psychological role" of the deterrence for governments and people of Japan and other countries. This can easily be expected because the validity of deterrence is basically not verifiable as I pointed out earlier. Apparently, deterrence logic is about the validity of military power, but it must inevitably take into account "political and psychological" relevance of military force. And "political and psychological" role is played not only by weapons, but also by policies of a government or its diplomacy, economic deals and exchanges with other governments, or the opinion of the population. In some cases, they will have stronger effect than armament. In short, the



logic of “deterrence” is a very opportunistic theory, which emphasizes the “political and psychological role” of military power, while discarding such role in other non-military aspects.

Thirdly, the deterrence logic is a theory whose risk of failure is very small and therefore can be set forth easily. Let us assume a case in which deterrence fails and an armed attack takes place. There are in general a vast variety of factors contributing to the armed attack to occur: accidental factors, miscalculation, breakdown of diplomatic talks or failed political decisions made by the governments concerned, debate in the parliament, public opinion in and out of the country, etc. But it takes a lot of time to analyze the facts and identify actual causes that have led to the armed attack. And this process of analysis and identification is inevitably influenced by “political considerations (as seen in the verification of the war on Iraq made by the U.S. and the Great Britain). The conclusion drawn from that process tends to be ambiguous. It is to say that to determine from political perspective if the deterrence has actually failed or not is very difficult, while it is relatively easy to conclude that deterrence has failed because of the lack of military strength without giving much evidence. On the contrary, after the deterrence is failed, to question the validity of military power as deterrence and ask for reduction of armaments is a very difficult exercise, and will require extremely strong argument.

As I said, deterrence logic is a theory with a very little risk of failure. The current Japanese media abounds in critiques and commentators who speak in favor of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and U.S. military presence in Japan every time when the Japanese government faces a “difficulty” in proceeding forcibly with the relocation of Futenma Base within Okinawa.

They make a great fuss of a “crisis of Japan-U.S. mutual security regime” and praise the “U.S. troops deployed in Japan” that “provide deterrence” to Japan. Intentionally or not, they are taking advantage of the low risk of failure of the deterrence logic.

## **2. Deterrence logic is losing reality**

As discussed above, “deterrence” theory is very difficult to refute. However, we should not be so pessimistic about the possibility of overcoming it. The characteristics of this logic I pointed out earlier are also its weak points we can exploit.

First, it should be noted that the deterrence logic is losing reality. As I mentioned earlier, recent “deterrence” logic is somewhat diffuse because it also includes the feeling of safety of the population. However, it was originally a military strategy that had been developed for specific purposes. It is based on the assumption that Japan will never attack first. It is always the enemy side, which invades our country first. This assumption is very important, because it did not exist in the period where war and use of force were not considered illegal and to attack other country first for preventing the invasion planned by that country was also legal. The deterrence theory could emerge as a major idea accepted by the international community thanks to the United Nations Charter that declared that “the use of force” is in principle illegal. As a result of the establishment of legal framework by the adoption of the U.N. Charter and of the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet Union embarked on a severe competition in developing, improving and stockpiling nuclear weapons leading to the situation of “mutually assured destruction (MAD)” and the “balance of terror” continued to be believed to prevent the use of nuclear weapons, the deterrence logic was recognized as an important concept in the field of international politics and military. The deterrence myth was thus born out of the

establishment of international law, i.e. the U.N. Charter, on one hand and the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union on the other.

Looking at the international community today, we see that the foundation that supported the deterrence theory is deeply shaken and is changing. The disintegration of the U.S.-Soviet Union Cold War structure does not need to be mentioned in detail here. More recently, it is often pointed out that “deterrence hardly works” for “non-state actors such as international terrorist organizations” or that “in terms of deterrence, it is more efficient to deal with them as criminal organizations”. The concept of deterrence is different from what it was in the period of the Cold War. It is still maintained as a term, but its meaning is increasingly diffuse and ambiguous.

The end of the Cold War following the collapse of the Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe is not the only cause for decreased reality of the “deterrence” theory. The ground supporting the deterrence theory was also undermined by the U.S. attack on Afghanistan in 2001 and the war on Iraq launched and conducted by the U.S. and the Great Britain in 2003. In fact, these military attacks launched in violation of the U.N. Charter that outlaws preemptive use of force as well as the “Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States” of 1970, severely damaged the collective security regime of the United Nations. Prohibiting aggression of others by relying on the concept of deterrence while at the same time refusing to give up its own will and capabilities of launching a preemptive attack cannot be justified in the international community. However, this was how the U.S. has behaved all these years. In recent years, the U.S. has been busy trying to free its own offensive capabilities from deterrence, by building up

missile defense system in outer space and using high-tech weapons so as to be able implement “unmanned attack” tactics. The U.S. is not entitled to advocate “deterrence”.

The realities of today’s international community themselves deny the legitimacy of the deterrence doctrine. The “Cold War” that was the origin of that theory is now part of the history. The international legal framework, set in place by the United Nations Charter that prohibits preemptive use of force, has been severely damaged by the war against Iraq. It is important therefore to overcome the current situation and to rebuild a collective security regime with the U.N. at its core. And for this, it is essential to get rid of the “deterrence” myth. Today, humanity is facing a double challenge of overcoming the nuclear deterrence logic and paving the way towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and of overcoming also the theory of deterrence about conventional weapons.

### **3. Deterrence Logic is an Aggressive Theory**

The deterrence logic should be overcome not only because it has become obsolete as a remnant of the Cold War Era, or it has become incompatible with the U.S. military strategy that does not exclude “preemptive strike”. More importantly, to cling to that theory itself is harmful.

In my view, deterrence theory is a fundamentally aggressive theory, even though deterrence was originally meant to work for defense. As seen in “deterrence by punishment” aspect and in the definition that “deterrence aims at making the enemy clearly understand that it would suffer unbearable damage”, and, above all, because it creates the fear for catastrophic destruction caused by nuclear weapons, the deterrence logic is not a specifically “defensive” argument. In the case

of “deterrence by denial”, depending on the progress of war, it might accommodate preventive strikes against enemy bases.

Deterrence logic betrays its originally defensive nature by seeking the deterrent effect of military force. It has an “aggressive nature” that lies hidden in the “threat” by military force. Just like the “nuclear deterrence doctrine” creates in the mind of the enemy the fear of retaliatory strikes accompanied with indiscriminate mass destruction, the deterrence logic cannot be a “defensive” strategic concept, because it uses the collective memory of mass destruction occurred in the 20<sup>th</sup> century marked by a succession of wars of aggression not as something to critically reconsider or to

overcome, but as a means to intimidate the enemy.

What we need now is to put a real end to the “20<sup>th</sup> century as a period of war.” If so, the wars occurred during that century must be remembered not for the sake of “nuclear deterrence” but for the sake of creating peace. Deterrence logic in general must also be defeated as an obstacle to realize peace in our times.

An “Asia-Pacific region without military alliances” should be built on these efforts. I want to make my modest contribution to these efforts.

## **Mohammed Ibrahim Alkozai Afghanistan**

### **War in Afghanistan and Results**

Konnichiwa

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen,

Before all I am thankful from government of Japan especially from the peace organization of Japan that provided and invited me to represent my country Afghanistan in regard to peace process.

Since we all know Peace is a crucial element among all countries and unfortunately Afghanistan is extensively suffered for more than 3 decades of war and combats.

In 2001, Afghanistan basically had no state structures left. No national government. No army. No police. Everything we needed had to be built it from scratch.

The location of Afghanistan extends over the

land routes between the Indian subcontinent, Iran, and central Asia, and the country has enticed conquerors throughout history.

