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INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PEACE IN ASIA

**"Discussion with Asian People on
What should be Japan's Contribution to the World"**

93

Date : December 3rd and 4th, 1992

Venue : International Hall of the Nihon Seinen-kan, Tokyo



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INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PEACE IN ASIA — "Discussion with Asian People on what should be Japan's contribution to the world"
What should be Japan's Contribution to the World"

November 1992

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Call for Participation in
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PEACE IN ASIA -- "Discussion with Asian people
on what should be Japan's contribution to the world"

November 1992

Initiated by Co-conveners:

Junji KINOSHITA, dramatist
Tatsuya DONO, former president of the Japan Federation of Bar Associations
Takamaro SHIGARAKI, president of Ryukoku University
Shinko YAMAYA, president of the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union
Toru YUGE, president of Ferris University

Many Japanese people strongly oppose the PKO Cooperation Law which makes the Self-Defense Forces take part in military operations abroad in violation of the Constitution of Japan, and have deep misgivings about its invocation.

People in Asian countries, 20 million lives of which were deprived by the Japan's invasion during the Second World War, are in great anxiety about the PKO Cooperation Law.

People in Asian countries have sent the Japanese people their messages, expressing that they oppose the Self-Defense Forces being sent abroad, that the peace principles of the Constitution of Japan should be defended with sincerity, and that Japan should make an international contribution based on the Constitution. To establish peace in Asia, it is an urgent task for today to promote solidarity between Japanese people and Asian people, as we share common wish for peace.

As the confrontation between East and West military blocs has come to end, the world situation has considerably changed. Now is the time to make utmost efforts to realize a world where peace and justice prevail. The Self-Defense Forces being sent abroad by the Japanese government and the U.S. power politics backing it, are against the world current. We, the Japanese people should promote this current and contribute to peace in Asia and the world, by making the peace principles of the Constitution be truly realized in Japanese politics to deal with various problems in Asia and the world, strictly based on the spirit of the Constitution.

For this purpose we are planning to hold the "International Symposium on Peace in Asia". We heartily call on you to participate in the Symposium. The program is:

Date : December 3rd and 4th, 1992

Venue: International Hall of the Nihon Seinen-kan, Tokyo

OPENING ADDRESS

Toru YUGE, Co-convenor

President of Ferris University

It gives me great pleasure to hold this International Symposium on Peace in Asia, which has won the support of so many people since we made a proposal for it. As one of the co-conveners, I want to express my gratitude to all of you.

We welcome Associate Professor CHUNG Chin-Sung from Korea, Professor Van TAO from Vietnam, Congressman Bonifacio H. GILLEGO from the Philippines and Associate Professor TAN Chee-Beng from Malaysia. I'm sure that constructive discussions will be carried out on peace in Asia by these four panelists from abroad together with Professor Yasuhiro OKUDAIRA and Professor Akira FUJIWARA from Japan. Such discussions will be of great significance for creating a peaceful Asia.

The Constitution of Japan stands on the basic recognition that war disasters are always brought by the government of the time. It prescribes that Japan takes a line as its national policy to protect the basic human rights of each Japanese people seeking for peace, not to arm and not to engage in a war. Nevertheless the Japanese government has been ignoring and trampling this line. It even reorganized and reinforced armed forces, and finally has forcibly sent them abroad.

We should never forget that the Japanese people have responsibility for having sided in some way or other the actions taken by the Tennoist government, which made Japan's history of war of aggression so criminal. The whole Japanese people as well as the government must make a clear confession and apology, to Asia and to the world, for their war responsibility and for after-war responsibility. This is the first step for the Japanese to take for peace.

In concluding my opening address, I want to confirm that the symposium will be a great encouragement to us Japanese to make proper efforts for peace, based on a sincere apology to Asian peoples. Thank you very much.

COORDINATOR'S ADDRESS

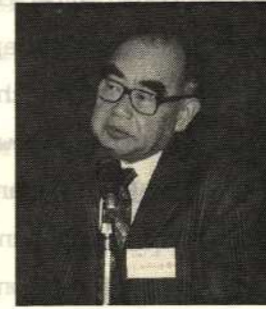
Minoru KITAMURA, professor at Waseda University

This symposium is being held so that Asian people consider peace in Asia together. As Professor Yuge mentioned on behalf of co-conveners of this symposium, the Japanese government ventured the forcible passage of the PKO bill and sent the Self-Defense Forces to Cambodia. It is of great significance to consider peace in Asia together with Asian people under these circumstances. On this occasion we should never forget to appeal and to denounce Japan's responsibility for the war of aggression in the past. German President Weizsaecker said "Those who close their eyes to the past are blind to the present." This phrase fits close not only to the German but also to the Japanese.

Therefore, in this symposium we have to begin a discussion with what Japan did in the past: that is to say, a task of appealing and denouncing whole responsibility for Japan's war of aggression. Secondly, we have been carrying on a campaign against sending the Self-Defense Forces abroad and, of course, we are determined to intensify it from now on. We hope that Asian people would never receive Japan's Self-Defense Forces and join with us in undertaking a campaign against sending and receiving Japan's Self-Defense Forces. This is our earnest desire. Thirdly, we have to discuss here what Japan's true international contribution should be. We are convinced that Japan's true international contribution should be made based on the peace principles of the Constitution of Japan, namely by means except arms.

These are the three points to be discussed on. So at first, I would like to ask my dear panelists to give your frank opinions about these points. Then, on the next day other participants will have opportunities to speak about the related matters. Speakers from the participants here are requested to talk about not only what they have done until now but also their own positive opinions and proposals for the future. Now let's start!

REPORTS FROM PANELISTS



Akira FUJIWARA (Japan), professor at Kagawa Nutrition College born in 1922, scholar of history of Japan

JAPAN'S WAR OF AGGRESSION AND ATROCITIES BY THE JAPANESE FORCES

1) Features of War Responsibility Arguments in Japan

The nature of the war, which started with the Japanese invasion to the North East China in 1931 and lasted until the Japanese surrender in 1945, is Japan's aggression against Asian countries. But throughout the post-war period, the fact that this was a war of aggression has not become a common perception among the Japanese people.

The Tokyo Tribunal opened by the Allied Forces from 1946 through 1948 denounced the war responsibility of Japan and passed a sentence of guilty on 25 people, including Hideki Tojo, declaring them to be A-class war criminals. But neither the war responsibility nor the war crime has ever been tried by the Japanese people themselves. What was called in question in the wake of Japanese surrender was the responsibility for Japan's defeat, and not for having launched the war.

Given that considering the post-war U.S. policy to Japan, the Tokyo Tribunal itself did not call the responsibility of the Emperor in question, the arguments on Japan's war responsibility ended quite inadequately. By letting the Emperor go, it also evaded seeking the responsibility of those who were truly responsible for the war, such as most politicians, high officials and leaders of business and financial circles called "zaibatsu", except for a small number of military leaders.

That the major part of the people responsible for the war survived intact, made the criticism and reflection within Japan against the war utterly insufficient. This finds its expression in the arguments in defense of the war and the rosy picture of the war both presented in school textbooks. Repeated remarks made by conservative Japanese politicians denying the aggressive nature of the war or even attempting to justify it have their root in the fact that the war responsibility was left ambiguous.

In 1982, when the school textbooks of Japanese history caused serious

international concern, particularly among Asian nations, an even more reactionary tendency became conspicuous in the war responsibility arguments in Japan. Conservative politicians and right-wing journalism began attacking every argument on war responsibilities, calling it a "Pacific War conception of history", or "Tokyo Tribunal conception of history". In 1987, the then Prime Minister Yasuhiro NAKASONE attacked historians who had critical views on the war. Denying the war responsibility of the Emperor, he said that Japan's post-war development has been achieved by the sound nationalism which "unites the people around the Emperor". He proposed that this new form of nationalism be developed.

As shown by this, an idea of denying Japan's responsibility for having launched the war of aggression is being spread in present Japan, turning a blind eye to the historical fact that Japan conquered Korea, enslaved its people, and further expanded the aggression to China and Southeast Asian countries.

2) Insufficiency in Denouncing Offenders' Responsibility

The question taken up when the Japanese make a critical review on the last war is the damage caused to Japan by the war, with the emphasis on the loss of some 3,100,000 Japanese lives, destroyed cities by air-raids and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Peace movements have claimed that they oppose war because they do not want this tragic experience to be repeated.

In the period immediately after the Japan's defeat, this provided a basis on which the war renouncing Constitution was welcomed and peace movements widely accepted, particularly because the experience of damages stayed very much alive. With the increase of new generations having no war experience, campaigns have developed to talk to them about experiences of having suffered from air-raids or the atrocious nature of damages caused by the atomic bombs. The anti-war peace movement based on the experiences as victims is, of course, useful.

But what is needed to consider more than the experiences as victims is the experiences of Japanese as offenders. During World War II, with its powerful military forces, Japan invaded and dominated many Asian countries. The number of deaths caused there by this was many times, or dozens of times more than among the Japanese. Clearly, there, the Japanese were not victims, but assailants.

In Japan, August 15, the day of the end of the war, is observed as the Memorial Service Day of the War Dead: the Japanese government annually sponsors a memorial ceremony, and mass-communication media feature the war, laying emphasis on war damages. But the days of launching the war, i.e., September 18,

1931, July 7, 1937 and December 8, 1941 are not observed with any event. Though these days need to be commemorated as days to remember the war responsibilities as offenders, almost nothing is spoken of on the outbreak of the war on those days, in a sharp contrast to the nation-wide commemoration of August 15. This is because the memory of war among the Japanese is of victims, far more than as aggressors.

For this reason, the problem of war responsibility as aggressors is being hardly argued any longer. Except for the trials of war criminals held by the Allies shortly after the end of the war, no trial on war responsibility or war crimes has ever been conducted by the Japanese people themselves. It even happens that not only B- and C-class war criminals who were charged with mistreatment of hostages, but also A-class war criminals who were charged with their responsibility of having launched the war are often treated as "pitiful victims", or "unfortunate martyrs".

3) Responsibility to Asian Peoples

The very question on war responsibility arguments is that the problem of Japan's war responsibility to Asian peoples has not been sufficiently taken up.

The major concern of the Japanese politicians at the immediate post-war period was its war responsibility to the United States and Great Britain, and not Asian countries. The "Monologue of the Showa Emperor", in which he tried to excuse his own war responsibility, begins and ends with the problem of war responsibility to Great Britain and the United States. His consciousness of Japan's aggression against Asian countries proved very poor.

The war crime tribunal by the Allies was run mainly by Great Britain and the United States, and the Japanese aggression against Asian countries was not sufficiently taken up. Most of the B- and C-class war criminals were accused because of their mistreatment of British and U.S. prisoners of war.

Needless to say, the heaviest damages from the Japan's war of aggression were inflicted upon Asian peoples. Korea as a colony suffered slavery domination for 35 years; China suffered from the war of aggression for 15 years; the damages caused to countries in Southeast Asia were inestimably heavy, and atrocities by the Japanese forces were conducted on a tremendous scale. That hardly any of these were called in question in the post-war Japan features the war responsibility arguments of Japan.

Of the 11 countries which constituted the Tokyo Tribunal, i.e., the U.S.A., Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and the Philippines, only three were from Asia, the major arena of Japan's war of aggression. In this trial held mainly by those who

colonized Asian countries, little attention was paid to the damages caused to the people of Asian countries.

The lack of an Asian dimension in the Japan's war responsibility arguments is reflected in the problem of Japan's post-war disposal and compensations. Typical of this is the fact that it was only recently that the problem of forced transfer of labor and forced military prostitution, i.e., the "comfort women" became serious issues. These problems are calling back Japan's responsibility for the war of aggression against Asia.

4) Atrocities by the Japanese Military Forces

Also conspicuous in the conduct of the Japanese forces during the Second World War are atrocities committed on a wide scale against prisoners of war and civilian populations.

Throughout the warfare from September 1931, and particularly since Japan occupied the northeast area of China, the Japanese forces conducted many forms of atrocities against the Chinese people. The Pingdingshan incident in September 1932 was one such example, in which more than 1,000 residents of a village, including children, were all murdered on the allegation that they cooperated with guerrilla forces.

In July 1937, when the full-fledged war of aggression against China started, Japan's Army Ministry issued directives in China, declaring that no international law would apply to this war and ordering that the term "hostage" was not allowed to be used. Forces deploying in the forefront did not send prisoners of war (POWs) to camps, but simply murdered them. When they occupied the then Chinese capital Nangching, they executed large numbers of hostages. Against ordinary citizens, plunder, assaults, arson, rapes and other forms of atrocities were repeated. Rapes were so rampant that the military authorities introduced a military prostitution system to deal with the matter. Such inhuman conduct prevailed as to take women by force from Korea and other colonized countries.

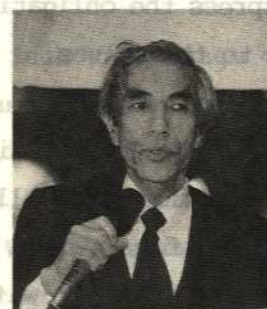
Murders of POWs and atrocities to residents were not confined to the case of occupied Nangching, but prevailed everywhere and throughout the war against China. The number of people who suffered was so great that no one can figure out an exact number.

As the war expanded to Southeast Asia and the Pacific in 1941, so did the atrocious conduct. In Malaya and Singapore, residents of Chinese origin were systematically murdered as soon as the countries were occupied. Mass murders of residents were repeated in the Philippines and Vietnam. Cold-blooded operations continued such as to make requisition for agricultural products by

which many people were starved to death or to take people for forced labor and women for military prostitution.

Given that many cases of atrocious acts by the Japanese forces in extensive regions in Asia are still left veiled, further investigation by ourselves must be made to present a true picture.

This is my first speech. Thank you very much.



Yasuhiro OKUDAIRA (Japan),

professor at International Christian University born in 1929, scholar of the Constitution

As I am a scholar of the Constitution, I think I have a mission to pick up points at issue and study them from that standpoint.

The uniqueness of Japan's standpoint is probably derived from the fact that it has the so-called peace Constitution. In other words, the question cannot be studied from the trend of international politics or national sentiment or awareness -- derived from political context as "the question of peace for the present" -- but from the notion that the prerequisite of the question is pacifism.

As Prof. Yuge pointed out in his address, we must attach importance to the fact that pacifism was set as Japan's national policy in the Constitution. If this standpoint should be distorted, the outcome would endanger not only the people of Japan but also the entire people of Asia and of the world. It is pressing for us to see through the question from this standpoint, i.e., with the Constitution of Japan placed as an indispensable prerequisite of the entire question. I am not repeatedly crying for the Constitution of Japan as I am a scholar of the Constitution. What we should do is not to argue the question at the level of the Constitution, but argue the question of what should be done by placing the Constitution as the minimum prerequisite. I would be happy if you would understand my standpoint as the minimum position.

Diversified discussions and examinations are essential in approaching the issue on establishing peace in Asia together with the peoples of Asian countries. I think it is very important for us to discuss this issue together with the Asian people to find a clue to it. As a scholar of the Constitution, I would like to take part in the discussion focusing on pacifism and

international cooperationism as stipulated by the Constitution of Japan.

The Constitution of Japan in its preamble declares the idea of pacifism and international cooperationism. And in order to realize this and put it into practice, Article 9 establishes the principle of renunciation of war and non-possession of war potential. This standpoint of the Constitution of Japan, based on the thorough self-criticism on Japan's militarism, chauvinism, aggressionism and imperialism, was a clear expression of the Japanese people's determination announced toward themselves. In other words, basically the principle and system stipulated in the Constitution express the obligation and responsibility that Japan and the Japanese people owe to themselves.

However, as the principle and system are stipulated in the Constitution and declared as Japan's national policy, people all over the world, above all those in Asia, have, so to speak, the right to accept it at face value. This national policy, because of its nature, is concerned closely with the understanding from people of all the world, especially from those of Japan's neighboring countries.