Peace will remain unreachable if the US presence in Afghanistan continues to be perceived as a design to encircle and weaken Iran, displace Russia and contain China in Central Asia or influence the political configuration of Pakistan. Before Afghanistan becomes yet again a regional battleground, a regional initiative is needed as soon as possible. As well as Internal Solutions

### **Internal Dialog and Reconciliation**

The first step is to acknowledge the fact that the Taliban, and other parts of the Taliban-led insurgency, are an integral part of Afghanistan's political landscape and that they cannot be

excluded from any peace process. A deal should be worked out that would condition a NATO withdrawal to the Taliban entering a reconciliation process, in accordance with Afghan tribal traditions, that would seek to create a new interim national-unity government and an assembly mandated to draft a new Afghan Constitution.

As a face-saving solution, NATO could try to keep a limited number of troops to continue training the national army and police, but peacekeeping operation should be transferred to a UN-sanctioned mission led by Muslim countries part of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

### **A Regional Dialog Initiative**

Engaging into a dialog that includes all states of the region is just as important as internal reconciliation. The 1992-1996 and 1996-2001 civil wars were partially caused by conflicting interests between regional countries. For example, Pakistan – with Saudi and US tacit backing – supported the Taliban regime, while Iran, India, Russia and other countries supported the anti-Taliban National Islamic Front, or Northern Alliance.

There are 45 countries in the NATO–led mission, 28 NATO countries and now 17 non-NATO as well. That alone is a powerful political coalition, which has stuck together and even grown despite the difficulty of this mission.

To engage countries that don't necessarily send troops, but that have a clear interest in the outcome. Let me mention Pakistan, India and China in particular. Another stakeholder is Russia. Afghanistan is not an island. To me, it only makes sense to engage in dialogue with them, on how to best work they can do together to help bring peace and security to Afghanistan.

Poverty in Afghanistan is widespread throughout rural and urban areas. The government estimates that 42 percent of the country's total population lives below the national poverty line. Another 20 percent of the people live just above that line and are highly vulnerable to the risk of falling into poverty.

The War in Afghanistan (2001–present) has caused the deaths of thousands of Afghan civilians directly from insurgent and foreign military action, as well as the deaths of possibly tens of thousands of Afghan civilians indirectly as a consequence of displacement, starvation, disease, exposure, lack of medical treatment, crime and lawlessness resulting from the war.

On July 25, 2010, the release of approximately 90,000 classified documents from the Wikileaks organization was made public. The documents cover U.S. military incident and intelligence reports from January 2004 to December 2009.[199] Some of these documents included sanitized, and allegedly "covered up", accounts of civilian casualties caused by Coalition Forces. The reports also included many references to other incidents involving civilian casualties like the Kunduz airstrike and Nangar\_\_\_Khel incident.[200]

According to a November, 2009 UNICEF report, eight years after the U.S.-led invasion ousted the Taliban, Afghanistan is the most dangerous place in the world for a child to be born. Afghanistan has the highest infant mortality rate in the world—257 deaths per 1,000 live births and 70 percent of the population lack access to clean water.

There have been multiple accounts of human rights violations in Afghanistan.[299] The fallout of the U.S. led invasion, including a resurgence in Taliban forces, record-high drug production,

and re-armed warlords, has led to a threat to the well-being and rights of hundreds of thousands of innocent Afghan citizens, according to Human Rights Watch.[300]

As the last issue to bring peace in Afghanistan is stop or at least decrease of civilians casualties. Also there is a need to be strong coordination and collaboration between Government and International Security Forces on Military Operations. Same to be care about Afghan Culture and Traditions.

My message to the Japanese people and government is as we all know we have the military presence of more than 30 countries in Afghanistan. Still we don't have peace and stability still my people are getting killed still my people have nothing to eat. The useful way is how we can find a way in order to talk and sit in a table and find out a solution to bring peace. What I want mostly from the Japanese government is that we don't need military help but we need civilian help. We need to have a proper hospital not a military base. We need to have something to eat not guns to kill. That is not only my opinion but that is the opinion of Afghan Nation.

Peace at home is peace in the world.

Thanks for your attention.

I wish one World and one peace for all Nations.



# 2010 Japan Peace Conference in Sasebo

## Opening Plenary

Dec. 3 ARKAS Sasebo

### Organizers' Report to the 2010 Japan Peace Conference

#### **For a Peaceful Japan and Asia without Nuclear Weapons, Bases and Military Alliance - Now is the Time to Unite with Okinawa**

On behalf of the Organizing Committee, I will talk about focal issues we are facing as we work to achieve a "peaceful Japan without nuclear weapons, bases, and military alliance," so as to deepen our discussions during the Conference.

#### **1. Let us strengthen our nationwide solidarity with Okinawa and further develop our movement to reduce and remove U.S. military bases in Japan**

First of all, let me take up the issue of our struggle against the construction of a new U.S. base in Okinawa, as well as the struggle to withdraw the Futenma base and to downsize and remove U.S. military bases in Japan.

We recently made our all-out efforts to have Yoichi IHA elected to Okinawa governor, and Takeshi ASATO in the Ginowan mayoral election in solidarity with Okinawans because these contests had an important implication. As a result, IHA put up a good fight and ASATO succeeded in winning the election. On behalf of the Organizer, I express our heartfelt gratitude to all the people of Okinawa and throughout Japan who joined and supported this campaign. The outcome of our campaign will forge the foundation of our future struggles.

The people of Okinawa, since the 1995 gang rape of a Japanese girl by U.S. Marines, have tenaciously continued their efforts to eradicate

damage caused by U.S. forces and to reduce and remove U.S. bases from Okinawa. They have not allowed the Futenma base to be relocated from Ginowan City to Henoko of Nago City, preventing another base from being constructed in Henoko. In January this year, Susumu Inamine, who stood against the construction of a new base, was elected as mayor of Nago City. In April, an anti-base rally was held with all the municipal heads in Okinawa and more than 90,000 Okinawans taking part in it, calling for the closure and removal of the Futenma base in opposition to the transfer of the base within the prefecture. In September, opponents of the new base won a majority in the Nago City Council election. The demand for the Futenma base closure and its withdrawal as well as the opposition to the moving of the base within the prefecture has increased to form consensus of the Okinawans now. However, on the eve of the Okinawa gubernatorial election campaign, then-incumbent Governor Hirokazu Nakaima, who was to run for reelection, changed his long-held position to accept the transfer of the base to Henoko and started to advocate a review of the Japan-U.S. agreement and the transfer of the base "outside Okinawa." His intention was to hide the real point at issue in the election, pretending that there was no difference in opinion over the base relocation between the two candidates. We strongly demand that re-elected Governor Nakaima commit himself to his words that "the transfer

of the base within prefecture is unacceptable; it should be moved out of Okinawa.”

This struggle will approach crucial stages. We need not only to block the construction of a new base or the base transfer within Okinawa, but also to strengthen public opinion calling for the unconditional removal of the Futenma base without delay. To this end, it will be increasingly important to develop the struggle with all the Okinawa people involved along with municipalities including Nago and Ginowan cities, and to enhance nationwide awareness.

In order to raise public awareness, we must work hard to convince the Japanese public that to rationalize the presence of the “U.S. Marine Corps as a deterrent to defend Japan” is a false argument that distorts the facts. In Okinawa, people do not easily buy this rationalization. Okinawa people day by day suffer grave damage caused by the presence of the U.S. military including the Marine Corps, and they know that these Marines go to wars abroad killing people in other countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan. From the reality they face, it is all too clear for Okinawans that the presence of bases itself increases the risk of war..

The same holds true for all other U.S. bases located in Japan. They have been stationed in Japan not to protect the country, but for the national interests of the United States, serving as sortie bases during the lawless wars of aggression such as the Vietnam War as well as in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. U.S. military bases in Japan have been used to kill people in other countries, being the major source that threatens peace and stability in Asia, far from contributing to peace and stability in Japan and Asia. The idea of “deterrence,” in the first place, means facing down imaginary enemies by threatening them with overwhelming military power. As such, it inevitably triggers an

unlimited arms race on both sides and creates danger of war.

Along with promoting theoretical debates over deterrence, let us be united firmly with the struggle in Okinawa, and carry on our efforts to develop campaigns and struggles against the realignment and reinforcement of U.S. forces in Japan, including the struggle in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi Prefecture against the deployment of U.S. carrier-borne aircraft and the construction of housing complex for U.S. military personnel, the struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier homeporting in Yokosuka, Kanagawa Prefecture, and the struggle against the strengthening of the Japan-U.S. joint war command in Yokota, Tokyo. Only the Okinawans’ struggle and all those struggles against U.S. military presence in Japan advance in concert with each other, we can make a difference and change the abnormal situation that 65 years after the end of World War II, the whole of Japan continues to be used as strongpoint for U.S. forces.

**2. Develop grassroots movement to question the Japan-U.S. relations and the “security treaty”, connecting the issues with people’s pressing needs**

**-- Let us show prospects for peace in Asia and arouse public opinion in favor of the abrogation of the Security Treaty.**

**1) DP government’s absolutism of the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance deepens contradiction with the people**

Allowing the stationing of U.S. military bases in Japan and making it obligatory for the U.S. military and Japan’s Self-Defense Forces to conduct joint operations, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is the root cause of the people’s suffering caused by the U.S. bases and of the moves to adversely revise the Constitution by

enabling Japan's Self-Defense Forces to deploy abroad in total violation of the Constitution's Article 9. It has also thrust the U.S. economic demands on Japan and destroyed the people's livelihood. The successive Liberal Democratic Party governments had given top priority to meet the U.S. demands and strengthened the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

In the midst of growing people's revolts and caution against such politics of putting priority on the military alliance, the Democratic Party of Japan won the general election in 2009 and took power, pledging to "pursue equal relations with the U.S." and to "review the realignment of U.S. forces and how the U.S. bases in Japan should be." The DPJ's position has been, however, to regard the "Japan-U.S. alliance as axis in Japan's diplomacy," and after wavering under pressure from the U.S. and the Japanese people, the DPJ government culminated in taking the same position as the LDP and is now promoting the reinforcement of the military alliance. By doing so, it deepens the contractions with people's demands.

Despite its previous remarks that it would "review" the realignment of U.S. bases, the DPJ government stands instead to give the Japan-U.S. military alliance absolute priority and is pushing ahead with the reinforcement of bases trampling on all the promises it made with the local people. It now faces strong criticism from the people, who wonder if the change of government had done any good to them. The government had opposed the construction of housing for the US military in the center of Iwakuni City's residential areas, but it's position shifted in favor of the construction. It also OK'ed the maintenance of the nuclear reactors on the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier stationed at Yokosuka that would take four months per year, putting citizens' lives at risk. All these are contrary to its previous promises.

The U.S. military-related budget exceeded 700 billion yen this year. Regarded as sanctuary, the "cordial budget" was exempted from cutback as wasteful spending, and the government decided to continue spending on the cordial budget. Taking advantage of these moves, the U.S. has further urged the Japanese government to increase "cordial budget" and its share of cost for constructing military facilities in Guam. Placing first priority to the cordial budget for the U.S. military while cutting back the expenses for people's lives, the government imposes the reinforcement of U.S. bases upon the people. This is the very way of politics giving the highest priority to the Japan-US Security Treaty.

When it was an opposition party, the DPJ criticized the overseas dispatch of the SDFs to help U.S.-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. But it has made a complete about-face in its position. It is now beautifying the SDFs' activities, pushing ahead with their dispatch abroad and trying to establish a system that enables Japan to involve globally in war with the U.S. By doing so, it tries to back up the U.S., bogged down in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The review of the "National Defense Program Guidelines," slated for the Cabinet approval within the year, aims to "do away with" the "Basic Defense Force approach" centered on preparing for possible "aggression" against Japan, and to make it possible for Japan to respond with force, in the name of "peace-creating nation," to diverse contingencies throughout the world. With this, the government intends to enact a permanent law for sending SDFs overseas, to increase the presence of SDFs particularly in the southwest part of Japan such as Okinawa and Kyushu in the name of "defense of islands", to expand the joint use of bases by Japan and the U.S., intensifying joint military exercises, and even to



review the principles of banning arms exports. Furthermore, the government is maneuvering to make the first dispatch of medical service personnel of the SDFs to Afghanistan with no legal basis. What is grave is that the government, in line with these moves, now sets to start discussions in the Constitution Commission in the Diet. However, this dangerous direction can only and inevitably deepen contradictions with the wide range of the people who stand for the defense of Article 9 of the Constitution.

Taking advantage of Article 2, economic clause, of the Security Treaty, the U.S. government has imposed its big businesses' economic demands on Japan, which has brought to the Japanese people the destruction of agriculture through trade liberalization, unstable employment through deregulation of temporary employment, a huge sum of debt amounting to 400 to 600 trillion yen to finance large-scale public works, cutback in social welfare and tax hike. The Security Treaty has been a root cause of economic hardships suffered by the Japanese people. In spite of such devastating situation, the DPJ government is considering the participation in TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) in response to the U.S., which will result in lifting tariffs on all products including farm products. In this field, too, the government is trying to meet the U.S. demands, which will only drive Japan's agriculture and small and medium-sized businesses into bankruptcy.

The DPJ's position to place absolute weight on the military alliance with the U.S., identical to the LDP's, is threatening peace and livelihood of the Japanese people, and has invited disappointment and anger from the people who expected change in politics as DPJ took power.

## **2) For achieving a peaceful Asia – not through military buildup but through peace**

### **diplomacy**

We are at crossroads over peace in Asia; the question is: Whether to allow maneuvers of the Japan-US military alliance to increase military tension or to display peaceful diplomacy based on the Constitution.

North Korea's indiscriminate shelling of Yeonpyeong Island is an impermissible outrage that violates the Charter of the United Nations, the Korean War Armistice Agreement and all other agreements made between North and South Korea. With all our might, we condemn North Korea and urge her to take responsibility for the damage and to commit itself not to repeat such outrage. We also call on all governments concerned and international bodies such as the U.N. to make political and diplomatic efforts to resolve this issue. We categorically oppose North Korea's nuclear development as threatening peace and stability of Northeast Asia, breaking its promise to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula. We urge all parties concerned, including the Japanese government, to make efforts for the peaceful resolution of the issue and for the establishment of peace structure, including the resumption of six-party talks.

What is required now is not the reinforcement of military alliance leading to the intensified military tension, but political and diplomatic efforts. The reinforcement of the Japan-US alliance only contributes to provoking North Korea, deteriorating the situation and creating a vicious circle of military buildup.

Same applies to the issue of Senkaku Islands and the territorial dispute between Japan and Russia. The Japanese government must garner support from international society for its claim to sovereignty over these islands and territories by making clear grounds in the light of history

and international laws. Instead, it is trying to exploit the issues to further reinforce the Japan-US military alliance. This amounts to putting the cart before the horse, conducive to heightening military tension further and making peaceful settlement more difficult.

The realization of a peaceful Asia needs an effort to get out of vicious circle of military buildup and confrontation, and to establish a framework of dialogue, fostering trust and cooperation among the countries concerned including those in conflict. Such effort should aim for developing a regional community in which countries with different interest, economic levels, political systems and cultures can join on an equality with each other and work together for peace, stability and development of the region.