In the beginning of the 1950s, so-called the first wave of interpretational revision of the Constitution being introduced the right of individual country to self-defense, a concept which was nothing to do with the Constitution, widely shook the principle of the Constitution on pacifism and the system of renunciation of war and war potential. As a result, a sense of anxiety and mistrust is deep rooted in the minds of the people both at home and abroad. Further, the Japan's political ruling class came to demand that Japan should behave as a big power not only at home but abroad as Japan was transformed into a so-called "economic power". Particularly around the beginning of the 1990s, the perspective for disarmament and peace was opened as the result of the end of the cold war and East-West antagonism. Therefore, conditions were established for pacifism and international cooperationism, provided in the Constitution of Japan, to show their true value. However, to the contrary, the ruling class of Japan took advantage of the Gulf Crisis as a good opportunity to put their plan into practice. The ruling circles of Japan thought that "a golden opportunity has come" and tried to use it for their wrong purpose. Their plot since the 1980s was to let the SDF survive, develop and reinforce their function by linking them with an international body represented by the United Nations. They started seeking for a path to materialize their plot by taking advantage of the Gulf Crisis. They had been attempting to reinforce the function of the SDF and develop them further in close linkage with the "

collective security" of the United Nations. Various steps to enable the dispatch of the SDF abroad were conceived, and they finally put them into practice. The result was the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces abroad. In spite of the fact that Japan has the most unique Constitution, the ruling circles pretended as if they were acting properly and following internationally established procedures which "ordinary forces of ordinary countries" take. They intended to nullify the idea and system of the peace Constitution in this way. This is the revision of the Constitution for the worse by giving distorted interpretation. We are in such a serious situation today.

Such an outrage over the Constitution committed by the Japanese ruling class threaten not only the constitutional order of Japan and the right of its citizens to live in peace, which attaches to that order. It directly threatens world peace and, above all, the right of the Asian people to live in peace.

We must examine seriously these moves surrounding the Constitution with the recognition that they are linked with other constitutional issues, such as questions of the Emperor system, rewriting of school textbooks, "Kimigayo and Hinomaru" and Yasukuni Shrine, and should be examined seriously.



CHUNG Chin-Sung (Korea), associate professor at Dok-Sung Women's University born in 1953, scholar of sociology

JAPANESE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WAR CRIMES TO KOREA AND THE THREAT OF A PRO In some form and another most Asian countries suffered from Japanese occupation and imperialism. After the Second World War, Japan recovered in a short period, and began to force its economy on Asian countries which were still in recovering from the colonial legacy. And now Japan is trying to expand its political and military power to Asia. This is being done without self-criticism or sincere apology and compensation to countries which suffered from Japan. Asian countries which do not forget the nightmare of "A Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" cannot help retaining a fear of new affronts by the Japanese.

Korea is perhaps the nation which suffered the most from Japanese

occupation through the Colonial Period(1910-1945), especially during World War II period. Korea has taken the most active role in asking war reparation from Japan.

I will discuss the damage Korea suffered during this period, focusing on the problem of "army comfort women" in the 1930s and 1940s. Then, the issue of sending Japan's Self-Defense Forces abroad will be reviewed, related with the Japanese true contribution to Asian societies.

1) Japan's War Responsibility toward Koreans

Limiting the damages due to "15 Years War"(1931-1945), the following categories can be considered, which have been major targets for the movement in Korea to recover its history and receive compensation with Japan's sincere apology.

(1) Remainers in Sakhalin: Some 60,000 Koreans went to Sakhalin and could not return home until now. Since the 1970s, there have been various activities for their returning and compensation.

(2) Damaged by Atomic Bomb: Some 20,000 Koreans were hit by the atomic bomb in Nagasaki and Hiroshima but were deserted by the Japanese government. It was not until a few years ago that the Japanese government decided to offer 4 billion yen by the year 1992 to support these people.

(3) Forcibly Transferred Workers: A large number of Korean men and women (a precise figure is not known) were mobilized into military industries during the war time. Records of their wages indicate that they were not paid. The Japanese government has not taken further responsibility for this.

(4) Soldiers and Army Civilian Employees: Several hundred thousand Koreans were forcibly transferred to the battle fields as Japanese soldiers or civilian employees. Many of them who died or were wounded and disabled were not compensated.

(5) Army Comfort Women: About 80,000-120,000 Korean girls and women were forcibly or deceptively transferred to the Japanese army as comfort women. It was not until a few years ago that this awful problem began to attract social interest. This will be discussed in detail later.

(6) Residents in Japan: Over 690,000 Korean nationals are living in Japan now. A large number of them were damaged by the war, but received no treatment from the Japanese government because they were not Japanese nationals. In addition to the above five incidents, there is a problem of B- and C-level war criminals.

The Japanese government has held the position that all these problems were

resolved by the Korea-Japan Treaty of 1965. In fact, because of this treaty Korea has had great difficulty in approaching these problems. But the treaty, which was conceived by Korea's dictatorial government at that time, could be seriously impacted by the advent of several international laws, and could demand compensation for the Japanese war crimes.

2) Army Comfort Women

Among all the damages from the Japanese occupation, the situation of "army comfort women" is the most tragic. As mentioned above, this became to be considered with social interests as well as in academic fields only recently. Since the policy of "comfort women" in the Japanese army kept secret during war time, and soldiers were ordered to destroy related materials at the end of the war, the overall dimensions of the "comfort women" situation is difficult to conceive. Korean Council for Women Drafted for Sexual Service by Japan are now surveying the raw materials and analyzing the experiences of some 70 former comfort women who reported to the Council. Fortunately, Japanese civil organizations offered substantial assistance in this matter.

From our studies, we can summarize the situation of the comfort women as follows. It should be pointed out that there was a "factory comfort women" system in the beginning of the 1920s when Hokkaido was developed. This system were widened to factories of military industries during the war time. In Hokkaido area alone over 3,000 Korean girls between the ages of 13-19 were drafted. It has not been thoroughly investigated yet, but the management system seems to be similar to that of the "army comfort women" system. It should be emphasized that the institution of "army comfort women" has a deep historical background dating back to the Japanese Tokugawa Period during which public prostitution systems were organized by the government. Militarization of Japan and its policy to extinguish colonial nation in the 1930s and 1940s are basic factors in establishing "army comfort women" system mostly formed by colonial women.

It is widely known that the Japanese army brought "comfort women" to the battle fields early during the period of Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War. But it is in the 1930s that for the first time the government systematically planned, established and controlled the army brothels. It was the first time not only in Japanese war history but in the world history of war, colony and women.

When the Japanese army ventured into the Continent of Asia at the beginning of the 1930s, it started to establish army brothels to increase morale, prevent the spread of venereal disease among its soldiers, and control the occupied area by preventing soldiers' rape and plunder, through the mobilization of mostly Korean and some Taiwanese, Japanese, women in the occupied areas. After Japan-China War in 1937 this institution was systematically enforced in almost all Japanese army locations, including Manchuria, China, the South Sea Islands, even inside Japan and Korea. Some army brothels were directly operated by the army, but the others were managed by civilians under the supervision of the army. Japanese army had written regulation for the brothels and enforced regular examinations for venereal disease. Korean girls who were mainly 15 to 25 years old were forcibly taken or deceived with false offers for jobs either directly by the army or police officials or through civilians hired by Japanese authorities. At brothels the "comfort women" usually had to entertain 30-40 soldiers a day and generally more on weekends. Such abuse killed a considerable number of the women. Many of them were infected by venereal diseases and were given so-called 606 injections. The women were rarely paid wages for these forced sexual services. Only very few of them returned before the war was over, and most of the survivors returned after the war. When the war was over, Japanese soldiers rarely returned home with their comfort women, usually abandoning them. Abandoned women should return home individually with extreme difficulty. Some remained where they were, and some were returned with the U.S. army. In some military outfits, the comfort women were ordered to commit suicide along with Japanese soldiers. In other locations they were killed in caves or trenches, or locked in submarines which were scheduled to be sunk.

Most of the 70 former comfort women who reported in Korean Council are living alone with the severe economic difficulties. They did not marry or failed in marriage because of their own sense of guilt, ill health or the bias they suffered in society.

The Japanese government had denied any government role in these army brothels, insisting that all operations were conducted by civilians. It was not until last year that the Japanese government admitted that it was involved in this system, but it did not clearly admit it was involved in recruiting the women by force or deception. The Japanese government has been reluctant to investigate its own historical files and has attempt to silence this now international issue hastily, offering nominal amounts of money without admitting legal responsibility.

Korea is not allowing this kind of resolution and is insisting that investigation should continue and that sincere apology and adequate compensation should follow.

3) PKO Problem and Prospects of Japan's Contribution to Asian Countries

The Japanese government attempts to disavow any responsibility for its damages to Asian countries. In this situation Japan began to send army to Asian countries in the name of peace keeping. Koreans are very much worried about this sort of Japanese activity, and oppose the deployment of the Japanese troops for the following reasons. Instead, Japan should find other ways through which it can make a true reconciliatory contribution to Asian countries.

First of all, there is a danger of recurrence of various war crimes including the "comfort women" problem, since Japan does not thoroughly reflect the past mistakes of it. Before sending army Japan should clear its past record of war crimes in Asian countries.

Second, if Japan send the army in the name of helping these countries, it should consider what is really needed in these countries. Japan already has strong economic influences upon these countries, which has deepened their economic dependency upon Japan. The most important thing that Japan has to do for these countries is to help them strengthen their economies by transferring technology and increasing their economic autonomy. Sending the army in this situation simply means expanding Japanese political and military control over these countries.

Third, true international contribution should also be affected from within Japan. Severe discrimination against Korean residents in Japan, as well as a large number of Asian illegal workers exists and the Japanese government has not established any means to humanely deal with the situation. Outwardly, Japan continues to impose itself on other Asian countries through the promotion of its "sex tour" industry, which is the cause of further social and psychological damage in these countries, and calls into question Japan's true intention and resolve to make positive contributions to other Asian nations.

In addition, it seems that in the future the intervention of advanced nations into less developed countries is a form of imperialism which will only recreate situations such as the one we are attempting to resolve; smaller nations should be left to their own autonomous government.

In sum, Japan does not seem to be ready to offer true reparation and contributions to its Asian neighbors. It has only offered a dangerous reenactment of its past militaristic occupations. By clearing its war record and offering considerable economic assistance, Japan can begin to mend its relationships with its Asian neighbors.



TAN Chee-Beng (Malaysia),
associate professor at Malaya University,
born in 1950, anthropologist, member of "Aliran"

The chair-person, ladies and gentlemen, good morning.
First I would like to thank the Organizing Committee for inviting me to this symposium. I'm glad to be here and I'd like to share you with some ideas in the hope that I learn more from you, from this symposium. This symposium is very important and is very timely, especially in view of the political development in the world and specially in Japan after the Gulf War.

Now to discuss the Japan's contribution to peace in Asia, we have to begin with right attitude to history, right understanding of history. This is especially important for Japan when we talk about Japan and peace in Asia, because Japan was the aggressor during the Second World War and the memories of the war are still very vivid and the people still learned back there were the people who suffered from the war, who had lost their parents during the war and the women who had been raped. And the recent raising of the comfort women used by the Japanese soldiers during the war show that the suffering caused by the Japanese imperial army is still not yet forgotten, and unfortunately it is also not forgiven. So we must talk about right attitude and right understanding of history.

To be sure in my mind, it is not fair to hold the younger generation of Japanese today for a heinous crime committed by the government of the 1930s and 1940s. However, all people especially the younger generation of Japanese must understand their attitude on Japan's role in the Second World War. This is very important. The people of Asia judge the intention of the present government

and the Japanese people on their attitude: whether they feel sorry for what had happened, and whether they pledge to uphold peace in the region as stated in Japan's Constitution. In this respect, it is understandable that the people in Asia have been furious about certain people in Japan wanting to distort the history by covering up the extent of atrocities committed by the imperial army. The massacre of the Chinese in Nangching, in Singapore or elsewhere should not be covered up. In fact all people including the students in Japan should be told about the truth, so that we may all learn from history, that we, Japanese and non-Japanese, will all work together to ensure peace in the region and for the human kind as a whole. This is especially important because of the rise of militarism in Japan or recent trend to have militarism. Only we have right understanding of history, the methods that can the people in Japan be persuaded to defend justice and peace against militarism can be persuaded or be mobilized to fight against militarism.

The Japanese people today should not feel guilty about the past. I think they should be courageous to admit and condemn the crimes committed by the past regime. They should find out the truth about what had happened, about the suffering of the people in Asia, but also about the suffering of the Japanese people themselves. They should find every aspect about the truth of the war including, for example the USA's use of the atomic bomb on Japan. You also know that Japan committed the crime against humanity. I would like to stress that and the people have not mentioned very much. The USA in dropping the atomic bomb committed a great crime against humanity.

The current attitude to history is important in establishing the common ground for cooperation and solidarity between people and nations. This is so not only for Japan and the rest of the people in the Asian Pacific region, it is also true of say, the relation between the Whites Americans and the indigenous Indian Americans, and between the once colonial power and the colonized people. The people who had once suffered from aggression and subjugation should not continue to bear hatred to the aggressor, but they have the right to expect the once aggressor such Japan to express sincere apology and take steps to rectify the situation or to ensure that peace would be observed.

The recent issue about sending Japan's Self-Defense Forces overseas for the United Nations peace-keeping operation had caused much concern within and also outside Japan. This is understandable given the historical background I've discussed earlier. People in Asia as well as the peace-loving people in Japan are concerned whether the Japanese government will continue to uphold the peace

intention of Japan's Constitution.

My discussion so far emphasizes the need for sincere attitude to history as a primary basis for promoting peace. It is necessary for Japan to apologize and to pay compensation where they are due. The people in the rest of Asia and the Pacific on their part must also have the right understanding of history. They must not continue to bear hatred towards Japan and the Japanese people. In this way we can really leave the ghost of the Second World War behind and move forward towards more cooperation and solidarity for the cause of peace, stability and prosperity.

It should be borne in mind that what the military regime in Japan did to the rest of the world during the Second World War had nothing to do with Japanese culture or so-called Japanese character some people want to portray. In my mind, any irresponsible and greedy regime with the means and power could have done that. Nor just the Japanese. That is why it is important that citizens of a country must play their role to ensure that their government uphold justice and peace. Japan can contribute to peace by ensuring that its own government uphold the principles of justice and peace.

The role of non-government organizations (NGOs) and peace activities is crucial for promoting peace. Ultimately it is the Japanese people who will decide whether Japan will uphold the principle of peace as ensured in the Constitution of Japan, or go on the path of increasing militarism. Peace is a global concern, and so there should be more cooperation between the NGOs and the peace-loving people in Japan with those in the rest of Asia and elsewhere in the world. The PKO issue (sending the Self-Defense Forces overseas), for example, does not concern Japan only, it is also of concern to the rest of Asia and the world. In addition, the people outside Japan should have the opportunity to know about the peace campaigns in Japan and the active NGOs promoting peace. I think it is important to let the people outside Japan to know the people here are also promoting peace.

Japan is now a major economic power in the world. Having achieved such a status, the rightists in Japan naturally argues for more militarism to protect the Japanese economic interest worldwide. There is a greater need now for peace-loving people in Japan and people elsewhere to stop the trend of militarism. Militarism will only lead to military solution of conflicts and of attaining power and wealth. We should remember that wars cause suffering to all people. In the case of Japan's role in the Second World War, the people in

Asia were not the only victims of war. I want to stress that the people in Japan were victims too.

Japan should direct its wealth for the cause of peace and prosperity in the world. Peace-loving people like to see Japan send doctors, engineers, teachers and other peace and development oriented personnels overseas rather than to send soldiers. Peace and development oriented programmes as well as scholarship will cultivate goodwill and understanding, and go a long way to reduce the image of Japan as an economic exploiter.

In the post Cold War period, the western powers, and in particular the United States, have emerged to dictate the rest of the world according to their own interests. The USA has remained the greatest imperialist power and aggressor in the modern period of history. Japan can contribute to peace by not allowing itself to be the ally of the USA in the latter's pursuit of military and economic dominance of the war. Increasing militarism in Japan and its military alliance with the USA is a cause of concern for peace-loving people throughout the world. In the name of peace and prosperity for the region, Japan should ally more closely with the people and democratic government in Asia and elsewhere. It should not be a party to war as it had done during the Gulf War. By contributing to the cost of the war, Japan, in my mind, had become a party to the USA-led aggression against Iraqi people. It would have been much better for Japan to contribute money to help the victims of war in both Kuwait and Iraq than to help finance the war. In my mind, Japan had violated its own peace Constitution by helping to finance the Gulf War.

In this first presentation, I have emphasized education and correct attitude to history. I've also stressed the important role of NGOs and people activities and that there should be more cooperation with all NGOs outside of Japan. The people in the rest of Asia also have right understanding of history and learn more about the current situation in Japan including the campaigns for peace within Japan. In foreign relation, Japan should not ally the USA to dominate the world and to proceed the double-standard policy and it has been proceeded by the USA now. Japan should be active to promote peace worldwide without having an imperialist power. This is in line with the spirit of the Constitution of Japan and also I must stress with the Buddhist teachings which are ideal to the heart of the Japanese people, we understand how we must transfer our believes for non-violence and for peace into actual action.

Ultimately it is the Japanese citizens who decide whether the government of Japan will continue to observe the principle of peace in the Constitution. Silence will be taken as consent by politicians and upper-class elites in Japan who want militarism. So one should not be silent. So everyone should speak out for the sake of peace in both Japan and the rest of the world. And I believe with the right understanding of history, the majority of the people in Japan can be persuaded to uphold peace. Thank you very much.



Bonifacio H. GILLEGO (the Philippines),
Congressman of the Philippines,
born in 1921, Chairman of the Committee on
Civil, Political and Human Rights

JAPAN TODAY : A FILIPINO PERSPECTIVE

Fellow speakers, guests and participants, advocates of peace, ladies and gentlemen. Ohayo Gozaimasu. Watashi wa senso no mae ni sensei deshita. Senso chu ni watashi wa heitai deshita. (Good morning. I was a teacher before the war. During the war, I was a soldier.)

The subject matter that we will be discussing is of great significance to many Asian countries today. Japan's role in Asia permeates not only the operation and economies of Asian countries but the day to day lives of millions of Asians as well.

Japan today is a world economic superpower. Nobody disputes this fact. Japan is the number one investor in Asia with investments totalling US\$47.52 billion up to 1990. During the last five years, Japanese companies invested US\$26.8 billion in the eight fastest growing economies of Asia bigger than the US investment of US\$7.4 billion. With the continuing economic difficulties of the US, Japan is leading the world in terms of investments in the Asia region.

Japan is also Asia's biggest creditor and aid donor country today. The substantial current account surpluses in the 1980s allowed Japan to convert the substantial amounts into Official Development Assistance(ODA). This is

composed of technical assistance, soft loans, grants, food and agricultural commodities, emergency relief and military assistance. Asia received a total of US\$4.24 billion representing 63% of the total Japanese ODA.

The Philippines was the third biggest recipient of Japanese ODA from 1971 to 1991 accounting for 910.577 billion yen or roughly US\$7 billion coursed through the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund. This amount represents 9 percent of Japan's total loan commitments during the same period. The CALABARZON project which encompass infrastructure, industrial and agricultural projects in the five main provinces of Southern Tagalog: Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal and Quezon is the centerpiece of Japanese ODA funded projects.

The inflow of large sums of Japanese money for infrastructure and industrial development into the Asian economies are indicative of Japan's success in winning over Asian countries into Japan's sphere of economic influence. The large investments in infrastructure projects are immediately followed by the transfer of labor intensive Japanese industries to take advantage of the skilled but cheap labor in Asian countries. In the Philippines, the wage expected to 20 % of the Japanese wages. This cash inflow also expanded the markets for Japanese goods in Asia. Japan's export to leading Asian economies grew by 5 % from 1980 to 1989.

Japan, in short, is the leading source of investments, loans and aid for Asian countries today.

The present government of President Ramos is taking advantage of this fact to pursue its own economic objectives. The CALABARZON project is going on at full speed. Many Japanese firms have already started their operations in the industrial estates set up within the CALABARZON area. Four other industrial regions are to be set up in the future. Thus, for the Ramos government, the Japanese yen is most welcome in the Philippines.

In another respect, Japan is also important for the Ramos government as a major labor market. Annually, more than 57,000 Filipino women come to Japan as entertainers. An estimated 100,000 illegal Filipino workers are also in Japan working as construction or factory workers. A handful Filipinos also work here as domestic helpers and as trainees.

Filipino employment in Japan relieves the Ramos government in two ways. First, it relieves the problem of unemployment. And second, these workers remit

much needed dollars to our home country. From 1982 to 1991 Filipino workers in Japan had remitted more than US\$247 million through the official banking channels alone. More are remitted through unofficial or informal channels.

Because of the major economic significance of Filipino employment in Japan both legal and illegal, not much has been done to address their welfare problems that might jeopardize RP-Japan relations or that might put Japan in a bad light. The case of Maricris Sioson, a Filipino entertainer who died here in Japan under mysterious circumstances is a case in point. Many others remain untold. The exploitation of Filipino workers in Japan continue to touch a raw nerve in the Filipino psyche today.

From the ordinary Filipinos' point of view, Japan is viewed with mixed feelings. In some areas specifically in the CALABARZON area, the Japanese companies set up to provide employment opportunities for a number of skilled Filipino workers in the area. On the other hand, substantial productive agricultural lands have been destroyed and a number of peasant communities were being displaced due to the setting up of the industrial estates. Local residents are wary too of the environmental destruction which the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the area brings.

It is acknowledged that Japanese ODA has contributed to the socio-economic development of the Philippines in terms of generating short-term livelihood opportunities; making possible the construction/improvement of vital infrastructure projects; facilitating the delivery of some basic social services such as health and education; and allowing limited forms of technology transfer to take place.

Japanese ODA, on the other hand, is heavily criticized for its negative impact on genuine Philippine development in the following matter:

1) ODA has increased ironically our foreign debt. Unlike the official development assistance of the United States and European countries, Japanese ODA has a high percentage of loan component. The Philippine government is hard-pressed to come up with the local counterpart for such loans and in accumulating sufficient resources to meet our foreign debt obligations. For 1993 alone, as we discussed the budget and passed only last month, 40 % of the Philippine government's budget has been automatically earmarked for debt service alone. This deprives the government and our people huge resources badly needed for social services and education of the people.

The heavy debt burden is felt by all and many Filipinos and even fellow legislators feel that an alternative approach must be taken by the Philippine government. More and more are calling for the imposition of a 10 % debt cap or a limit to the country's annual debt payment. The rationale behind this is to provide the Philippine economy enough breathing space to enable it to grow in real terms.

Japanese officials however have reacted negatively to this move. The Japanese ambassador even threatened that such a move must be abandoned right away by the Philippines, otherwise Japan will cut off all loans and aid to the Philippines.

2) The ODA has been used to support an unjust and unsustainable development model resulting in more economic hardships than positive economic gains for the common people, for the poor people.

3) Affected communities are not consulted on the projects being set up in their midst.

4) The ODA is biased in favor of large infrastructure projects designed to meet the needs of Japanese investors which seldom respond to the needs of the poor.

5) ODA funds have been used in a number of projects resulting in substantial destruction of the environment.

Aside from ODA funded projects, the entry of a number of Japanese companies is causing havoc to the Philippine environment. While Japan maintains an enviable environmental protection program, Japanese partner firms in the Philippines are cutting down our remaining forests for logs. You may have very nice chopsticks here but they are made so at the expense of Philippine forests and even Filipino lives as demonstrated in the Ormoc tragedy. Japanese firms are also engaged in the massive extraction of gold ores in the Philippines leaving environmental destruction in its wake.

In the political arena, Japan is perceived as adopting a more aggressive foreign affairs policy to support its political and economic agenda in the region. While Japan recognizes and supports the world political and military dominance of the United States, Japan is also hardpressed to buttress the

American economy by increasing its level of investments in the United States and to open up its local market for American exports. So far, Japan seems to be contented for the moment in just expanding its "checkbook diplomacy" and using Japanese ODA and investments as means of influencing its client nations. Since the Gulf War however, Japan had initiated moves perceived to be aimed at strengthening its military capabilities, to soften the Constitutional prohibition on the sending of Japanese troops to foreign lands and to undertake a more active role in world politics.

Japan has the capacity to go into massive rearming. In 1991, Japan's military budget amounted to US\$31.9 billion - the biggest in Asia and the third biggest in the world after the United States and former Soviet Union. Despite the small percentage of the Japanese defense budget as a component of the national budget, Japan will still be able to acquire 10 destroyers, of which 4 will be Aegis-equipped, five new submarines, 20 auxiliary ships, 42 more advanced F-15 fighters, 4 AWACS aircrafts, 45 anti-submarine and patrol aircrafts and helicopters as well as multiple launched missile systems, Patriot and improved Hawk surface-to-air missile batteries.

The defense buildup of Japan is being watched closely by other Asian countries especially those who suffered under the Japanese imperial troops during World War II.

The issue of the Filipino comfort women is also another issue that has drawn national attention and sympathy for the comfort women. It took Japan half a century to admit the existence of the Asian comfort women. Are there any other war crimes committed against other nations which Japan has not yet admitted at this point?

Many Filipinos also suffered during the Second World War and the wounds of war are not easy to forget. Many of us lost their loved ones and suffered tremendously during those four years of Japanese military occupation.

Given this backdrop, many Filipinos believe that Japan should do more than merely acknowledge and apologize in general to the victims especially the comfort women that has already been touched by the previous speaker. Japan owes the Asian comfort women more than just a mere apology. Following the Korean example, a number of Filipino comfort women have already surfaced. Lola Rosa Henson, a Filipina grandmother who braved public exposure to lead the women's campaign to bring justice to those women exploited during the Second World War.

The Ramos government responded by ordering the National Commission on the Role of the Filipino Women and the Department of Foreign Affairs to look deeper into the matter.

In the House of Representatives, I filed two Resolutions on comfort women: (1) House Resolution No.196 - a Resolution urging President Fidel V. Ramos to act on the issue of Filipino "comfort women" by undertaking an official investigation and search for surviving "comfort women" or their families, and demanding from the Japanese government a public apology to the Filipino people and just compensation for the victims and their families; and (2) House Resolution No.200 together with Congressman Dennis Roldan urging the House of Representatives to investigate the same subject. Two committee hearings on the comfort women issue have already been held.

In the light of all these varying perception of Japan from the Filipinos' point of view, how then would we like to see Japan in the future? Again it's embarrassing from one like me coming from a poor country to advise the Japanese people or the Japanese government what to do. But since we are here engaging a very frank reappraisal about what happened in the past, permit me to be proudly frank not brutally frank. Allow me to posit a few recommendations from the point of view of progressive minded Filipinos.

First, the ODA should be used as an instrument to achieve means to redress the economic imbalance between the North and South. The ODA should support development paths suited to the actual problems and needs of the recipient country nor the IMF and the World Bank be allowed to impose inappropriate development models as a condition to the loans. The ODA should adhere to the bottom-up approach to development to ensure people's participation in every step of the development process. Free access to information should be made available about the Japanese development assistance to the Third World. The ODA should ensure the protection of the environment. It should not be linked to debt conditionalities nor used in political and economic blackmail to determine the host country's economic policies.

Second, Japan should maintain an active policy towards the promotion of world peace. It is for the interest of the world that Japan should not embark on a military build-up that will surely be interpreted negatively by Asian countries. Japan should not build up its military power more than what it needs for self-defense as mandated by the Japanese peace Constitution, in which

article 9 says Japan forever renounces the war as a sovereign right or the use of force in the resolution of the conflicts.

Third, Japan should apologize to the Asian comfort women victimized in the Second World War. Since the abduction of Asian women and the setting up of comfort houses for Japanese troops were established as a general policy of the invading Japanese troops, it is but just for Japan to recognize the crimes committed during the last war and to apologize not only to the countries involved but most importantly to the actual victims themselves.

A move towards this end will be received favorably in the international community, not just in Asia. This is proof of Japan's sincerity in making amends for crimes committed during the Second World War, of which many of here especially the younger people know very little about.

Likewise, the proper indemnity should be paid to the victims for the actual and moral hardships which they endured not only during the war but also for the long years of sufferings which they endured bearing with them the memory of Japanese abuse and repression.

And fourth, Japan should recognize the presence of migrant workers in Japan and adopt policies that would guarantee the human and labor rights of migrant workers in Japan.

Migrant workers contribute substantially to Japan's economic development. They provide the necessary skills and labor in areas of the Japanese economy where labor shortage exists. It is only but just and fair for Japan to uphold the United Nations' Convention on the Protection of Migrants' Rights and to come to terms with the reality of the need, presence and importance of migrant workers in Japan.

Japan is perceived as a country which adopts highly restrictive and even repressive policies concerning migrant workers in Japan. It is a fact that hundreds of thousands of Asian workers are in Japan today providing valuable skills and labor necessary for the growth of various industries. Despite this fact, however, Japan still refuses to allow the legal entry or stay of these workers. Japan even refused to sign the United Nations Convention for the Protection of Migrant Workers. Japan's failure to uphold internationally guaranteed fundamental rights of migrant workers results in more labor and human rights violations being committed against these Asian workers.

In sum, we Filipinos would like to see a Japan that has liberated itself from its unholy military security alliance with the United States; a Japan that recognizes and rectifies its mistakes in past Second World War; a Japan that promotes world peace and who supports a zone of peace and neutrality in the Asia-Pacific region; a Japan that limits its military strength to its own self-defense needs and not for military adventurism, hegemony or imperialism; a Japan that recognizes and promotes migrant workers' rights; and finally, a Japan that pursues an economic agenda promoting genuine development of the Third World and not a Japan that promotes corruption, environmental destruction and underdevelopment.

This is the kind of Japan that we would like to see in the near future. Thank you very much.



Van TAO (Vietnam), professor at the Institute of History of Vietnam, born in 1926, scholar of modern history of Vietnam

LET US DEFEND PEACE BY PEACEFUL MEANS

I came here from Vietnam. First of all, let me allow to express my greetings of peace and friendship to all of you. We welcome this symposium on peace in Asia and the role of Japan. I would like to tell you what I am thinking on this theme.

We are living in the "era of the Pacific" - a stage of development in human history in which the economy, culture and science are changing greatly. Having gone through hardships of annihilation in World War II, now the people of the Asia-Oceania region feel increasingly how imperative peace is for independence and the development of their countries. The history of both the Japanese and Vietnamese peoples teaches us that in some cases defensive war was inevitable for the defense of national independence. This is exemplified by the counterattacks of our two nations against the Mongolian invasion in the 13th century. On the other hand, the war of aggression of World War II, waged by

Japanese fascism, left only spite, agony, pain and humiliation. The two atomic bombs, dropped by the United States on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, caused painful scars which the Japanese people still cannot forget even today. On the dreadful days coming around every year, we remember the agony and tears of tens of thousands of innocent victims and demand that humankind should not repeat that tragedy.

Despite its long and proud history, due to the war waged by the fascists, Japan was forced to suffer the shameful unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers. With the self-criticism on this deep in their minds, after the war the Japanese people dedicated all their energy to the development of the economy, culture and scientific technology. The peace Constitution, adopted by the Diet in 1946, was an essential condition for this development. As one of the historians of Asia, considering the pain and sufferings that Japan had to go through during the war, we were extremely glad and moved when we heard the news that the peace Constitution had been adopted by the Japanese Diet and the Japanese people are firmly determined to observe it. We believe that this Constitution is very significant in this age, when we give much value to peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We could not help but raise concern on hearing the recent news that the Japanese Diet had passed a law allowing the Self-Defense Forces to be sent abroad.

There is an argument that the SDF are equipped only with simple arms for defense. In the history, too, there was an expedition force in which soldiers wore only the clothes of disciplined priests. But eventually they turn into aggressors and use the newest weapons to enslave their opponents.

How can we, the Vietnamese people, forget the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" that Japanese fascism tried to realize? Much more the distortion of Japan's textbook which says that the advance of the Japanese troops to Asia aimed to help end the colonial rule of the region by whites?

Looking back the history of Vietnam, fascist Japan invaded Vietnam in 1940, and since then it exploited and plundered the labor force and property of Vietnam to supply its troops for waging the war in the Pacific, collaborating with French colonialism of the Do Cu regime. As a result, a total of 2 million Vietnamese people starved to death in 1945.

According to the survey of historical sociology which we conducted at Tay

Luong Village of Tien Hai in Thai Binh Province, 3,896 of the then population of more than 6,000 starved to death due to the invasion by fascist Japan.

However, friendship and solidarity of the anti-fascist struggle were born from the said common hardships the two nations had shared. In Vietnam, the friendship was expressed by the Japanese soldiers who joined the Vietnamese army and served in the war of justice. Their friendly relations were inherited by the war for saving the country from U.S. aggression and the construction of a new society in Vietnam. We, the Vietnamese people, always appreciate highly the friendship of the Japanese people, as well as the friendship with each nation of Asia and the world.