### **3) Great perspectives for peace through abrogating the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the global trend**

The closure of U.S. military bases in Japan and the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty will open up perspectives for giving impetus to such effort. It will pave the way for Japan to establish an equal relationship with the U.S., to carry out peace diplomacy making the best use of the Constitution, and to contribute to establishing peace in Asia. It will also help Japan to walk away from the U.S. nuclear umbrella under the Japan-U.S. military alliance, to adhere to the Three Non-Nuclear Principles both in name and in reality, and to play its role as the atomic bombed country for achieving a nuclear weapon-free world. Further, it will lead to drastic cuts in military spending for redirecting the resources toward investing in people's livelihood and eliminating poverty worldwide.

This direction coincides with the current global trend toward peace. Today, a call for the

elimination of nuclear weapons forms a majority of the world, while the countries affiliated with military alliances are in a minority, representing only 16% of the world's population. Many U.S. military bases stationed in different parts of the world have been downsized or removed, and an increased number of the countries have adopted constitutions with provisions banning the presence of foreign military bases is increasing. In the United States, people have started to question the *raison d'être* of the Marine Corps, and even to call for reduction of U.S. military bases abroad and drastic cuts in military spending. In NATO member countries, voices have risen demanding the withdrawal of their troops from Afghanistan and removal of nuclear weapons deployed in their territories. With the signatories to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) growing to make up 58 percent of the global population, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) continues to make various efforts to resolve conflict through dialogue. Other regional peace organizations aiming to promote peaceful settlement of disputes based on the UN Charter and mutual cooperation have been born in different parts of the world. The world's trend now is to shift from nuclearization to denuclearization, from arms race to disarmament, and from military alliances to peace regional organizations. With firm conviction in this, let us continue working to develop our movement.

### **4) Serious effort needed to promote grassroots learning activities and discussions for abrogating the Security Treaty**

The Japanese people have played a key role of international significance contributing to the successful outcome of the 2010 Review Conference for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Treaty by bringing 7 million signatures in support of the appeal for a world free of nuclear weapons .

The signature campaign created cooperation between activists, municipalities and wide range of people throughout the country. With more than 7,500 Article 9 associations established all over Japan, a call for defending Article 9 of the Constitution have become a majority of the Japanese people. Nationwide, campaigns against realignment and reinforcement of the U.S. military have been carried on jointly by municipalities and their peoples, and in Okinawa, the whole island is in the struggle for closure and withdrawal of the Futenma Base. The opposition to the TPP and trade liberalization is now spreading with more and more municipalities and people voicing objections in unison. People's movements for their urgent demands are developing to such an extent that they are now influencing politics. Here we can see enormous energy of the people and potential of their movements.

At the same time, it does not mean that these movements automatically represent public opinion in favor of the abrogation of the Security Treaty. It is essential to make known to the public the relationship between their demands and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty system, to provide answers to their questions, and to convince them with facts that in order to achieve their demands, the Security Treaty should be abolished to change the abnormal relationship of subservience between Japan and the U.S. There is a possibility of those standing for the abrogation of the Security Treaty becoming a majority in Japan. In Okinawa, the struggle has created a situation that 7 percent of the population is in favor of "maintaining" the Security Treaty, while 55 percent think that it should be changed to a peace and friendship treaty and 14 percent call for its "abrogation" (opinion poll result published in *Ryukyu Shimpo*,

May 31). The call for review of the Security Treaty can indeed be a majority.

This is why we need to make serious efforts to provide space at grassroots level for learning and discussing on issues related with the Security Treaty to help people understand the linkage between urgent demands of different sectors and community needs and the Security Treaty. In doing so, we should give particular importance to organizing experiential activities for younger generations through which they can learn about the damage caused by military bases and war in a direct way, such as "Support and Solidarity Actions in Henoko" organized by the Japan Federation of Democratic Medical Institutions (Min-Iren) twenty times.

Let us make this Conference a springboard to develop the movement nationwide in solidarity with Okinawa for the unconditional removal of the Futenma Base and the reduction and closure of U.S. bases. Let us mobilize public opinion for defending Article 9 in opposition to the dangerous nature of the "National Defense Program Guidelines" review and the permanent law for dispatching SDFs abroad. Let us talk about the perspectives for achieving a peaceful Asia and carry out a large-scale movement to form public opinion against bases and the military alliance. And let us work together to create a new momentum to realize a "peaceful Japan and Asia without nuclear weapons, bases and military alliance."

The logo features the word "Peace" in a stylized, rounded font, followed by a large number "9". A small five-pointed star is positioned above the top curve of the "9".

## **Report of the International Symposium 2010 Japan Peace Conference**

**Keisuke FUSE (Symposium Coordinator)  
Director, International Bureau  
National Confederation of Trade Unions  
(Zenroren)**

The International Symposium of 2010 Japan Peace Conference was held in Sasebo City, Nagasaki Prefecture on December 2, with 87 participants around the theme "For a Peaceful Asia without U.S. Bases and Military Alliances". On the panel were Dr. Joseph Gerson from the U.S., American Friends Service Committee, Mr. Lee Junkyu from Republic of Korea, lecturer at Laborer's academy for Alternative, Ms. Corazon Valdez Fabros from the Philippines representing the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases, and Professor Ozawa Ryuichi of the Jikei University School of Medicine. Myself, Fuse Keisuke, Director of International Bureau, National Confederation of Trade Unions, Zenroren acted as coordinator. The symposium heard a special report from Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Alkozai from Afghanistan.

The International Symposium took place in the wake of the Okinawa gubernatorial election, in which the anti-base candidate fought a good fight gaining nationwide solidarity and support. Shortly before the symposium, North Korea made artillery attack against South Korea's Yeonpyeong Island, which aroused people's interests and concerns over peace and security in Japan and Asia. The symposium successfully responded to these interests and concerns.

Dr. Gerson reported on the dangerous nature of U.S. empire, trying to revitalize its presence in Asia to compensate its decline. He made clear that the U.S., with its fiscal crisis being so serious that people were becoming poorer and that it now had to depend on the allied nations

to maintain its hegemony. He emphasized on the importance of creating common security framework without military alliances. Mr. Lee, coming from South Korea while the nation going through tumultuous days following the attack by North Korea, stressed that what is needed the most now was dialogue with the North Korea instead of opting for military response, referring to the historical backgrounds of negotiations between the two Koreas. He also emphasized on the need to establish a multilateral framework for realizing a peaceful Asia. Ms. Fabros introduced the struggles in the Philippines against the U.S. military, which came back under the Visiting Forces Agreement after the country had removed its bases, has since conducted military exercises and operations. From the standpoint of achieving a n Asia without bases and military alliances, she honored the courageous struggle carried out by the people of Okinawa and all over Japan in solidarity, and called for further efforts to carry on the struggle with hope in this difficult time of challenges. Being an constitutional scholar, Prof Ozawa refuted the argument that "military existence serves as deterrence," and emphasized that this argument was not only unrealistic but also harmful to building peace. He pointed out the necessity for overcoming this deterrent theory by strengthening public opinion and movement to create peace.

In his special report, Mr. Alkozai reported the human sacrifices in Afghanistan due to military combat, starvation, lack of medical treatment and poverty. He called upon the Japanese people to provide humanitarian assistance by sending doctors, nurses and teachers instead of troops. After the floor was opened for discussion, participants including those from Okinawa spoke of their struggles and activities. The discussion helped us to share the goal of achieving a peaceful Asia without bases and military alliances, as well as the importance of

resolving conflicts and disputes by peaceful means not by military response.

We have been witnessing moves of great importance taking place in Asia. Our grassroots movements are heading toward the common goal, described in the main slogan of this year's Japan Peace Conference: "For a Peaceful Asia and Japan without Nuclear Weapon, Military Bases and Military Alliance". Let us open a new horizon toward this goal by strengthening solidarity with grass-roots movements around the world.

It is my sincere hope that all of you here, who have learned from the struggles and experiences of different countries in this International Symposium, will further deepen your understanding of the issues through discussions and exchanges during the Japan Peace Conference next few days, and make the best use of it in your campaigns and activities. With this, I conclude my report of the International Symposium.

## **Addresses of Oversea Guests**

### **Joseph Gerson**

I want to thank the Japan Peace Committee for the opportunity to join this year's Peace Conference. It is a privilege to work with you for a peaceful Asia, a nuclear and alliance free Japan, and in solidarity with the long-suffering but steadfast people of Okinawa. As a U.S. American, whose government has brought so much pain and suffering to so many people, it is an honor to join you and a pleasure to be working with you.

Barack Obama, recently passed through Asia, making "America's opening move in a new great power game unfolding in Asia." He sought to

reinforce Washington's current military alliances, to build tacit alliances with India and Indonesia, and to put China on notice that it will not have a free hand in Asia or the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

To compensate for the United States' relative decline, the Obama Administration is working to leverage its allies' resources and power while taking advantage of the insecurities resulting from China's rising power and aggressive assertions of its territorial ambitions. The U.S. is weaving together a system of military and political alliances and relationships from Japan to India, and from Central Asia to Europe to NATO to create what Hillary Clinton calls "the new American Moment" for the 21st century.

In the U.S., we were shocked by reports of the unprovoked North Korean artillery barrage on Yeonpyeong Island. Only later did we read that the target was a South Korean military base in disputed territorial waters, that the first dead were South Korean Marines, and that "The attack...occurred after South Korean forces...fired test shots into waters near the North Korean coast." The North Korean attack must, of course, be condemned, but we need to address its causes.

Instead, the U.S. sent the George Washington to the Yellow Sea, threatening North Korea and the DPRK's Chinese patron. The Obama Administration refuses to resume negotiations until the North abandons uranium enrichment and demonstrates that there is no possibility of additional North Korean nuclear or missile tests. This policy of "strategic patience", combined with provocative U.S. military exercises and South Korea's planned artillery exercises next week, may take us to "the brink of war."

China, not North Korea, is the real focus of U.S. Asia policies. Washington and Beijing

understand their “competitive interdependence”, but using engagement and containment via military alliances, the U.S. hopes to integrate China into U.S. dominated systems. Thus the U.S. Asia “Strategy” states that “Our alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand are the bedrock of security in Asia...” with Japan serving as “the cornerstone”. This explains the U.S. role in ousting the Hatoyama-Ozawa government, with its vision of an East Asian Economic Community, its opposition to the Futenma relocation agreement, and its confirmation of the secret nuclear agreement undermined U.S. confidence in the integrity of its cornerstone.

India is the new U.S. strategic prize. Beginning with the U.S.-Indian nuclear agreement New Delhi and Washington has created a tacit alliance to contain China. Complementing the Japanese cornerstone, the U.S.-India relationship is to be a “defining partnership of the 21st century.”

Friends, utopian dreams are not the order of the day, but there are, powerful forces that tell us that if we work for a different future it will be ours. First is the inevitable victory of Okinawans, whose 300,000 votes for Inha Yoichi are what Fabros-san the “kanji on the wall.” We **will** win withdrawal of U.S. bases. Second, the institutions and alliances created to serve the U.S. Post WWII Empire are outmoded, tinsel and increasingly seen as illegitimate. As the economic crisis shows, they are on their way to the “dustbin of history” Third, the U.S. cannot afford to continue as the world’s bullying policeman. Serious proposals for cutting the U.S. military budget are being voiced in Congress, and a bi-partisan commission on debt reduction recommends reducing U.S. foreign military bases by a third. There’s a source of hope!

Finally, we must honor our common interests

and our need to work together. Just as it makes no sense to liberate the people of Ginowan City at the expense of people in Henoko and Guam, we should work for Common Security, the concept used to end the Cold War in Europe a generation ago. We can’t afford militarism. It threatens regional and global existence, and money spent in preparation for wars is money that should be used to develop our economies, to put people to work, and to ensure the health, housing, educations and environmental security of our people.

We can’t afford militarism. It threatens regional and global existence, and money spent in preparation for wars is money that should be used to develop our economies, to put people to work, and to ensure the health, housing, educations and environmental security of our people. Common Security recognizes that no nation or people can be secure if other nations fear it.

Friends, a century and a half ago Fredrick Douglas, the courageous U.S. anti-slavery abolitionist observed that power never surrenders without a struggle. It never has and it never will. So, together, we will struggle for a peaceful Asia and Japan without nuclear weapons and military alliances, and in solidarity with the people of Okinawa.

Domo arrigato.

## **Lee Junkyu**

Thank you for inviting me to the Japan Peace Conference. My name is Lee Junkyu and I come from South Korea.

As you know, since North Korea shelled Yeonpyeong Island located in South Korean Western Sea – Yellow Sea--, tension is

heightening on Korean Peninsula and in North East Asia. For somebody like me who was born in 1973 and did not experience Korean War, the artillery bombing by North Korea against an island in South Korea was quite shocking.

### **Reviving the Memory of “War without Mercy”**

The attitude of North Korea not to hesitate to use force for provocation to accomplish their claims is a reckless attitude that could not find support either in South Korean society or in the international community.

I think the hidden aim of North Korean provocation is to impose negotiations for peace agreement they have been asking for. However, the behavior of North Korea is creating a self-contradictory situation: instead of setting a favorable environment for peace agreement, it is escalating the risk of war.

South Korea and Japan are reinforcing their partnership with the U.S. It can be said that the U.S. is given a good opportunity to sell the relevance of its military presence in the region.

More fundamental is the fact that embracing the ghost of U.S. hegemony and persisting in alliance policy might revive the Cold War heritage.

South Korean and the U.S., while conducting joint military exercise in the Yellow Sea, the thing China dislike most, are asking China to join them in sanctioning North Korea. On the other hand, they all refuse the holding of an urgent meeting of Six Party Talk chide negotiators.

### **What is to be done?**

In South Korea in particular, the push for restoring the dialogue with North Korea that broke down since the inauguration of Lee

Myon-Bak Regime is weakening.

Despite of this, there is something we must squarely look at.

A problem can be solved with relevant action that aims at solving it. Resorting to the memory of the Cold War era and its legacy every time a conflict occurs will not solve the problem but on the contrary aggravate it.

What was acutely felt in the aftermath of the incident is the need for a peace agreement on Korean Peninsula. Another thing is the need for a framework for multilateral consultations in East Asia. For the sake of the current issue and for a future peaceful order in the region, we need the framework of multilateral consultation, not bilateral military alliances.

In this situation, what is needed is our will for peace and the strength to realize our will. I hope that I can share these ideas with you here. Thank you for your attention.

### **Corazon Fabros**

Listening to the moving reports and messages from Okinawa is both a painful and a heartwarming and inspiring experience. I see so much of the images of what Okinawans (just like Filipinos back home) have to bear as a consequence of U.S. military presence: land and resources deprivation, environmental degradation, exploitation of women and children, human rights violations, economic exploitation, including intervention of our nation's internal affairs. Yet despite the difficulties and challenges ahead, your unrelenting struggle and commitment to a peaceful, bases free Okinawa and Japan will continue to inspire us and warm our hearts. I would like to commend and thank the Japan

Peace Committee as well as the Peace Conference Organizing Committee for making the No Bases Network part of this important gathering and for bringing us all together. It is in gatherings like this that future generations are given hope and assurance for a safer tomorrow.