Recent intense and vigorous changes in the world have shown that the age when superpowers' selfish acts go unchallenged has now passed. The peoples of the world rose to determine their fate for themselves. The consciousness of independence of each nation rose. The 20th century can be characterized not by the collapse of socialism and victory of capitalism as often some people say, but by the victory of national independence and social progress. As for the United Nations, the number of the member states was 51 at first, but now it has increased to 179, the majority of which are countries of the Third World which have just joined the U.N. In current international relations, Vietnam declared to the world that it will make friends with all countries in the world community and strive for peace, independence and development.

Based on the principles of independence, sovereignty, respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, we have put forward the expansion, diversification and omni-directionalization of our external relations. We have made consistent assertions that bilateral or multilateral disputes should be solved through peaceful negotiation. The principle of external relations is that bilateral agreements should not harm the interests of third parties.

Our concern about the passage of the PKO bill by the Japanese Diet is that with Japan's military role being strengthened, its foreign policy is subordinated to the world superpower; this does not benefit Japan's independence, but prevents Japan from making a positive contribution to peace of the world. What raises more concern is that the dispatch of the SDF overseas will cause an increase of military spending or defense budget, revival of militarism and fascism. At the same time, it will lower the level of economic life of the Japanese workers and threaten the lives of Japanese people

who will be sent to a battlefield. When the families of the SDF saw the departure of the troops, I saw women shedding tears in anxiety over their husbands and children.

What we request of the Japanese people is that you, standing in the forefront of the movement against atomic bombs, will play a more important part in the struggle so that humankind can prevent the occurrence of a mass-destruction nuclear war. We have already suffered cruel wars many times. In particular, we have experienced chemical warfare waged by U.S. imperialism on our land. Especially, the poison of agent orange that the U.S. sprinkled not only destroyed the ecological environment, but also remained in the bodies of the parents and caused genetic disorders, which resulted in hundreds of abnormal conceptions and deformation of babies.

We always hope to be with the Japanese people and the peoples of Asia and Oceania in the struggle for peace, overcoming these hardships and opposing war of annihilation and aggression. Our nation, Vietnam, proposes positive expansion of our international economic relations to obtain markets, funds, industrial technology and management expertise from other countries, including Japan. This is only possible through the relationship of cooperation, peace, friendship, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

I want to conclude my speech by emphasizing that we share concern of the peoples of Asia over the overseas dispatch of the Japan's SDF. Korea Times, issued in Seoul, commented, "We raise concern for Tokyo's attitude and Japan's way of thinking, which might lead to the revival of radical nationalism and militarism". In an interview of October, 1991, former Premier Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore said, "Allowing Japan to send its troops abroad again is tantamount to giving an alcoholic patient a bottle of whiskey. Once they have stepped in, it is hard to stop them." We, the people of Asia, have to make joint efforts to build and maintain cooperative relations of peace, friendship, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. Let us preserve peace through peaceful means. As for the crime that the Japan's fascist made 2 million people starved to death in 1945, I'll report later. Thank you for listening.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS OF PANELISTS

Akira FUJIWARA (Japan)

I would like to add a few words in relation to the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces abroad.

In September, 1940, 52 years ago, Japan threatened France which had been beaten by Germany, and made an armed entry into French Indochina on the ground of blocking the route for assisting China. The advance of Japanese army to northern French Indochina was the first step of aggression into southern part of Asia as a link in the chain of the 3-country military alliance concluded just at that time between Japan, Germany and Italy. The United States of America immediately banned the importation of scrap iron and steel to Japan.

On January 31, 1941, the Liaison Congress of the Imperial Headquarters decided on "the Outline Policy against French Indochina and Thailand", whose purpose was to advance further into the southern part of French Indochina, secure airfields and ports to be ready for its southern strategy. On June 6, the military government of Japan decided on the "Outline Policy against Southern Region". The object of the policy was to advance further into Dutch East Indies and other areas in order to resort to armed action against French Indochina and Thailand.

On June 22, 1941, when the German-USSR war started, the whole nation of Japan were excited to make inroads into the countries in the southern area. The conference in the presence of the Emperor on July 2, 1941 decided on "an imperial policy to meet with the change of the situation", which determined the destiny of Japan. The gist of the policy was that, for the north (USSR), "Japan would secretly prepare for the use of force against USSR" and resort to armed actions if the German-USSR war developed in Japan's favour, while, for the south, "Japan would further develop its advance into French Indochina and Thailand," etc. It also decided "to wage war against the USA and UK to achieve its aims".

On July 28, 1941, Japan's army advanced into the southern part of Vietnam according to this policy. The army, the 25th corps, advanced to Saigon, Phnom Penh, southern part of Vietnam and Cambodia. The second navy fleet entered

ports of Nha Trang, Saint Jacques, Saigon and Cam Ranh to build ports and navy bases. Japan's advance into these regions excited America, which immediately stopped export of oil to Japan, while freezing Japan's assets, at the same time. This set Japan to fight against the USA, actually.

Major aims of Japan's armed advance into southern French Indochina were to secure airfields, etc. Japan occupied Saigon, Bien Hoa, Soc Trang, Nha Trang airfields in South Vietnam, and Phnom Penh, Cong Pong Trach, Cong Pong Cho Nang, Xiem Riep and Kuracoal of Cambodia to use them as army and navy bases. On top of these, Japanese army built 4 airfields including Tani-1 and Tani-2 in the area between Phnom Penh and Cong Pong Trach. A great number of Cambodians were forcibly captured to build airfields.

In September 1992, 51 years later, 6 companies of the Self-Defense Forces advanced into the southern part of Cambodia. It is said that the main force units have built airfield at Takeo, south of Phnom Penh. These places seem to be the spots where Tani-1 or Tani-2 airfield was built by Japan's army 51 years ago.

The facts that the Self-Defense Forces sent the first corps to Cambodia where Japan's army made the first step of aggression in 1941, and to the same airfields that Japan's army built 51 years ago, have extreme importance. We must keep vigilance over the developments to see if this might develop to a fullfledged dispatch of the SDF overseas.

Japan's contribution to world peace should not be made through dispatch of the SDF overseas. Japan once dispatched its armed forces to various parts of Asia. Sending Japan's armed forces to Cambodia just as it did 51 years ago though Japan has the so-called peace Constitution based on the serious reflection on Japan's aggression brought out a grave question. It is urgent for Japan to reconsider the fact and find out ways for international contribution other than dispatch the SDF overseas.

Yasuhiro OKUDAIRA (Japan)

In spite of the fact that Japan had no war potential including land, sea and air forces since the defeat of the war, the Japanese government made the first step toward revising the Constitution in the 1950s by intentionally

stretching its meaning, and built up military power in the name of police reserves, which were later developed to security corps and further to the so-called Self-Defense Forces.

Regardless of the stipulation of Article 9 of the Constitution, they asserted the legality of the Self-Defense Forces by laying their grounds on the right of individual country to self-defense, saying that it is the natural right based on the law of nature. They further said that, so long as an individual country had the right to self-defense, it could possess power for its self-defense, and that the Constitution of Japan did not prohibit Japan from possessing its self-defense forces. To explain the constitutionality of their assertion, they brought forward the law of nature or the right of nature, which is nothing to do with the Constitution.

This idea was a complete fake and error. But, they insisted that the right to self-defense is to defend the country from outside forces, and expel them when it is attacked by them, and therefore, self-defense should be approved by international laws. That was a theory known as "exclusive defense". While defending the constitutionality of the Self-Defense Forces on these grounds, they chained themselves to condition, at that stage, that the Self-Defense Forces would never be dispatched overseas because they were based on individual defense right and their capability would only be confined to self-defense. Therefore, when the United States demanded Japan to take over its defense responsibility, Japan rejected it for the reason of its individual defense right. Thus, Japan put certain brakes on a military system subordinate to the United States.

From what we observe today, the Self-Defense Force Law was considerably restrictive. For instance, sending of an SDF ship to the South Pole to rescue an observation ship stuck in iceberg provoked much heated discussion at the Diet. The revision of the SDF Law was necessary to regulate the use of SDF ships as in this case.

The Gulf Crisis changed the whole situation drastically: for instance, minesweepers were dispatched without revising the law regulating the SDF, and Self-Defense Air Force was dispatched under the government ordinance without an amendment to the SDF Law. Part of the Self-Defense Forces were dispatched overseas as a fait accompli prior to the presentation of a UN cooperation bill to the Diet. As it became difficult to defend their position under the individual self-defense right, the Japanese government introduced a bill closely

linked with an idea of international contribution through the United Nations. This is their strategy to introduce a theory related with international politics, which has nothing to do with the nation's Constitution. They insisted that as Japan is a member of the United Nations, it must cooperate with collective security setup of the United Nations, which is admitted under the spirit of the Constitution. Thus, the UN Cooperation Law was passed through the Diet.

Their logic seems to have no end: they assert that the dispatch of the SDF overseas under the UN Cooperation Law as a part of the Peace Keeping Forces (such as multinational corps stationed in Saudi Arabia at the time of the Gulf War), or participation in any warfare as a member of the irregular UN army (such as US army at the time of the Korean War), and their participation in the UN corps themselves, etc. do not contradict with the Constitution because the Constitution of Japan sets forth as its preconditions the protection of international laws, and UN forces are dispatched under the UN Charter. They continue to assert that therefore, the SDF's participation in UN forces, irregular UN forces and multinational corps cannot be considered as a violation of the Constitution of Japan. The report of the notorious Special Investigation Committee headed by Mr. Ichiro OZAWA says that the Self-Defense Forces can be dispatched overseas at any time and for any reasons under the Constitution of Japan so long as they are dispatched through the linkage of the United Nations. The Committee's report suggests that the participation of the SDF in multinational corps should be withheld for the time being, because multinational corps have controversial difficulties at present. However, upon the whole, such an argument is developed to admit the participation of the SDF in multinational corps from the standpoint of a constitutional theory.

While on the other hand, as panelists have pointed out, the big business and the Japanese government are doing whatever they want in the most inhuman ways as an economic power in the sphere of economy, which reminds the people of Asian countries conducts of Japanese militarism and colonialism in the past.

We believe the dispatch of the SDF overseas, the deployment of Japanese forces through the United Nations should not be done by any means. That is not what the Constitution of Japan is meant. We should not be ignorant of the fact that argument entirely extraneous to the spirit of the Constitution is being developed today. It is important for us to remember our original purpose when the Constitution of Japan, the Preamble and Article 9 in particular, were enacted. From the bottom of my heart, I believe we are at the time when we

need to see things deeply and realize that the splendid thing is to pledge our words of honour to the country having no war potential.

CHUNG Chin-Sung (Korea)

I'd like to discuss the problem within the Japanese society and point out Japanese consciousness and attitude toward Asian people.

I think Japanese true contribution to Asian countries should begin within the Japanese society. And this could be possible when Japanese consciousness and attitude toward Asian people is changed.

As I pointed out this morning, there are serious problems inside the Japanese society. For example, Koreans in Japan have been suffered from severe discrimination against them until now. They were totally excluded from the compensation after the war which the Japanese received from the government with the reason that they did not have Japanese nationality, and still they are excluded from various welfare benefits and also social and political rights. 70 or 80 years have already passed since they came to Japan. I think without solving this problem, how the Japanese realize true internationalization and contribution to Asian countries?

The other example is the problem of illegal workers in Japan mostly from Asian countries. This was concretely treated by Mr. Bonifacio GILLEGO, but I'd like emphasize the seriousness of the tragic situation of those illegal workers.

Japanese real labour market situation is in severe short of labour force and needs low level workers from other countries. But the Japanese government has strict close door policy, which cannot be enforced realistically. So, the result in the huge number of "illegal" workers. Because of the "illegal" status, these workers from neighbouring countries who severely exploited. The Japanese government seems to disregard this situation, that means Japanese enterprisers are legitimately exploiting those workers. Without solving this problem, how Japan really make international contribution to other countries?

It seems to me that all those problems cannot be corrected because of Japanese attitude disregarding other Asian people. The Japanese seems to think other Asian people are inferior to the Japanese. They are dangerous to make

crime and other social problems, so they could and should be controlled. I attended the symposium on foreign workers in Yokohama last week. One professor who is very famous and academically able scholar insisted that Japanese labour market should open eventually, but that in this case all informations of each foreign worker should be input into the computer for the time of accidents.

If Japan send the Japanese troops in Asia with this consciousness, it could be only understood that Japan will control Asian countries since they are inferior. Is it true contribution?

I'd like emphasize that such a Japanese attitude toward Asian countries should be changed. In order to that, the role of education seems very important.

Japanese young students should learn the history of other Asian nations. They should also learn the culture of Asian countries. They seem to know only economy of Japan and Asian countries. It is true that Japan is superior to other Asian countries economically. I think if the Japanese understand real history and culture of those countries, their bias could be corrected more or less. Japanese textbooks should be corrected, and many social institutes for true understanding of neighbouring countries should be established in Japan.

The other thing I want to supplement here very briefly is the problem of comfort women. Now the Japanese government is trying to establish a fund helping living expenses for the former comfort women. But it is very reluctant to investigate government file, archives, and also does not admit legal responsibility. Without doing such things, to pay just a some amount of money seems to express the attitude of the Japanese government disregarding Korean people. Our Council, Korean Council for Women Drafted for Sexual Slavery by Japan is strongly opposing to establishment of this fund and asking to do fact-finding job first and sincere apology. Compensation should be made formally after that. I'd like to ask you here to understand this standpoint of ours. Thank you very much.

TAN Chee-Beng (Malaysia)

Thank you, friends. This morning we've heard from different panelists and also just now about the views about Japan and peace in Asia, Although we've prepared the presentation separately, but they are some common themes, for

example almost everyone mentioned about the Constitution, and this is important. The question is how we relate the values of peace as ensured in the Constitution to actual practice. So I'd like to take this opportunity to say a few more words on the cultural dimension. I'm an anthropologist by training, so I'm pleased to talk about cultural aspects.

So culturally Japan draws its strength from its rich cultural tradition, of which Buddhism plays a crucial part. The universal values in Buddhism share commonality with other traditions in the rest of Asia and the world. Indeed Japan shares many of its religious and philosophical traditions with its neighbours in Asia. What is important is to transform universal values into action, this is my emphasis, to transform universal values into action, to relate values to actual realization of justice and peace. I say justice and peace because there cannot be peace without justice. There cannot be peace when there is continuous discrimination and oppression, or when a dominant country applies double-standard in the international arena.

This morning I heard the mention about the comfort women issue and so on. Various countries demand some kind of formal apology. I think it had to do with the need of the formal statement in order to do justice. Because injustice was done, there must be a statement to reinstall justice.

Education about universal values and their transformation into social action is thus an important way to promote peace. For Japan or any country to contribute to peace, this cultural dimension is as important as actual political action. Or as we all here, committed people know about the importance of political action. My emphasis is that this political action must have cultural, philosophical dimensions. In fact, the two are inter-related, that is, political action must have strong cultural dimension. At the same time the emphasis on transformation ensures that values are related to current political reality of injustice in all its forms. It calls for individual and mass participation in further the cause of peace at all levels - from the level of social relations between groups within a country to inter-state relations. And the PKO issue is one example of how people can relate the very value of peace to actual actions as ensured in the Constitution of Japan.

It is also important to promote cultural relations and cultural understanding between the people in Japan and the people in the rest of Asia. I think it is important and has been emphasized by Dr. CHUNG last night. The people in Japan should learn more about the history and culture of non-Japanese people just like the rest of Asia should learn more about Japan. I think this

is mutual. The rest of Asia, I think, know too little about Japan. I think the people in Japan also have to know more about other people in the rest of Asia especially their history, their culture.

If we understand those things, then we can understand aspiration and why they deepen perspectives with regard to the views of the Second World War, the calling for formal apology. The greater wealth in Japan makes it easier for the Japanese government and non-government organizations to organize cultural exchange projects which can include study tours, research, translation of academic and literary works, sponsoring indigenous publications, and many others and also organizing meetings like this in the way the few from outside the country invited are very appreciated for giving us a chance to share.

In short, to contribute to peace, we must begin with understanding cultural values and relating them to social reality. It is also desirable to promote understanding of one another's historical and cultural traditions, between Japanese and non-Japanese traditions. And in short, I call for the cultural dimension of political action and the need to translate universal values into actual political action. Thank you very much.