At the moment, I feel compelled to focus on Okinawa and Guam. These islands though separated by about 2000 kilometers of the Pacific waters are inextricably linked by being pawns in the staging of US military forces since World War II. Like the Philippines, both has been forcibly taken over and are US territories since the war. Both islands were scenes of some of the bloodiest fighting in the Pacific. Today, the dominant issue uniting the peoples of Okinawa and Guam is the planned relocation of thousands of US military personnel from US bases in Okinawa to bases in Guam. The Japanese government (read Japanese taxpayers) is forced to pay for a majority of relocation costs, some US\$6 Billion.

The Japanese government unfortunately has agreed to the unprecedented rip-off. It would be the first time ever that a foreign nation has had to pay such costs, and apparently with no legal basis. The Environmental Impact Statement of the US Navy had already indicated the impact on the people of Guam. It would increase social disruption, crime, and environmental degradation beyond what Guam has already suffered for decades. It is an urgent task that we all must try to work on and support strongly.

Let us continue to put our energies, and resources into grassroots movement organizing, forging unities, strengthening solidarity work especially with US peace and justice movements. Our fervent hope and work for the important active involvement of the youth (the future of our movement!); maximizing the current media trends; popularizing our messages and calls; and

creating venues for peoples expressions (including art in all its forms: theatre, music, poetry, dance, etc.) must continue systematically and consistently, building from one step to the next, to create that critical mass of peace and no bases advocates, that is necessary to challenge the empire.

We need to find value in the support and work of the academe, intellectuals, professionals including those in government and the military for among them are likely allies who could provide the information and expertise in research, analysis and scholarship that are important in providing our campaign the necessary tools for effective, credible and powerful movement that we need today. The No Bases Network here in Asia and the Pacific hope to do its share in providing the mechanism for meaningful exchanges of information and analysis, people to people solidarity and venues for consolidating our efforts in the region.

We had looked forward to a victory for former Ginowan Mayor Yoichi Iha as Governor of Okinawa. A person most of us consider as committed to seeing Futenma closed and the replacement facility built somewhere else other than the Okinawa prefecture and he doesn't want the base in Japan at all. Still, we congratulate our Okinawan comrades and the solidarity movements here in Japan for their resilience and hard work to see that the recent election clearly indicate the will of the Okinawan people - a reality that Gov. Nakaima has to contend with in the coming days. His victory is still an expression of the peoples will for a no bases Okinawa.

We need to work at further consolidating the big constituency (297,082) that clearly expressed the will of a big percentage of the Okinawan population. I wish that former Mayor Iha will remain steadfast in being a strong and



powerful voice for the movement in Okinawa. This is a great moment of taking stock of what we gained and use it to our political advantage.

**Today, Okinawan people's resistance is an inspiring symbol of our dreams and hope for a peaceful and bases free Asia Pacific.**

A strong and united peoples movement may someday finally push the U.S. military out of Okinawa and Japan. It might not be a smooth and easy process but it will happen. It's not going to happen anytime soon but it will happen. The *Kanji* is on the wall. The *handwriting* on the wall is clear: Okinawan people want the bases out of Okinawa! The Japanese people want the bases out of Japan! And the global movement has consistently called for the dismantling of these military outposts of the empire!

The Henoko project has been prevented from being undertaken over the past 16 years by the persistent protest movement of Okinawa people and under international pressure. It is time that Japan abandon the "relocation" formula and begin negotiation with the United States for unconditional closure of the Futenma base!

During this difficult and challenging times, may we continue to be inspired, to be courageous, to be united, to be happy, to be in solidarity, to be faithful in this great work that has brought us all together in friendship and solidarity over the years. We shall overcome!

**Closing Plenary – Rally and Demonstration  
"No to Military Bases!" Sasebo  
Peace Parade  
December 5, 2010**

**International Guests Speak Out**

**2010 Japan Peace Conference in Sasebo  
Closing Plenary**

**Joseph Gerson**

Minasan Konichiwa,

Domo Arrigato to the Japan Peace Committee's whose members know so well how militarism has wounded your country since Sasebo first

served Japan's empire

Domo Arrigato for your powerful **NO!** to militarism and your **YES!** to life, to freedom and to people's real security.



Domo Arrigato for your vision of a peaceful Asia and Japan without nuclear weapons and the military alliance. And, Domo Arrigato and for your commitment liberate Okinawa. The Old Testament says that “A people without vision will perish.” Your vision is a beacon for Japan’s and humanity’s survival.

What do I take from Sasebo to share with U.S. peace activists? The inspiration that your dedication provides. Memories of people’s faces and stories which teach better than analysis.

I take the memory of Onishi-san’s humble apology for not securing Iha Yoichi’s victory, despite all that he and others gave. I take knowledge that a great victory was won, that the Okinawan will has been forged: **BASES OUT NOW!** I take knowledge that Okinawa will be free, and a deeper commitment to help. I take Mayor Okubo of Tokunoshima Island’s wisdom to reject war and bases and to stand for what we believe.

I take Taniguchi-san’s quiet courage, making his will my own for a nuclear free future.

I take Lee Jun Kyu’s laughing smile, respect for his knowledge and courage, and renewed and still more painful understanding – in my bones, in my nerves and in my heart – of the indescribable horrors, crimes and suffering of war. I take renewed dedication to ensure “Never again war!”

I take the faces of Japanese friends, so kind and caring.. Your patience, laughter, late night hours of work, joyful memories of our work together now and over many years. I carry confidence that you, Cora and other comrades will keep on keepin’ on because you know the meaning of life is to sacrifice as necessary to leave the world a better place than we found it.

After more than 100 years of conquest, colonialism and neo-colonialism, I take renewed urgency to end the “visit” of U.S. “visiting” forces in the Philippines.

I take this computer memory stick with Alkozai-san’s slides and text to shame and move my compatriots. I will share his anguished reminder that the Afghan people are people, not terrorists, that a man named Mohamed must be treated with the dignity he deserves, and that Afghans like Mohammed are saying what we say: Stop the killing. All foreign forces must go. A new political/social contract must be created by **all** forces in Afghan society. That foreign nations must negotiate a regional peace agreement that encourages their Afghan proxies to cease their murder, corruption, and oppression of women and to focus on development.

Like you, I will return home, re-dedicated to solidarity with Japanese and Asian anti-bases forces and heartened knowing that we will join Gensuikyo in campaigning for the nuclear free world we, our children and grandchildren all deserve.

Together, nonviolently, with love, dedication, imagination, memory, courage and compassion, I look forward to our prevailing so we and others may live in peace with freedom.

### **Lee Junkyu**

There is a phrase, “Dynamic Korea”, which is an advertising copy of a Korean company. I have come to Japan every year since 2005 to attend the World Conference against A&H Bombs or in the Japan Peace Conference to speak about the situation of the Korean Peninsula. I sometimes wonder if I should thank North Korea for offering me new stories to tell you every year. I

am Lee Junkyu from much talked-about South Korea.

I arrived in Japan on December 1st. It was when South Korea and the U.S. were wrapping up their joint naval drills, to be followed by joint military exercises between Japan and the U.S. To tell you the truth, in Korea, I had not really felt urgency in the recent development of the situation. But coming to Japan, here in Sasebo, I did realize how tense the situation on the Korean Peninsula, and in the East Asia is. In the wake of North Korea's firing artillery at Yeongpyeong Island, ROK President Lee Myung-bak intends to amend the code of conduct, or rules of engagement. It would allow the ROK military to launch a retaliatory strike with bombardment aircraft or missiles in case of North Korea carrying out shelling attacks against it. I began this speech with a joke, but the current situation may be much more tense than we think it is.