Bonifacio H. GILLEGO (the Philippines)

Thank you. This morning I emphasized our impoverished economic situation. I did not want to recall the bitter memories of World War II when the Philippines was under Japanese occupation. But the presentation here, especially coming from our Japanese friends themselves has been very very frank and we admire you for that because I thought we Asians share a common culture of trying to hide the pains even when it is so painful, or the past when it is so bitter like what we went through in the Philippines.

So I would like to tell you, my friends, that we in the Philippines are wondering why Japan with her "ichiban" status now having achieved the objectives of the Greater East-Asia Co-prosperity Sphere peacefully through economic means, embark on something that she failed to achieve militarily in the 1940s. So there must be some motivation, some unholy alliance that disturbs us very much in the Philippines.

So in the Philippines, we tremble with fright. We become very much afraid every time we hear the news about the annual increase in the budget of the SDF.

We tremble when we hear that Japan announces that it will patrol the sea lanes within a range of 1,000 nautical miles from its shores. We tremble when we hear about new inventions in the Japanese arsenal of deadly weapons, especially when one article in the News Week carried something about a three dimensional missile capable of pinpointing incoming missiles and air-to-surface missile claimed to be superior even to the French Exocet. A radar-jamming device more effective than even the blackbox of American technology which America hides even from the closest allies. A new tank with a radar gun site so accurate that it can line up targets while moving up to 60 miles per hour over a very rough terrain. A highly accurate anti-aircraft missile that uses a video guidance system much smaller than a postage stamp.

We trembled in fear when a former Prime Minister of Japan allegedly ordered the Mitsubishi Corporation and other manufactures to estimate the cost of producing a nuclear bomb. And only recently we trembled once again and recalled the memories of World War II, of course at a higher plane, when we heard about the Japanese vessel Akatsuki-maru sailing the seas from Cherbourg, France, carrying plutonium. So all these things fill us with fright.

But as a great philosopher Santayana said, "If we forget the past, we are condemned to repeat the errors of the past". So again, I must apologize in trying to recall this with some degree of rancor and bitterness because I belong to that generation. I am 71 years old. I was a soldier, a resistance fighter during World War II. I spent a little time in a Japanese prison in my own home town.

So with your status now, we would like to see Japan engage in peace. And I think if there be a war that Japan should wage, it should be a war against poverty, a war against injustice, and by injustice I do not mean the legal, constitutional justice but social justice for the marginalized people like the farmers, the fishermen and the urban poor, and for genuine democracy. Unfortunately we read in our history about democracy, Philippine democracy, Japanese democracy, Chinese democracy. But let it be democracy of the people, by the people and for the people. We're people, I mean not the rich, not the corporate giants but the poor people because the access to livelihood is really politically empowered. So with the true people power they can put down even the worse tyranny or oppression.

I would like to end my brief remarks with an optimistic note. I understand that it is the resistance of the people of Japan, not the corporate giants, not

the big labor unions but the people of Japan who resisted a 70 - 80 % vote against militarization. I said I recall with pride how much we have also set an example however poor we are in the Philippines, people power deposed, removed a dictatorship, the Marcos dictatorship. People power in the Philippines removed the Americans from the bases which we thought would be in the Philippines for eternity.

And so I repeat the appeal of my friend from Malaysia. Since the resistance against militarism, against PKO and against the SDF being sent out of Japan comes from the people, let genuine people power through NGOs, farmers organizations, labor organizations, student organizations to prevail against the dangerous trend toward militarism. Thank you very much.

Van TAO (Vietnam)

I listened to Professor FUJIWARA's remark with great interest, because he referred to war crimes committed by Japan in Vietnam. But all of you still don't know clearly what was the biggest crime committed by the Japanese fascists, who starved 2 million Vietnamese to death in 1945. Some Japanese doubt whether 2 million Vietnamese were really killed. I heard that there are some Japanese who even say that only 30 thousand were killed. Others think it impossible to kill 2 million people all at once in such a short period in 1945. Both Vietnam and Japan have made investigations of this question to some extent. I'm going to refer briefly to some of the facts on this subject today.

As soon as it invaded Vietnam, Japan established cooperation with the colonial French government at the time, in order to make use of it for suppressing Vietnamese by starving them to death. We got materials on this fact from France, written in French. According to these materials, Japan and France thought "Vietnamese are good at war. Therefore, there is no other way to suppress their resistance except starving them to death".

But when I explain this, I'm always asked, "What you say is based on French materials. Are there any materials written in Japanese showing that the Japanese armed forces were really aiming at it?". To our regret, immediately after their defeat the Japanese fascists disposed of their materials written in Japanese. We were not able to get such materials in Vietnam. But Professor Fujiwara has told me that the Defense Agency of Japan has them in its morgue.

I hope the Japanese who are investigating this issue will help us study them. Today I want to let you know some of what I learned by our fieldwork.

We visited old men of 80 and 90, who are the living witnesses of mass killing by starvation, to learn what happened then. This is a picture of the place where the dead bodies were buried, when a large number of people died from hunger. It was dug out recently for the first time. 40 dead bodies were found only in a day, by digging the place just a little. In this picture, where this person is pointing, there was a house of a family of seven. The whole family starved to death, and their dead bodies decomposed because no one took care for them. Neighbours had to burn off the house and disposed of both the house and dead bodies later. No trace is left, as you can see. We recorded what the witnesses told us. They said, for example, that starving Vietnamese actually ate even people's flesh by the storehouse where the rice the Japanese took away from the Vietnamese was stocked. Some of the Vietnamese, who barely survived while other family members were dead, told us how their family were killed and how they managed to survive.

You may ask why so many died, wondering if they were killed due to the policy of Japan and France, or to lack of rice in Vietnam. What we can prove is that in that period Japan took away rice from Vietnam. Moreover, Japan and France did not allow Vietnam to send rice from one place to another.

I investigated the case of Thai Binh Province, and found out that only in this province 280 thousand died. In the village where I could make a fact-finding investigation of each family asking who died and who survived, 42 % of a family were starved to death on the average. In Tay Luong Village, which I mentioned in my remark in the morning session, two-thirds of the population died. There is a village where 100% of the population were killed actually. It was completely destroyed and as a matter of course there is no living witness left, so that we are not able to look into the fact. We estimate that 2 million people of Vietnam had been killed when Ho Chi Minh read out the Declaration of Independence in 1945.

Some Japanese friend asks me "Were women raped and killed in Vietnam then?" Of course they were, but the number was small compared to that of Korea and China. It was because too many women were rather slaughtered. Because of such a holocaust carried out by the Japanese military forces, we do believe Japan should pay compensation for the war. What if more important for Japan to do, however, is to draw serious lesson from the past not to cause a war again. I

don't believe by any means that peace can be achieved by sending Japan's Self-Defense Forces abroad.

We have witnessed that United States dispatched its armed forces to Iraq and attacked Iraq in order to destroy its chemical weapons. But you all know the U.S. itself destroyed my country thoroughly by chemical weapons through the Vietnamese War period. This is one of the pictures of hundreds of thousands of children suffering effects by U.S. chemical weapons. Many woods affected by the chemical weapons have not been restored yet. Domestic and wild animals as well as plants were affected.

We cannot suggest Japan sending its armed forces abroad on the pretext of peace. This is why we must create peace by peaceful means. Sending armed forces on the pretext of peace and carrying out a war to defend one's own interests make no difference. This is my second speech. Thank you very much.



REMARKS OF PARTICIPANTS

Sanai HASHIMOTO

Association of Christians for the Protection of the Constitution, Japan Christian Association for Peace Japan Religious Council for Peace

I attended the tea party yesterday evening. I had been told it would be something like a welcome party for overseas delegates. It turned out, however, to be a really important discussion meeting with all sorts of questions and answers, rather than a reception party. Vietnamese delegate Mr. Van TAO had said "Although we can understand one another by talking together, we can find something common among us in folk songs." So, I thought I might introduce you some Japanese folk songs and brought a flute made by bamboo. The party was not, however, a kind of occasion to play the bamboo flute. When I have an opportunity, I would love to play it for you.

I was deeply moved by the story that many songs were composed by the Vietnamese people when they were fighting against U.S. imperialism. We are making similar efforts. For instance, fishermen of Hokkaido have what they call "Soran-bushi". When the UN Cooperation Law rammed through the Diet, I took a hint from Soran-bushi, and composed a song called "PKO-TKO Soran-bushi". PKO is of course Peace Keeping Operation and TKO means Technical Knock Out.

Now let me turn to my proposal.

1) To call on the Japanese Diet to set up a facts-finding committee to investigate and disclose all the war crimes of Japanese imperialism during the war, and press the Japanese government to apologize with sincerity and take the consequences as a state for all that Japan did then and has done thereafter. Let me remind you of the remarks of German President Weizsaecker in this connection. It is our duty to urge the Japanese government to make reparation faithfully for damages done by their predecessors with measures that can be approved by the world. I would like to propose this as an outcome of this symposium.

2) Already actions have been filed to the Japanese courts against the passage of the UN Cooperation Law(PKO Law) and overseas dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces on the ground of their unconstitutionality. We have to unite our efforts to win the lawsuits.

I have come up to Tokyo from Hokkaido since April this year. I was there for 32 years, during which I brought suits, such as those known as the Eniwa Case, the Naganuma Case, etc. In Eniwa Case, we fought for the unconstitutionality of the Self-Defense Forces and won the decision of 'not guilty' for Nozaki brothers. In the Naganuma Case, also, we fought against the constitutionality of the Self-Defense Forces. The decision of the first trial in the world that approved the unconstitutionality of the armed forces of a state. In the second trial, the court turned down the suit on the ground that the case stepped into the right of the state to reign. In reality, however, they dared not state 'constitutionality' in the reason for judgment. The Supreme Court confirmed the decision, but it has not been able to reverse the decision on unconstitutionality of the SDF. There are people who are more or less daunted by the consequences and say that it has already been made fait accompli. I don't think so. What we should do now is to broaden and strengthen our support of the victims to win final judgment on unconstitutionality of the SDF, and press the government to withdraw the troops from overseas.

3) I am convinced that the Preamble and Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan clarify the idea and the right of the people to live in peace. These are the desire of the mankind at the end of the 20th century and towards the 21st century. They are the precious treasures of humanity. Already, many thoughtful and far-sighted people of the world including Prof. Overbee of the United States have formed "the Association to Preserve Article 9" and started actions to disseminate the spirit of Article 9 in the world.

We Japanese people are also planning to spread the spirit of Article 9 within the country and in the world, pressing the government to put Article 9 into practical national policies. We are in earnest desire to further develop our 40-year struggle based on our peace Constitution, and promote it on the basis of the discussion at this symposium today, not only in Japan but also in the world. These are the three proposals I want to make. Thank you.

Mitsuru MIKAMI
President of All Japan Teachers and
Staffs Union(ZENKYO)

Having listened to the discussion since yesterday, I felt keenly the necessity of cooperation among Asian people for peace in Asia.

Teachers trade union movement in Japan started just after the defeat of the war on the basis of deep reflection on aggression and oppression over other races, in particular, the war of aggression against Asian countries for 15 years since 1931. In 1951 when Japan's rearmament began by the pressure of the United States who intended to make Japan as a foothold to dominate Asian countries and slight symptoms of revival of militarism began to appear, teachers union movement established a historic slogan with a pledge for peace afresh. It is nothing but the slogan, "Never Send Again Our Children to the Battlefield!"

Regrettably, education in Japan played once such a role to deify Emperor as God, to beautify the war of aggression as a "holy war", to bring honour to the sacrifice of lives on the battlefield and even to send innumerable number of children to the battlefields. Firm determination of Japanese teachers who will never bear such burdens is devoted in the slogan.

It stands to reason that All Japan Teachers and Staffs Union (ZENKYO), who sets the keynotes of movement on the slogan, fought with all possible efforts in the forefront of the people against the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces overseas in the name of cooperation with the UN Peace-keeping operations. As the authorities of both Japan and the United States often state, it is evident that the Peace-keeping Operation Law is recognized as a beginning of making Japan as a state to dispatch soldiers overseas at any time for the cooperation in U.S. strategy for the world domination.

The leadership of ZENKYO called upon its members to stand for action under the slogan, "When will you fight unless now?" In 10-month struggle, ZENKYO organized 11 nation-wide united actions and approximately 16,000 members across the country participated in the lobbying to the members of Parliament. The struggle inspired the democratic people to an action and heightened the public opinions widely for the defense of peace principles of the Constitution.

It is a matter of course that the feeling of solidarity with Asian people against the revival of Japanese militarism who suffered bitterly by the Japanese aggression prevailed and vitalized the struggle.

On behalf of Japanese teachers, I would like to extend our message of solidarity to Asian people, in particular, teachers in Asian countries never to send our children to Asian countries with weapons.

We have one more significant responsibility for the peace in Asia. It is

the responsibility to teach the truth of history to the children rightly.

The successive Liberal Democratic governments who have tried to promote the revival of militarism and revision of the Constitution of Japan, persistently continued maneuvers to hide the truth of the war of aggression and delete the description regarding the regret on war. In the end of 1950s, the Ministry of Education unilaterally decided that the course of study had a legal binding power and the national control over teachers and censorship on school textbooks were acceleratively strengthened year by year.

The description "reckless" war on the war in Asia in the manuscript of a textbook was ordered to rewrite, stating that it is not reasonable to express it generally as "reckless" war. The description on the atrocities and rapes to girls and women in the occupied territories, were also compelled to rewrite on the ground that "It could happen in any war so that the particular emphasis on the acts of Japanese army lacks educational consideration".

In the censorship in 1980s, even the wording "aggression" became taboo, and the world was replaced by "advance", which, as widely known, aroused severe criticism from Asian countries all at once.

Under such circumstance, Saburo IENAGA, professor of history and one of the authors of school history textbooks, filed three suits since 1965 against the unreasonableness of the textbook screening system. The lawsuits are called School textbook lawsuits. The struggle has attracted wide range of supports and has been fought even now.

with regard to the problem of "military comfort women", the Ministry of Education has not still now clarified the position to teach on those women in school textbooks as historical truth.

In the background of these problems, there are the facts that successive LDP governments have never recognized the war in Asia as the war of aggression and never definitely expressed apologies to those countries concerned. Successive prime ministers repeated the standardized answers in the Parliament that "whether it was the war of aggression or not will be decided by historians of coming ages", or "The war cannot be easily concluded as the war of aggression". Ex-prime minister TAKESHITA who gained the position with the support of gang of hoodlums surprised the world by answering to the questions in the Parliament session that the aggression of Nazis Germany was difficult to define as the war of aggression.

The government which consistently exempted war responsibility of Emperor who had, under the old Constitution, absolute authorities including those to command and to open war also constituted the lack of regret over the war. To make it worse, the government has even intended to make Emperor as the head of a state in violation with the Constitution of Japan.

There is an expression that those who will not look back the past history will make a mistake in future. Without yielding to the interference and control from the government and Education Ministry, we take a stand that we should teach the truth of aggression and innumerable misery brought to Asian people as well as Japanese without reservation and make students learn the profound meaning of peace principles of the Constitution of Japan and foster the spirit of friendship with Asian people.

At the National Assembly for Educational Research to be held every year, many representatives present reports on their educational practices for peace and international solidarity. Among them, a report attracted much attention. The report refers to the students autonomous activities to investigate the commanding to enforced labor of the Chinese and Koreans during the war. Students in Okayama visited descendants of the Koreans who died in the basement munitions factory in Okayama and established friendship and solidarity with new generation of Korea. 1992 National Assembly for Educational Research will be convened in Tokyo for 4 days from January 29, 1993. I hope that there would be much more development of educational practices of international solidarity. To the 1991 National Assembly, we had a few guests from Korea. We would be pleased if any teacher representatives of your country would attend the Assembly.

In these years, more and more teachers in Japan actively join the tours to visit the scars of war in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam and to make use of the experiences in daily teachings. In order to develop such activities further, ZENKYO now examines the possibility to send our delegation to Asian countries.

In ending my speech, I would like to promise you to do our utmost efforts for the development of these activities and for the development of cooperation among teachers and peoples in Asia. Thank you for your attention.

Kyotoku NAKANO

Chairman of Japan Center of the Asian
Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP)

I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to you for giving me the chance to express my opinion here today as a buddhist.

Japanese militarism is said to have caused no less than 20 million war victims through its colonialism in Korea and its aggression against China and other Asian countries from the beginning of the Japan-China War in 1937 to the end of the Pacific War in 1945. The Japanese government, however, has not yet regarded it as "aggression". But it is a historical fact. And at the same time, no one can dispute the fact that the Japanese people of various classes assisted the militarism.

Let us take the religious world in Japan for example. In June 1941, at Dentsuin Temple in Koishikawa, Tokyo, was held the 1st general convention to pray for Japan's victory in the Pacific War, which was attended by the representatives of almost all the Japanese religious organizations of Buddhism, Christianity, new religious and so on, which says, "The construction of the highly defended nation and the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere are our glorious, universal and revolutionary mission. All the Japanese religious organizations should make their best to gain a victory in this 'holy war'." Putting this into practice, they promoted the military place-donation movement, and held a lot of conventions to pray for Japan's victory and its enemies' defeat. They also perverted their religious doctrines and declared new teachings in order to assist Japan's war of aggression. Special attention should be paid to Shintoism, which was the mental base of Japanese nationalism. It forced people of other religious to visit Shinto shrines, and oppressed the Christians who rejected to do so. In addition, we have to bear in mind that it constructed many Shinto shrines all over China as well as Korea, and forced the peoples in these areas to visit the shrines, serving as an advance guard to push forward the policy of aggression. Shinto shrines were also constructed in the south-east Asia region; among them is Shonan-Jinja Shrine of Singapore.

The Constitution of Japan was established on the basis of Japanese people's deep repentance of the war of aggression. Therefore, when you objectively read the Preamble and Article 9 of the Constitution, you will find that the Self-

Defense Forces should not allowed even to exist. The overseas dispatch of the SDF is, as a matter of course, out of question. I believe Japan can truly contribute to the world only by making every effort to spread the spirit of the Constitution of Japan at global level.

Immediately after the establishment of the Constitution of Japan, the Japanese religious world totally appreciated the pacifism of the Constitution as an embodiment of the teachings of the Lord Buddha or Jesus Christ. But it is a great pity that nowadays some religious organizations have forgotten the faults of Japan in the past. The Lord Buddha says in his teachings, "Don't kill, don't make others kill, and don't allow others to kill".

Now let us recall a phrase of the Final Document approved at the first United Nations Special Session for Disarmament (S.S.D.) in 1978. It says that, worrying over existence of the nuclear weapons and continuation of armed races, demilitarization (total disarmament) and arms control, especially elimination of nuclear weapons are essential to prevent danger of nuclear war, to ensure peace and security between nations and for economic and social progress in every nation, and that now it is time for disarmament to be given security. Isn't this the real prayer of all people the world over except some political leaders?

Today, after the collapse of the Cold War structure, we have to proceed for the future on the viewpoint of this document. The efforts to realize such a world as what the document says are the very "international contribution" Japan can make and are the mission of all Buddhists the world over. The Lord Buddha says, "One without wisdom will have evil views. One with evil views will have evil thoughts. One with evil thoughts will take evil actions."

Since the first ABCP General Assembly in Mongolia, 1970, the ABCP (the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace) has continued its activities as Asia's only international Buddhist association for peace. Each branch center of Japan, Russia, Mongolia, North Korea, India, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Nepal and so on, has participated in the activities. But under the present situation, such as the collapse of Soviet Union and the economic problem of Mongolia, the organization has become quite inactive. Therefore, for the purpose of activating the organization, the ABCP Japan Center has proposed to hold the ABCP General Meeting of the Disarmament Committee in Hanoi in cooperation with the ABCP Vietnam Center. And the Japan Center is doing its best in preparations.

One is the most important objectives of the general meeting is to strengthen the solidarity between Asian Buddhists for "the abolition of nuclear weapons and the complete disarmament". Another is how to strengthen the solidarity with a wide range of people besides Buddhists to achieve such goals. Our urgent task is to contribute to the establishment of peace and stability in Cambodia in cooperation with the Buddhists in Cambodia. The key for this is that the Japanese Buddhists consider what they should do to truly contribute to peace in Cambodia.

I want to conclude by saying that I'll do my best as Buddhist to contribute to the success of this symposium. Thank you very much.

Kenichiro SUMI

attorney, permanent secretary of
the Japan Lawyers Association for
Freedom (JLAF, Jiyu Housou Dan)

Aren't we all participants of this symposium convinced that most of the Japanese people are opposed to the PKO Law, the law for sending the Self-Defense Forces abroad? On June 15 1992, the government, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Komei Party and the Democratic Socialist Party railroaded the PKO bill through the House of Representatives plenary session to force the enactment of the bill. The government, LDP, Komei and SDP would not make any serious response to Diet members of the Japanese Communist Party and other opposition parties, who were insisting that the PKO bill is unconstitutional. They suspended and put an end to the deliberations on the bill and forced to put it to a ballot four times, the the House of Councilors PKO Ad Hoc Committee and Plenary Session, and in the House of Representatives PKO Ad Hoc Committee and Plenary Session. Obviously it was because the government, LDP, Komei and SDP feared further deliberations would made clearer the unconstitutionality of the PKO bill so that they railroaded the bill four times in the Diet, when the majority of the Japanese people came to demand that the bill be scrapped.

Among 15 thousand attorneys in Japan, voices of protest against the PKO bill, the bill for sending troops abroad, was growing louder and louder. Already in May 1992, 5 former chairpersons of the Japan Federation of Bar Associations including Tatsuya DONO made public an appeal calling for scrapping the PKO bill, which came to win the support of 242 lawyers by June 3, who were

once chairpersons of prefectural bar associations throughout the country. In June 8, the Tokyo Bar Association which has 3,357 members and is the biggest of all the prefectural bar associations, published a statement in the name of the president demanding that the PKO bill be scrapped. Other prefectural bar associations, including Shizuoka and Kyoto, as well as voluntary groups of lawyers in each bar association issued appeals one after another.

As you know well, such a movement against the PKO bill was not organized only by lawyers. Among people of various circles and ranges, such as workers, women, those in small and medium businesses, farmers, youth, scholars and members of culture, the voice demanding scrapping of the PKO bill was spreading day by day like wildfire. In every corner of the country rallies, demonstrations and propaganda actions in the street were organized.

Why the government and LDP, Komei and SDP resorted to such an outrageous action of railroading the bill through the Diet four times? It is obvious that they were so afraid the bill would be scrapped by the arising public opinion against the PKO bill that they repeatedly took the outrageous behaviour in violation of parliamentary democracy. But friends, each opinion poll taken by various newspapers and TV stations in the middle of June, immediately before and after the enactment of the PKO bill, shows that the majority of the Japanese people were opposed to the bill.

Many Asian peoples sent us their messages saying that they are opposed to the PKO bill for sending the SDF abroad. Such voices of protest from Asian peoples have been a great encouragement and driving force for us to carry out struggle forward. It has actually been one of the wellsprings of our struggle for a progressive change. I believe this is a concrete example of a strong solidarity for peace in Asia.

The Constitution of Japan stipulates the peace principles of everlasting peace, renunciation of war and not to maintain war potential, drawing serious lessons with great pains from the war of aggression that took away the lives of 20 million people of Asian countries and the lives of over 3.1 million Japanese. It is all too clear that the PKO Law which permits sending armed SDF units abroad and dispatch of the SDF to Cambodia is a repeated violation of these peace principles of the Constitution.

The dispatch of the SDF to Cambodia violates not only the Constitution but also the PKO Law itself established by the government, LDP, Komei and SDP.

Trying to evade somehow the criticism of the Japanese people that the PKO law is unconstitutional, the "Five Principles on a PKO" are: (1) agreement on a cease-fire, (2) consensus of the parties on a PKO, (3) the impartiality of a PKO, (4) Japan's withdrawal from PKOs when the above requirements cease to be met and, (5) the minimum use of weapons by personnel. From September to October this year, the government forced the dispatch of 600 artillery troops, eight members of the SDF as cease-fire observers and 75 civil policeman to Cambodia. As it is well known, the Pol Pot forces has been continuing to trample on the cease-fire based on Paris Agreement and to refuse entrance in the areas it controls. Under such circumstances there is no question that the dispatch of the SDF to Cambodia violates both the Constitution and the PKO Law.

Friends, now is the time for us to raise our voices from Japan and from other Asian countries calling for immediate stop of the dispatch of the SDF to Cambodia which violates the PKO Law. We 1,473 members of the Japan Lawyers Association for Freedom are determined to make every effort to stop the sending of the SDF to Cambodia.

The Japan Lawyers Association for Freedom is going to send in the middle of February next year a commission to investigate the actual situation of Cambodia, the realities of Pol Pot group's violation of the cease-fire, and what Japan should do to contribute to peace and rehabilitation of Cambodia.

Friends, the United States is now taking advantage of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the military blocs of the East to establish "one nation hegemonism" of the U.S. on a global scale, intervening with its armed forces in every regional conflict. The next President of the U.S. Bill Clinton has made clear that he would succeed this policy of "one nation hegemonism", saying that his new administration would "maintain the U.S. as the strongest nation in the world".

In order to protect interests Japanese big companies are gaining abroad along with supporting the U.S. policy of "one nation hegemonism", Japan's ruling circles such as business circles, the government and LDP are making desperate efforts to enable free dispatch of the SDF abroad. The overseas dispatch of the SDF based on the PKO Law will open the way for this purpose. The Japanese ruling class in subordination to the U.S. is aiming at extending the Japan-U.S. military alliance system on a global scale. For this purpose, Ichiro OZAWA, former LDP Secretary General, and Michio WATANABE, deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, have openly spoken of revising the Constitution

for the worse.

We lawyers can by no means allow their intention to make Japan a military power through sending the SDF abroad and revising the Constitution for the worse, because it is the course which will cause a great disaster not only to peoples of Asian countries but also to us Japanese.

Japan should make contribution to the world by non-military peaceful means in line with the peace principles of the Constitution of Japan, such as the elimination of nuclear weapons, dissolution of military blocs, embargo on the export of weapons on an international scale, respect for the rights of nations to self-determination and economic cooperation based on equality and reciprocity. As the first step for such contribution, it is necessary to make clear Japan's responsibility for the war of aggression including the problems of comfort women who were forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers during the war.

Japan's ruling circles are now launching unprecedentedly violent attacks against the peace principles of the Constitution forcing the overseas dispatch of the SDF, on the pretext of "international contribution". I have never felt as fully as I feel now the necessity of deepening and strengthening solidarity with peoples of other Asian countries, to protect the peace principles of the Constitution and peace in Asia as well as in Japan.

Yuri HORIE
Head of International Dept.,
Federation of Japanese Women's
Organizations (Fudanren)

Allow me first of all to express my gratitude, on behalf of Fudanren, for offering me an opportunity to speak here today. I should like to take part in the discussion by reporting you on the development, details and background of joint actions spreading among women, and also women's position on Japan's international contribution.

For the past two years, women's joint actions against the forceful adoption of the PKO Law, dispatch overseas of the Self-Defense Forces under the law, and an attempt to introduce a small constituency system with the aim of adversely

revising the Constitution, have developed greatly. Public opinion and movement to pursue the crimes and responsibilities of the government of Japan in its war of aggression as revealed in the war prostitute case, have grown tremendously. 50 or more organizations affiliated with Fudanren, Women's Department of National Confederation of Trade Unions (Zenroren), Japanese Mothers' Congress (Nihon Hahaoya) etc. formed a "Liaison Council of Women", through which they have carried out various forms of activities, including the issuance of an appeal under joint signatures of the representatives of these organizations, wayside speeches, demonstrations, signature collecting campaigns, representations to the government, presentation of a number of petitions to the Diet, etc. These activities have given encouragement to women of the country.

The organizations affiliated with Fudanren have developed a number of creative grass-root activities at the places of work or in communities, contributing a great deal to arousing public protest against the government's attempts. To cite an example, New Japan Women's Association (Shin Fujin), Fudanren's member, have 130,000 copies of 100-yen "Constitution leaflets" published to sell them among women to study the peace principle of the Constitution. The Association is now prepared to spread 300,000 copies among women.

After the forceful dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces to Cambodia, the Liaison Council of Women developed into "Women's Liaison Council Opposed to the Dispatch of the SDF Abroad and Protect Peace Principles of the Constitution" to further reinforce and broaden the activities to counter the acute situation. The Liaison Council had recently made public an appeal calling for "a determined opposition to the dispatch of the SDF abroad, for the recruitment of broader strata of women to carry out joint activities for broadening the pledge for peace confirmed by the Constitution of Japan at home and abroad".

The appeal was a call of 32 personalities including representatives of women's organizations, actors and actresses, lady writers, lady medical doctors, scholars, etc. To broaden their appeal, the Liaison Council is preparing for posters with 1,000 supporters' names printed.

Let me explain here the background for the rapid growth of joint actions for peace. Women's movement after Japan's defeat of the war placed emphasis upon peace and against war to "protect life" of the people. Women's calls for "Never again send the beloved to the battlefields", "We are opposed to dispatch soldiers overseas", "We defend peace Constitution" have rapidly spread among people throughout the country. At the back of the rapid spread of the actions

were years of various women's movements such as their fight for the abrogation of nuclear weapons, 10 years of fund-raising campaign to collect 100 million yen to support mothers and children of Vietnam who were under the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Their activities for peace developed by linking them with the movement to protect life and rights. Japanese women's traditional slogan: "To fulfill people's living, welfare and education by cutting down military expenditure" has become a common slogan of women and children of the world in their fight for their rights. Just as UNICEF has pointed out, only 1% of the war expenditure of the advanced industrial countries could save starving children of the developing countries. In 1989, the Japanese government forcibly introduced the consumption tax. It aroused fierce indignation among women because it was clear that the tax would destroy the living of the people. In spite of the fact that the consumption tax was introduced on the pretext of preparing for the aging society, it has been used for expanding war preparations in Japan, to meet with America's hegemonical world strategy, and also for U.S. forces stationing in Japan. When it was made known, Japanese women's anger blazed forth and an opposition movement grew at a rapid tempo.

Another important factor is the growth of women's movement for the rise of their position. Japan is said to be an economic power, but people's need is cruelly hampered by the Liberal-Democratic Party's politics to place priority upon military expenditure and interest of the big business. As has been pointed out recently by United Nations and ILO, Japanese women's position is kept exceedingly low as compared with that of other advanced countries. The government of Japan publicly affirms that there is no problem of sexual discrimination between men and women. The actual situation, however, is far from the government's statement. Actually there is no end to the list of discrimination or deteriorated position of women such as prevalent at their places of work, in farming or fishing areas, in self-supporting business families, or rampant sexual harassment and heavy burdens placed upon women through nursing care of the aged at home, etc.

To Japanese women fighting against these discriminative practices, the issue of war prostitutes is their own issue. As the Japanese government has covered up the truth about Japan's crimes in the war of aggression from the eyes of the people, and has taught nothing of what they did during the war of aggression, many women including myself were greatly shocked by the issue of war prostitutes. The discussion at this symposium has deepened our feeling of

repentance. We highly respect the courage of women who have stood up to accuse the Japanese government of its war crimes at this time when Japan is advancing toward a big military power. Fudanren, its affiliates and many other women's organizations immediately called on the government to define its position on its past conducts, urged it to make compensation for the victims in good faith, correctly educate the Japanese youth with facts of its aggression.

parallel with these, we voice our vehement protest to economic aggression, infringement of human rights, destruction of environment, etc. that the government of Japan and big business are carrying on now under the name of the development aid. We demand the government to re-examine the contents of ODA, so that it would be something that would really help women of receiving countries become independent with its help. We demand the government to protect human rights of women who have come to Japan to work. We believe that happiness of women and children can be realized only when peace, disarmament, self-determination of peoples are ensured. From this standpoint, we are making efforts to develop international solidarity on the basis of equality and independence.

Finally, the holding of an international symposium such as this is very important for Japan to develop international contribution based on the peace Constitution. Financially, it is very difficult for women's organizations to take part in a symposium such as this. I would like to tell you that, despite its financial difficulties, Fudanren willingly offered me an opportunity to take part in this meeting. I would like to extend our sincerest feeling of solidarity to all the participants, panelists. Thank you very much for your kind attention.

Toru TAKAHASHI, attorney at law,

I would like to approach the peace issue in Asia from the human rights aspect which is our professional area.