Yesterday, the Korean and the U.S. governments announced that they completed the renegotiations on the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. In the press conference, President Lee boasted that the conclusion of FTA would remarkably reinforce the alliance with the U.S. We should not overlook what is going behind the scenes, but should continue doing our utmost bearing in mind what we have experienced this time during the Peace Conference here in Sasebo as we go back to our daily life.

Thank you for your attention.

## **Corazon Fabros**

Friends – Peace and solidarity in our continuing struggle for a peaceful, nuclear-free and bases-free Japan and Okinawa.

Just as the sun shines brightly on us this morning (*or Despite the rain and cloudy weather*), my heart is filled with joy and gratitude for being with you here in Sasebo where I truly feel your friendship and your unwavering determination to continue our struggle.

I congratulate & salute you all for the hard work & unities you were able to forge during the Okinawa election and for making sure that the opposition to the U.S. bases is a major issue of life, survival and security for us all.

Let us move forward & continue to build & nurture a strong, comprehensive and the broadest united front possible (from Wakkanai to Okinawa, in Asia & the Pacific, and right at the heartland of the Empire!) that will strengthen our movement, make Gov. Nakaima keep his promise, and for the Japanese and U.S. governments to abandon the relocation formula and begin the process of unconditional closure of Futenma base!

It is a great victory for the Okinawan and Japanese no-bases movement and international solidarity for stopping the Henoko Project for the past 16 years. Two thousand four hundred twenty two days (2,422) today - that you have kept vigil in the shores of your beloved island should be proof enough that you are not willing to give an inch more of your land and sea to the continuing invader!

We must continue to assert that the Japan-US Security Treaty is illegal, unconstitutional, unjust and at the heart of the reason for the military conflict in Asia Pacific today.

May we continue to be inspired, to be courageous, to be happy, to be in solidarity, to be faithful in this great work that has brought us

all together here in Sasebo, deeply believing that we shall win in our struggle.

of the Futenma Base within Okinawa and to achieve its unconditional removal made progress. Right after the election, candidate Iha aggressively expressed his determination by saying, "We will continue our challenge to resolve this issue. We will prevail someday." Let us further increase our voice urging the Japanese government to withdraw the plan to build a new U.S. base in Henoko, Okinawa, and to negotiate with the U.S. government for a closure and removal of the Futenma base. Let us expand the public voice refusing U.S. bases anywhere in Japan and promote anti-base struggles throughout the nation.

NO to the relocation to Guam! NO to the Six Billion Dollar relocation cost!

NO to US Bases in Sasebo! NO to US Bases in Okinawa and Japan!

NO to US Bases anywhere!

We shall overcome!

### **Mohammed Ibrahim Alkozai**

Ladies and gentlemen

I am very happy to be here with you today. Let me be honest what I got and what I learned here in Sasebo were very important for me.

I got the idea that we are not the only one who is mentioning the penalties of U.S. administration. I came to know there is also a country suffering from the problems caused by the U.S. My message to Japanese people is to be united and to give hand in hand, so there will be nobody stop them removing bases from Okinawa and other parts of Japan.

I have the experience of three decades of war in

my country. And the history shows, if you want to colonize a country, you have to make problems inside the tribes.

Being the united is the best policy to remove the US bases from Japan. Thank you very much and good luck.

## **Summary of the Discussions and Action Plan**

### **HIGASHIMORI Hideo 2010 Japan Peace Conference Organizing Committee**

I thank all of you for your contribution to the four-day Conference, which included the International Symposium, field trips, plenaries, symposiums and workshops. By sharing our struggles with friends throughout Japan and exchanging opinions with overseas delegates, we have not only deepened our understanding of and discussions on domestic and international situations but also shared the direction for our future struggle to take.

We regret our defeat in a close race for Okinawa's governor. Throughout the election, however, the movement to block the relocation

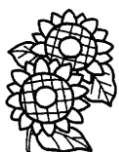
It is important to condemn North Korea's the artillery attack on the Yeongpyeong Island, demand its apology, and hold it accountable for its outrage. We also confirmed the significance of making utmost effort to heighten public opinion inside and outside Japan calling for an end to joint massive military exercises by Japan and the U.S. and other form of military provocation as well as for promoting dialogue and diplomatic efforts to establish a peaceful Asia.

The Democratic Party of Japan-led government is trying to adopt new National Defense Program Guidelines, which include proposals for strengthening the Japan-U.S. joint military operations, sending the Self-Defense Forces overseas more often, and lifting the ban on arms exports. Let us urgently develop our struggles against this significant move contrary to the Japanese constitutional principles.

Our discussions during the Conference have revealed that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is not only the most dangerous military alliance in the world but also the cause of the deteriorating livelihoods of citizens and workers. Let us develop our movement to abrogate the 50-year-old security treaty jointly with the global trend for eliminating military alliances toward creating a community for peace.

Let us join our forces with the movements for the abolition of nuclear weapons and in defense of Article 9 of the Constitution in order to improve our nationwide efforts and expand international solidarity.

Thanks to the efforts made by our friends in Sasebo, Nagasaki, the 2010 Japan Peace Thanks Conference has made a great success. Let us share with many more people what we have learned and the perspective we have confirmed here, make concrete action plans in each region, further develop the movement to abrogate the Japan-U.S. military alliance and remove the bases, and meet again in the 2011 Japan Peace Conference.



## Messages of Governments

### *Egypt*

**H.E. Dr. Walid Mahmoud Abdelnasser  
Ambassador of the Arab Republic of  
Egypt**

Excellencies,  
Distinguished Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me pleasure to address this year's conference marking the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Japan Peace Committee. The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt remains keen to participate in any event aiming at ridding the world from nuclear weapons due to its firm belief in supporting all efforts to create a world free of weapons of mass destruction.

2010 is a year that has witnessed several important events, which gave momentum to the issue of nuclear disarmament, prominent among were: the signing of the START agreement between the United States and Russia and the successful outcome of the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

As you all aware, the Government of Egypt exerted extensive efforts to ensure the success of the 2010 NPT Review Conference, whether on its own or in its capacity as the Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Coalition of the New Agenda. Egypt is content that the final document came to reflect its position, as well as those of NAM and the New Agenda Coalition to achieve concrete progress on the road towards the complete elimination of a nuclear weapons.

However, we would have liked to see the Review Conference adopt a clear commitment to an irreversible time-bound elimination of nuclear weapons. In spite of this we shall redouble our

relentless efforts to pursue the goal of ridding the whole world of nuclear weapons.

One of the key issues for Egypt and NAM is the establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East. Egypt has been presenting a resolution on this issue since 1974. In the 1995 NPT Review Conference there was consensus adoption of a resolution to this effect. The 2010 NPT Review Conference outcome document mandated the UN Secretary General and the co-sponsors of the 1995 resolution to convene a conference in 2012 on the establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction and is currently undertaking steps to achieve that goal. We are calling for the support of all State and Non-State actors to this upcoming conference and its goal of establishing a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle EAST and ensuring the success of the upcoming 2012 conference.

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt pledges to exert its utmost effort to ensure that we reach the goal of creating a world free of nuclear weapons and looks forward to working collectively and supports all initiatives aimed at achieving this end.

I wish you all the best of success.

## **Venezuela**

### ***Message from Mr. Seiko Ishikawa, Ambassador of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, to the Japan Peace Committee on its 60th Anniversary***

I am honored to convey a message on this very special occasion for the Japan Peace Committee, on the occasion of its 60th anniversary, on behalf of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and its President Hugo Chavez Frias.