In order to establish a Network of Lawyers of Asia and the Pacific for Human Rights Information (NELAP), which is an international organization, we endeavour ourselves to set up the "Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of NELAP" in Japan. Last September, we held the Second Conference in Lawyers of Asia and the Pacific (COLAP II) participated in by 90 lawyers from more than 20 countries in the Asia-Pacific region and 600 Japanese lawyers, who are longing

for peace in Asia-Pacific region, the protection of environment, establishment of democracy and the human rights. In the conference, we discussed our situation and decided to establish the lawyers network for human rights information called NELAP.

Here, we should make our standpoint clear. Our position is definitely different from that of American type of human rights advocacy which has double standards: they claim the human rights only when they get profit from doing so, on the other hand, they don't take any actions for Palestinians who are under the oppression of Israel.

Our basic viewpoint is that, without stable life and human rights protection of the people, we cannot achieve and profit peace in the region. The crisis of peace would appear first in shape of oppression of the human rights. This is a universal view clarified in the U.N. Charter and the World Declaration of Human Rights as a basic view of the establishment of the United Nations. We recognize that violations of the human rights politically and environmentally exist in Asia. To establish human rights in Asia is indispensable for peace in this region. But many of the dictators in Asia have had the thought and attitude to deny human rights of the people, no matter whether they take positions of capitalism or socialism. Since we deny the double-standard policy, we must fight against all forms of violation of human rights. Only the people's movements have been advancing the call on the protection of human rights.

After the collapse of USSR and East European countries, the East-West conflict situation has changed, at the same time it seems that peace in Asia has come in an unstable and severe situation. This is apparent in the military enforcement, in several countries, and in the situation that poverty becoming more severe. At the same time the human rights violations continue to exist.

I thought it is necessary to know the situation as my own experiences in process to establish NELAP, so that I visited Mindanao island in the Philippines last February, and boundary area between Burma (Myanmar) and Thailand in April as a member of a human rights fact-finding mission.

What I saw in Mindanao is that the power company took the side of the government in pushing to drill wells in order to make a geothermal electric power plant in Mt. Apo which is the highest volcano in the Philippines and very beautiful with wild orchids. This company destroyed the wild nature in Mt. Apo to make roads, and has driven out the indigenous Bagobo people who are worshipping Mr. Apo as God. The Japanese ODA, Sogo Shosha (general trading companies) and manufacturers are pushing to execute this project. The army is

bombing and attacking the villages of indigenous people as they claiming to subjugate the communist army, NPA. Indigenous people are against this project because they are afraid of environmental destruction in their ancestral land. Many indigenous people are becoming internal refugees after they flee from their villages. They build refugee camps in places where there is no water. Many peasant activists have been assassinated or punished without judicial process by military or right-wings. People call it "Salvaging".

In Burma(Myanmar), Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi has been confined by the military power because she seeks for political democracy. But the congressmen, belonging to her group/party, who got 85% of all the seats in parliament during the last elections, had escaped from the capital city of Rangoon, then they established the provisional government and fought in a United Front in the boundary area of Thailand and Myanmar together with indigenous people like Karen, Mon, Kachin and students. Once these congressmen and activists who are fighting with people in military oppressed area are arrested, they are severely tortured and detained by summary judgment of court-martial without lawyer, and their families are expelled from their town and forced to live in the quickly established special camps. They said that "We are going to be killed by ruling classes of Japan, China and Thailand. Japan gives ODA to Myanmar government which is currently in severe economic crisis (Japanese ODA consists more than a half of the all budget of Myanmar government), China supplies them arms, and Thailand holds the biggest amount of trading with our country. When you go back to your country, please try to stop them doing these things. That is the only way we can save the democracy and people in this country from the latticeless jail."

As you can see, there are people to whom we should extend solidarity not only in Cambodia but also everywhere in Asia. Carrying forward our struggle together with them is the way to contribute to the world(I don't like the word 'international contribution'). That is how we should develop cooperation internationally.

I think it is very important to seek Japan's responsibility for what it did during World War II. Today, Japanese capitals are making inroads into Asian countries just like what they did by tanks during the war, they created the severe situation in Asia while we are not informed and have been ignorant, and actually they threaten peace in Asia. But according to economic rules, it is natural that Japan which had become an economic giant causes such situation in Asian countries, so that we, as Japanese citizens, cannot just say we didn't know what is going on. When we become more conscious, we can easily find that

Japan is creating the same situation all over Asia-Pacific regions. We regret ourselves as knowing that Japan has not yet take any responsibility for World War II, especially for the comfort women issue. We should not repeat our fault as we regret 50 years after the incident, saying nobody told me the facts. We can meet the fighting people in all of the Asia-Pacific countries. As we held COLAP II conference last year, we not only promoted our relationship with Asian lawyers and deepened our knowledge about Asia, but also we could find the new views on our own country Japan and found new prospects in our movement. It is true "international contribution" for us to make solidarity with Asian people and fight against the injustice practiced by the Japanese government and capitals.

We, Japanese lawyers, are going to promote the spread of such informations, and endeavour to the establishment of NELAP in order to have the same recognition with lawyers in Asia-Pacific region. This movement doesn't, of course, stop in the stage of information exchange but develop to various kind of cooperative actions. We are proceeding our work with a hope and prospect that NELAP will become an NGO of the U.N. At the same time, we want to put NELAP the role of human rights center for immigrant workers in Japan as NELAP office will locate in Japan.

Hikaru SUGAWARA

member of the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth League of Japan

The Democratic youth League of Japan (DYLJ) is the youth organization which has been striving for the realization of democratic demands of the youth and for progressive future of Japan. From the standpoint of youth, I would like to make some remarks, mainly on the struggle against overseas dispatch of Japanese troops.

The DYLJ has done its best for broadening joint struggle of young people in this field. Together with the Japan Seinendan Council, the Japan League of Socialist Youth and the Council of Religious Youth for Peace, we issued a joint appeal and jointly organized publicity actions against overseas dispatch of the PKO in Tokyo. At the same time, different actions have been carried out by basic units and district committees of the DYLJ in every corner of the country. The "Peace Jam", the mass rally of youth and students wishing for the

elimination of nuclear weapons, was successfully held in Hiroshima this summer (1992), with the newly added slogan, "Let us succeed to the heart of the Constitution", and with 3,500 participants.

I can tell you one of the dramatic episodes which we experienced in this struggle. There was a student who do not like student movements and thought that the politics would not change. While the political situation was thrown into an uproar in connection with the passage of the PKO bill, he discussed with his friends and started, first of all, to organize demonstration-walk inside his university. This small demonstration grew day by day and finally developed to the mass demonstration to the Diet.

The problem of the PKO bill was a chance for the young people to change themselves largely. The young people have started to consider global issues and the future of Japan, linking them with their way of life. Another major characteristics of the current youth is that they have a very strong will to defend the Constitution. According to a survey on public opinion, the percentage of young group (20-29 years old) who point out the contradiction between the Constitution and the PKO bill is the biggest among different age groups. Another survey shows more than 70% of young people think international contribution of Japan must be limited within non-military field.

Now the DYLIJ makes much of spreading the movement against overseas dispatch on the basis of learning the Constitution. Because the original point of the Constitution of Japan is nothing but serious reflection on the war of aggression. Recently I read the notes written by young people who died as suicide squad in the last period of Japan's war of aggression. I was impressed especially by the notebook titled "Memory", in which the house and school in hometown and the pictures of baseball glove and bat were illustrated. It is the war of aggression which made such a young man who loved his family and liked baseball torpedoes and bombs in human shape. With our determination not to repeat such a war of aggression and not to take arms for war of aggression once more, we are carrying forward our movement. I think the Constitution of Japan includes such determination of the Japanese. Some people assert that the Constitution becomes old, but we think it still has great importance for us young people.

The Self-Defense Forces have strengthened its activities to catch young people to be soldiers. There is a report that all the students in a high school are solicited for the SDF. We know a young man who was forced to be a member of the SDF after being in a nearly confined situation for five days. In a prewar time, young people were educated with a slogan, "Bleed for a country",

and spurred to battle-field. Now the government says, "Bleed for international contribution". The SDF is said to be faced with the crisis of bankruptcy due to shortage of the personnel. If the overseas dispatch continues more and the personnel becomes less, the conscription might be re-introduced in the country, we think. That is why uneasiness of young people is growing more and more.

Another point I want to stress here is the relations between the overseas dispatch and strategy of the U.S. When we talk with young people in a street, we are often faced with the opinion, "The world welcomes the SDF to go to Cambodia in cooperation with PKO". Even such people could change their mind, when we explain the objections rising from the Asian people. This kind of our experience shows the importance of underlining that the participation of the SDF in PKO will contribute to the U.S.

The major weak point of the U.S. one-nation hegemonism is economy. The Japanese government is in a position to offer both personnel and finance to support this hegemonism. If the movement develop more in Japan, the outrageous acts of the U.S. can be kept in check, which, we think, will be an enormous contribution not only to defend the future of Japanese youth but also to safeguard peace in Asia and the world.

In the yesterday's session, some panelists emphasized that it was significant to correct the perverted history of past aggression done by Japanese militarism, which seriously affects young people, too. In this respect, other participants have already mentioned the issue of textbook in Japan. Instead, I want to refer to "simulation-novels", I mean, novels on the simulated war chronicle, which have been on the best-seller lists. One of such novels has the concept that Japan might win in the World War II if the zero fighter planes had been more innovated. A young man who read such novels said, "This kind of novels is like a textbook more than the textbooks which we used in school".

In this situation, it is important to stop the maneuvers by the reactionary forces to hide the fact that Japan carried out the war of aggression. Young people are not responsible even if they do not know very well the historical facts. We think it essential to develop our movement to make the government seriously reflect the war of aggression.

Machiyo KUROKAWA

I am one of the survivors of Hiroshima. Today I would like to talk about how we see our war responsibilities and also what we can do for peace.

I came to know the more specific effect of that devastating war, which ended some 50 years ago, on the people of Asia during a recent trip. I was scheduled to testify about the truth concerning exposure to the atomic bombings, a part of the series of activities aimed at the elimination of all forms of nuclear weapons. On the day that Peace Congress '90 (Hiroshima Day) India was held, one of the directors of the international conference told me, "I don't want to hear anything from a Japanese." I was shocked by this flat refusal. He told me that the invading Japanese army had confined his elder sister into a church building at a school in Malaysia, and that she was scorched to death with gasoline sprinkled all over her. This gentleman asked me, "You were burned by an atomic bomb. My sister was sprayed with gasoline and burned to death. Which heat would be more intense?" Honestly, I was speechless. I could not even give my apologies.

It was from this time on that I started my own research into the acts of the Japanese army and the Japanese people in general. In April 1992, "1992 Life March" was organized in the Philippines as part of the 50th anniversary of the Bataan Death March. In order to relieve the torment that occurred some 50 years ago, I was allowed to participate in the Life March, in which we were supposed to walk 88 kilometers from Mariveles to San Fernando, Pampanga. I started marching with the rest of the participants, but on one of the hills along the way, the accompanying doctor prevented me from marching any further. I was miserable. Many meetings were held during this march and I heard the testimonies of many people. Most of them spoke various local languages, but tried to speak in easy and slow English when they realized that the Japanese participants could not understand. Listening to their testimonies was just hard to bear. What did Japan do to these people?

After I returned to Japan, I looked for people who had anything to do with the Death March. I came across a former soldier who had walked the deadly 88 kilometers: his duty had been to watch over the war prisoners. I learned that a lot of reports sent from the warfronts to Japan have been preserved in Japan. Going through some of these documents, I found out that there were 3 patterns in the mentality of the Japanese military.

First, there are those former low-ranking soldiers who are willing to testify because they realize their war responsibilities. This is really a

small number. Many former soldiers try so hard to forget. Many of them refuse to see me. They want the past to be undisturbed as if to let 'the by-gones be by-gones.' At the depth of their heart, they feel guilty.

The second group of former soldiers justify their conduct saying that there was a war raging. They had witnessed massacre, but they claim that they would have been killed if they did not kill the enemy. This opinion often comes from those on the Philippines front. They say that not a single Filipino was to be trusted. A very pro-Japanese man was found one day to be in contact with an anti-Japan guerrilla force, so Japanese soldiers did not feel safe unless all of their enemy were killed. I asked this ex-soldier of the Japanese army "Did you consider babies as your enemy?" The answer was, "We had to kill the babies too because if they were left alone, it would have been even more cruel for them." This is the truth I would like to share with you.

There was a third mentality pattern. This shows how Japanese people thought and acted, when they were under absolute, despotic rule. They simply had to obey their order. So, no matter how cruel the order was, they had to obey it, and moreover, they further aggravated it. There was that group of people who would gladly pierce a bayonet through a baby's chest, or toss a baby in the air and catch the falling body with his bayonet. These were the people who would gladly commit such an atrocity even when they were not ordered. Another unforgivable thing is that Japanese people would hit a person always on their face. Although hitting somebody on the head would be all right in the Japanese culture, hitting anyone above the neck is a taboo in the Philippines. All of these things have left unhealing scars on the Filipino people, but they say, "We will forgive you. But we will not forget."

A part of the materials that have been kept in custody of the Defense Agency. By misinterpreting this good-will on the part of the Filipinos, many former Japanese soldiers visit the Philippines and build monuments to console the spirits of their befallen comrades. There is no consideration for the people killed by them. This is something that we as Japanese should be ashamed of.

But perhaps feeling ashamed of is not enough. I think the testimonies of the people who were directly concerned with war should come forward. I share with my audience what little research I have done and the main purpose is to give my apologies to my fellow Asians. It is actually the duty of the Japanese government to do so, but every Japanese man and woman should make a firm resolve that they shall never again inflict pain on others. A wide-ranging, grass-roots campaign is necessary to achieve this goal. War turns very ordinary citizens into cruel murderers. If you don't want to commit this crime, then do

not participate in war and do not allow war. This is something that every Japanese should realize.

Lastly, I would like to touch upon the issue of "comfort women from Holland." I am now corresponding with a Dutch lady, a former victim of this shameless institution of "comfort women" in the Japanese military machine. And today, some of you have come to this conference as witnesses of these inhumane wartime conducts. You witnessed them when you were small children.

As a member of the Tokyo Yamate Church, I offer whatever help I can together with the other members of the congregation. Quite different from the ODA assistance, our help reaches out to those who need it. We are building toilets in the Philippines's slums. What? Toilets? You may wonder. Yes, what we are doing is just as simple as that. However, in the past five years, we have built 50 toilets. Many of them were burned down just the other day. So we are going to visit the slum areas again to see what help is really needed. This is something all of you also can do. Even as an individual, there is something you can do. There are people who cannot wait for a new save-the-slum children campaign. Even at this moment, while I am speaking here, roughly 100 people die every day in the aftermath of the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. What we as individuals can do is not much, but we can definitely help them. I'd like to share a piece of information with you: a campaign for saving the victims of Mt. Pinatubo has grown into a wide-ranging donation campaign which was introduced by the Manila Guardian. Even the Japanese government, which had not donated a single cent, recently sent its contribution.

Miyo INOUE

Head of New Japan Women's Association

It is a great pleasure for me to speak on behalf of New Japan Women's Association (Shin Fujin) here today.

Under the cloak of international contribution, the Japanese government has recently enforced "the UN Cooperation Law" against the peace principles of the Constitution of Japan, which strictly prohibit sending of troops overseas, and dispatched the so-called Self Defense Forces to Cambodia. Our Association, Shin Fujin, unites Japanese women who are carrying on various activities in stern protest against these illegal actions of the government. I am pleased to have

this opportunity to directly talk with you, coming from South Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and other Asian countries, on the question of peace in Asia in such a grave situation.

The most shocking issue to us Japanese women is that of war prostitutes, in the name of comfort women, about whom Dr. CHUNG Chin-Sung spoke yesterday. Shin Fujin has developed activities for years with its objectives set particularly at opposing the government's attempts to adversely revise the Constitution and revive the Japanese militarism, protecting women's rights, peace and democracy. This issue of war prostitutes could never be tolerated in that it was the very crime of the aggressive war waged by Japan, which trampled underfoot human rights of women and violated the right of self-determination of peoples. We believe that the only way to stop repeating these offenses of the history is that the Japanese government itself makes a thoroughgoing investigation into its shameful acts of crime during the war and clear up the truth which has been concealed in the darkness of history.