Venezuela has solid and deep convictions for

peace and a high humanitarian and social sensitivity, and is determined to work for the realization of a world free of nuclear weapons.

We have been promoting the construction of a world that embraces the principles of international cooperation, aiming at strengthening multilateralism and the peaceful coexistence among sovereign States, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, as State Party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, reaffirms the need to universalize those treaties, empathizing that all the members of the international community should strictly adhere to their norms so as to guarantee a lastingly peaceful world.

Venezuela believes in the total, absolute and unconditional elimination of all weapons of mass destruction in the world, starting from the abolition of nuclear weapons. For Venezuelans, the existence of nuclear weapons itself constitutes a threat to humanity.

As a founding Member State of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Venezuela maintains a principled position, adhering to its pacifist vocation.

Research and peaceful use of nuclear energy must be preserved, encouraged and aimed at exclusively for the sovereign benefit of the peoples, and for their economic and social well-being.

On this very special occasion, we reiterate our determination to promote and support multiple initiatives that started in Hiroshima and Nagasaki for a durable peace. Many cities in my country are taking an active part in the "Mayors for Peace" program.

We reiterate once again our firm determination for world peace.

## ***Ecuador***

### **Dr. Javier Ponce Leiva, Ambassador of Ecuador to Japan**

Dear participants of the 2010 Peace Conference:

Thanks to the kind invitation of the Secretary General of the Organizing Committee, Mr. Jun Chisaka, I have the privilege of addressing all of you today with the purpose of wishing success to this Conference of Peace.

I would like to share with you some aspects of Ecuadorian foreign policy, which among others supports and promotes world peace, disarming, and abolition of nuclear weapons and all other arms of mass destruction. Additionally, it encourages cooperation and solidarity among people.

In September 2008, and with 64 % of the votes, the new Ecuadorian Constitution was approved, which contains the Principles that guide the International affairs of Ecuador, under the concept of citizen diplomacy for human development and good living. Among others: that of legal independence and equality of the States, peaceful existence and determination, peaceful resolution of international conflicts and controversies, no State interference in internal affairs and promotion of peace and universal disarmament.

Many of the principles and rights of the Ecuadorian Constitution have contributed towards the transformation of the political relations that exist between the States of Latin America. In this manner, Ecuador's proclamation as a peace territory and a promoter of universal disarmament has been emulated by the members of the Union of South American States,

UNASUR under Ecuadorian Presidency, have declared that the region itself is too a territory of peace (Presidential Declaration by Bariloche, August 28<sup>th</sup> 2009).

The Ecuadorian Constitution condemns the development and use of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and forbid military bases on its territory and opposes the imposition of those facilities from one State in another State. In the framework of our Constitution and the guidelines imparted by the President of the Republic, Mr. Rafael Correa Delgado, the immediate closure and withdrawal of the United States Manta military base was decided. Their US air station had been established for over 10 years. Never again will we host foreign military bases in our territory. The last military personal left Ecuador on October 2008.

Ecuador, whose pacifist tradition dates back to its role in the negotiation and signing of the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco, Mexico, which bans the use of nuclear weapons in Latin America, has its underlying recognition with the designation of an Ecuadorian diplomat as the first Secretary General of OPANAL.

Until November 26<sup>th</sup> of the present year, and for 15 months, Ecuador held the Presidency Pro Tempore of UNASUR, and as such, among others, promoted the creation of a South American Defense Council and contributed towards important progress in the process of adoption of measures that foment mutual trust and security, which includes concrete tools of implementation and guarantees. This is the first step to build a South American Defense System autonomous from any hegemonic extra regional power.

I conclude by casting my vote to the successful development of the deliberations that will be

initiated today in this beautiful city, and to their condition towards peace and an equitable, inclusive, fair, supportive, and peaceful world.

Thank you.

## **Cuba**

### **Mensaje a 2010 Japan Peace Conference Preparation Committee**

**José Fernández de Cossío**  
**Embajador de la República de Cuba en**  
**Japón**

(original in Spanish)

La política exterior del Gobierno cubano se ajusta a los propósitos y principios de la Carta de Naciones Unidas.

Cuba, como estado miembro, despliega dentro del Sistema de Naciones Unidas una incesante labor a favor de la Paz y por el Desarme General y Completo, incluyendo el nuclear. En su condición de fundador del Movimiento de Países No Alineados, Cuba suscribe las posiciones sobre el Desarme Nuclear y el uso pacífico de la energía atómica recogidas en las declaraciones de las Conferencias Cumbres del Movimiento.

En la recién concluida Conferencia de Examen del Tratado sobre la No Proliferación de Armas Nucleares 2010, el representante cubano señaló la necesidad de que el éxito de la Conferencia dependería de su capacidad para abordar, de manera equilibrada y sin discriminaciones, el cumplimiento de todos los compromisos de conformidad con los tres pilares del Tratado de No Proliferación: el Desarme, la no proliferación y el uso pacífico de la energía nuclear. Asimismo significó la necesidad de rechazar cualquier intento en dicha Conferencia de reinterpretar o negar las obligaciones y compromisos ya existentes en el marco del TNP.

Cuba sostiene que la no proliferación de armas nucleares no debe limitarse a su dimensión horizontal, es esencial avanzar en la cuestión de la no proliferación vertical, ámbito en el cual las actuales potencias nucleares continúan perfeccionando sus arsenales nucleares y sus sistemas vectores.

En ese sentido, Cuba observa con gran preocupación cómo el gobierno de Estados Unidos de Norteamérica declara que, junto a la aprobación del tratado "New Start," dedicará 80 mil millones de dólares a modernizar y perfeccionar su armamento nuclear, desconociendo así sus obligaciones bajo el Tratado de No Proliferación, particularmente su artículo VI.

Consecuente con su política exterior en materia de paz y desarme, Cuba se identifica con los nobles propósitos de Japan Peace Conference de luchar por la abolición en el Asia del armamento nuclear, las bases militares extranjeras y las alianzas militares.

Deseo a la Conferencia todo el éxito que merece la noble y justa causa que defiende.

### **<English translation>**

**José Fernández de Cossío**  
**Ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to**  
**Japan**

The Foreign Policy of the Cuban government is consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Cuba, as its member state, is making strenuous effort within the United Nations system in form of peace and for general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament. Being a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Cuba subscribes to the positions on nuclear disarmament and the pacific use of



atomic energy recognized in the declarations of the summit meetings of NAM.

In the 2010 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which concluded recently, the Cuban representative pointed to the need that the success of the Conference should depend on its capacity to work, in a balanced way and without discrimination, for the fulfillment of all commitments in accordance with the three pillars of the NPT: disarmament, non-proliferation and peaceful use of nuclear energy. He also underscored the need for refusing any attempt at the Conference to reinterpret or to deny the obligations and commitments that exist in the framework of the NPT.

Cuba maintains that non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should not be limited to its horizontal dimension, and that it is essential to make progress in relation to the vertical non-proliferation, the area in which the existing nuclear powers continue to upgrade their nuclear arsenals and their delivery systems.

In that sense, Cuba observes with great concern how the government of the United States of North America declares, along with the approval of the "New Start" Treaty, that it will dedicate 80,000 million dollars to modernize and upgrade its nuclear armament, ignoring its obligations under the NPT, particularly its article VI.

Consistent with its foreign policy on peace and disarmament, Cuba identifies itself with the noble purposes of the Japan Peace Conference, which fights for the abolition of nuclear weapons, foreign military bases and military alliances in Asia.

I wish every success of the Conference that deserves the noble and just cause it upholds.



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