It has already been brought to light that Japan victimized women not only of South and North Korea but also of the Philippines, Indonesia, China, Holland. Although the Japanese government has disclosed the result of its survey on war prostitutes, it is nothing but superficial. The government has approved that it had a hand in it, but would not acknowledge the fact about forcible abduction of victimized women under the excuse that it failed to find evidences to prove the fact. While expressing its regret, the government would not mention compensation to the victims but stated "the question has already been officially settled". Its sole concern is to conceal the facts.

A part of the materials that have been kept in custody of the Defense Agency's library has been disclosed to the public. To our surprise, however, description of brothels had been deleted secretly as if the documents have nothing to do with the issue of war prostitutes. What a shame it is! No one could forgive these shameful conduct.

This question should not be considered only as the issue of the past, but it is a question firmly rooted in the constitution of the present Liberal Democratic Party government: to look down women, violate human rights, ignore its own crimes of the war of aggression, unconcernedly trample underfoot the sovereignty of other countries.

The Self-Defense Forces that were planning to dispatch the ground force to Cambodia in answer to the request of the UNTAC are said to have studied the

distribution of contraceptive devices to soldiers at the government expense. Shin Fujin immediately made protest representation to the UN Peace Cooperation Headquarters in the government. They treated us very coldly, but on August 27, the next day, the Defense Agency publicly announced that it would not supply the devices at the government expense.

Parallel with this, UNTAC representative AKASHI is reported to have said at a party held on September 24 1992, to which local NGO activists were invited that "it is quite natural that young and bloodthirsty soldiers should have the right to pester pretty girls as they are engaged in hard work every day", as if he admits prostitution by UNTAC personnel. It is reported that prostitution has become a serious social and political problem in Cambodia today where soldiers from various countries are stationing. We have been told that, under these circumstances, an open letter was lent to Mr. AKASHI, UNTAC representative, under the joint signatures of 167 NGO activists in Cambodia.

These cases show that the top leaders of Japan have scarcely made any changes in their ways of thinking from the days that their predecessors forcibly victimized young girls as prostitutes. We have made repeated representations to the government in demand for clarifying the truth, making full compensation and apology for those victimized. When we called for the judicial costs for the courageous South Korean women who have taken the case to the Japanese court, hundreds of letters and money were received from women throughout the country. Some letters read: "Enclosed please find a small sum of my pension, which I want to be used as judicial cost", "My daughter has just got married, and I want to share my happiness with others". Already some 800,000 yen has been received as a judicial cost for the victims. All these show that Japanese women are ready to share the deep sorrow and fierce indignation that those victims have had.

Shin Fujin sent its representatives to the 2-day "Solidarity Conference to the Victims of War Prostitution" held in Seoul in August. Sharing their grief and strengthening solidarity with them, we have stood up to fight against Japanese militarism.

Without a work of reflection on its past war of aggression and colonial control, and concealing the facts of history, the Liberal Democratic Party government is now threatening peace of Asia by dispatching the SDF to Asia again. We are strongly opposed to this.

Succeeding to the preceding conferences in Mexico, Copenhagen and Nairobi, World Women's Conference will be held in 1995 in China. The main theme will be

"violence", we hear. We will deepen our studies and surveys toward the forthcoming conference. For that purpose, Shin Fujin is considering the possibility of inviting representatives from Asian countries to hold a symposium to exchange views to prepare for joint struggle with you women of Asia.

Masamichi MORI

Japan Lawyers Association for Freedom
I'm secretary general of the "Network of Suwa Area for Stopping Oversea Dispatch of the SDF". Today I want to explain the situation after the PKO bill was passed, and how we should develop our struggle from now on.

I want to put great emphasis on what we can do to make people grasp the essentials of this problem easily.

The Japan's Self-Defense Forces is now being sent abroad on the pretext that they were going to wipe out the bad image of Asian people against the Japanese military forces during World War II. The public opinion polls showed that a great many Japanese people opposed to sending the SDF abroad when the PKO bill was passed in the Diet in June, but with the help of television and other mass media more and more people came to support the sending of the SDF to Cambodia. In such circumstances we have been putting stress on the point that sending the SDF units abroad will open the way to reappearance of Japanese military rule over Asian countries during World War II. Those who are in favour of sending the SDF abroad have been spreading propaganda, saying that the SDF will not be sent to participate in a war but to help people. They don't always argue on the same basis as ours. Professor Motofumi ASAI says that the peace movement will not be able to get people's support if it confines itself to a movement as victims, because quite many of the Japanese people, especially the youth, now tend to oppose to the idea that Japan was a victim of the war, considering that such an idea as egoistic as ever will not be generally accepted in the society any more. He also says that it is necessary to make clear that Japan was both a victim and aggressor, and that without doing so, it is impossible to get people's support, to say nothing of establishing solidarity with Asian people.

If that is the case, how can we make the Japanese people understand our

movement easily? I don't believe it is a matter of what kind of approach we try. When we grasp the essentials of the problem with accuracy, we will be able to express them in plain words, so that people can understand the problem easily.

In our Network, we have been discussing again and again while carrying forward the movement. The issues over which we have been discussing are summed up in four points, and we put them in the yellow handouts you can get at the entrance of this hall. The four points are: (1) the PKO Law is obviously a violation of the Constitution of Japan, the supreme law of the country, (2) there is a great concern about the dispatch of the SDF abroad based on the PKO Law itself being an act of injustice, (3) to permit the dispatch of the SDF abroad based on the PKO Law will create a serious situation in which the Japanese armed forces are swaggering about in Asian countries just like in the prewar period, (4) there are so many other ways left for Japan to contribute to the world. Our network has been organizing small meetings where the participants read out loud together these contents of the yellow handouts in 10 minutes.

The yellow handouts carrying four points did not seem satisfactory enough to explain the essentials of the problem. So in October we recorded a tape for sound trucks, which says: "First, whoever may say whatever, Japan's peace Constitution clearly prohibits dispatch of the military forces named the Self-Defense Forces. Secondly, the United Nations of today tends to act at the mercy of the United States and there is an increasing danger that it will make a wrong choice by resorting to military force to solve the problem quickly. We should not feel secure and trust everything the U.N. does. Thirdly, peoples of many Asian countries unanimously have expressed their fear and criticism on the decision of Japan to send the SDF abroad, saying that Japan seems to aim to rule over Asian countries again by its armed forces, without reflecting on the war of aggression it carried out in the past. It is true that if we allow this, Japanese troops will be dispatched one after another to various places in the world. Should we allow such a thing every happen? Lastly, Japan can send civil engineers and construction machines to repair the roads and bridges teaching technics to the people of that country. This is an example of what Japan should do to contribute to the world that can really be appreciated by the countries in need. There is no reason nor necessity for sending out troops, specialists of the war. Only by peaceful means should Japan contribute to the world greatly".

After recording this tape, we decided to make posters. Many members of the Network participated in the discussion for drawing up posters. Through the discussion we decided to use two slogans: "Never allow Japanese troops to make another debut", and "Contribution to the world without evoking any fear of anyone". The first one was the words of a Vietnamese who came to Japan to find a job. The second one is a response to the argument that there is no problem for sending the SDF abroad because they are going for humanitarian aid. We want to say that those who are going for humanitarian aid should not evoke people's fear and that only those who will not cause any fear of people can help them.

I appeal to you to organize a symposium like this one and other kinds of events, at least once, in various places of the country to think seriously about Japan's responsibility for the war of aggression as aggressor. I believe that without facing seriously Japan's responsibility as aggressor, we cannot make out movement against the PKO Law understood to carry it forward in a correct direction.

Hiroshi IDE, standing executive member of the Japan Peace Committee, in cooperation with a number of organizations, which are represented at this symposium, the Japan Peace Committee held the Japan Conference for the removal of U.S. military bases and the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in Nagoya from November 20 to 23. In an international symposium held on the occasion, we had discussions with representatives from Germany, Britain, the Philippines and the United States. I have some copies in English, which will be given to the overseas delegates later of the Keynote Speech given by Professor Shoichiro SATO to the conference. I want to take this opportunity to address some of the issues, which were raised during the conference in relation to solidarity with Asian peoples.

First, the danger of the revival of the concept of the "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere", which was taken up by Mr. Van Tao from Vietnam yesterday. In the present world situation, the United States has joined Canada and Mexico to form the North American Free Trade Area; integration of the European

Community is going ahead; and Japan is emphasizing its economic relations with other Asian nations. As a result, potential economic contradictions are growing between them, which reminds us of the international situation that existed in the 1930s.

This was raised by Mr. Josef GARSON of the American Friends Service Committee, who in his contribution to the discussion, told us that security in Asia should be emphasized in the present international situation as a matter of importance for strengthening solidarity between the peoples in Asia. GERSON specifically mentioned the example of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and that this Helsinki-type arrangement should be preferable also be pursued in Asia. We argued that the CSCE approved the existence of opposing military blocs, and that the detente, which was sought by the Conference, was based on that premise. With the demise of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty Organization was dissolved, but NATO remains and is used for the out-of-area expansion. In Asia, where we have a network of bilateral military alliances such as the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and treaties between South Korea and the United States, between South Korea and Japan, we do not think that Helsinki-type security arrangements will lead to the dismantling of military alliances and help ensure peace in Asia. In the subsequent discussion a consensus was reached that any regional security arrangement in Asia should be envisaged outside the control of any great power, and that the Japanese people should oppose the concept of the "Eastern Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" in their struggle against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

Second, it was confirmed that the withdrawal of U.S. military bases from the Philippines offered great encouragement to the anti-base campaign of the Japanese people, particularly the struggle for the removal of Yokota Base in Tokyo. This is proved by the resolutions adopted by a number of City and Ward Assemblies, which specifically quoted from the resolution of the Philippines Senate calling for ending the base agreement with the United States.

Faced with opposition to its bases, the United States is trying to conclude access agreements with the Philippines, Brunei, Singapore and other Asian countries so that U.S. forces can have military facilities at free disposal without having to establish bases. U.S. military bases in Japan are not unrelated to this strategy, in the sense that the U.S. Air Force at Misawa Base has been reorganized into mixed squadrons to be dispatched to those facilities when necessary. The military exercise called "Keen Edge '92" was conducted in Hokkaido, in which Japan's Self-Defense Forces and U.S. forces were trained to facilitate joint overseas operations. Struggle against the joint military exercise was emphasized at the Conference.

Third, Japan's Asia policy must change. While the United States has to withdraw some of its forces from Asia, the Japanese government is insisting that U.S. military presence is necessary in Asia and is increasing an allocation in its budget to cover maintaining the cost of the U.S. forces, which are not that of Japan's treaty obligations.

At a summit meeting of ASEAN countries, when a proposal was put forward to establish a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace, friendship and neutrality in the region, the Japanese government joined the United States to obstruct this effort, using the pretext that it would harm U.S. nuclear deterrence policy. As the only A-bombed nation in the world, Japan must give up such a pro-nuclear stance.

The Non-Aligned Summit meeting held in Jakarta last September revealed the tradition and present strength of the Non-Aligned movement in this part of the world. The Philippines has also joined the movement. The Japanese government should change its foreign policy and abandon the alliance with the United States and join and actively support the Non-Aligned movement.

Finally a few words on ODA, to which reference was made by Mr. GILLEGO from the Philippines. What is important for us in Japan is that there is no budgetary control by the Diet over Japan's ODA. In the United States, the House of Representatives is empowered to control the ODA budget item by item, while in Japan the budget bill is discussed and passed as a whole in an undemocratic way. People have no voice or control over the national budget for ODA, which is so important to other countries especially in Asia.

Toshio AKINIWA

Director General of Japan Asia, Africa and Latin America Solidarity Committee

I would like to speak as a member of the Japan Asia, Africa and Latin America Solidarity Committee (Japan AALA) and of the organizing committee of the symposium.

What drew our attention most when we were carrying forward the struggle for scrapping the PKO Law was a new raise of public opinion of the Asian peoples resolutely against receiving the Self-Defense Force of Japan in their countries.

In such a situation, we decided to launch two actions for preventing the oversea dispatch of the SDF at all costs: 1) to set out a struggle to scrap the PKO Law, 2) to develop an international joint action together with the peoples of Asia against sending and receiving the SDF.

We called for solidarity to the peoples and organizations of Asia, making a proposal to have a meeting to talk about this matter. Immediately warm messages were given to us from Korea, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, etc. We were much surprised at their quick responses to our appeal. There were three contents in common in their messages: 1) to make the war responsibility of Japan clear and make the Japanese government admit the responsibility for it, 2) never to accept the Self-Defense Forces in their countries, opposing the sending of the SDF abroad, 3) to demand for Japan to make a true contribution to the international community based on the peace principles of the Constitution. The President Emeritus of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines said in his message that "In view of the imminent approval of the PKO bill in the Japanese Diet, I urge the entire Japanese people and all peace-loving peoples of Asia and the world to consolidate our ranks and resist the Japanese government's renewed initiatives to re-establish itself as a military power in Asia". He made an appeal for building a bulwark against the revival of the Japanese militarism. We also received positive inquiries from some friends in Asia, saying "When are you going to hold a meeting on this matter? I can not attend it if it is held from --- till ---". These responses gave us a great encouragement. Under such circumstances this symposium has been prepared.

After the first day's session was over, the panelists from abroad said to me that the discussion was a very fruitful one. I'm sure that we are taking a firm step toward a success of the symposium in accordance with its purpose. I am resolutely determined to make more efforts today together with all of you to ensure the success.

I am going to refer to our task in the future, but before that, I want to make a comment on what the U.S. and Japan are going to do with Asia.

Asia, from Myanmar to Mongol except the former USSR territories, is about twice as wide in area and four times as large in population as the whole European continent including Eastern Europe, and has ample natural resources. According to the report by the Department of Defense of the U.S., the U.S. export to Singapore whose population is 2,700,000 amounts more than that to Spain of 40,000,000 population or to Italy of 60,000,000 population. The U.S.

considers that Asia, which occupies a half area of the earth, holds the destiny of the U.S. in the 21st century as well as the area over the Atlantic ocean. The U.S. attaches the greatest importance to the strong Japan-U.S. relation based on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as a means to develop U.S. military and economic tasks in the region of Asia and the Pacific. What is Japan going to do with Asia? Japan has become a number one investor to abroad getting ahead of Great Britain. It has also become a number one creditor in the world. The largest part of Japan's investment goes to Asian countries. The Japan's ruling class is willing to take a devoted second-in-command's role for protection of the external assets and interests of the Japanese monopolized enterprises under the umbrella of the military power of the U.S., a sole superpower in the world.

The recent issue of the "Gaiko(Diplomacy) Forum", a monthly magazine edited with cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, carried a special article on "a new development of the Asian and the Pacific diplomacy". In this article Mr. IKEDA, Head of the Division of Asia of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, emphasizes that in order to establish a good relationship with Asian countries, we must first make one with the U.S. This means that we must hold fast to the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in order to dominate the region of Asia and the Pacific.

It can be said that the Japanese people and the peoples of Asian countries are close friends in the common struggles against common enemies. The people of the Philippines fighting for the same cause have succeeded in removing the U.S. military bases from the country, releasing themselves from the humiliating domination by the foreign countries for more than 400 years to defend the national dignity.

I believe it very important to build a strong solidarity with the Asian friends, who are the most reliable friends, by visiting one another, by talking about politics, economy, social problems and culture, or by holding a symposium like this one. I take much responsibility upon the international community under the circumstances that there seems to be no nation except Japan among the developed capitalist countries, where the democratic forces continue to struggle for a true progress of Japan and the world. I want to conclude my speech by saying that we are firmly determined to make a true contribution to the international community for a further solidarity with the peoples of Asian countries. Thank you.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF PANELISTS

Akira FUJIWARA (Japan)

After listening to the remarks of the panelists from South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam, I would like to say a few words as a Japanese historian, on the question of Japan's war crimes and its responsibility for making compensations for all that it did during the war.

Japan must make compensations for all the damages, losses, harms and injustices that it did during the war in the name of Japan. The Japanese government, however, has continuously taken the position that compensation issue has already been settled between the countries concerned in the name of reparations. With regard to the claims of South Korean victims for compensations for their damages due to Japan's forcible capture, etc., the Japanese government has repeatedly said that "the question has already been settled completely and ultimately in 1965 under the Japan-South Korea Fundamental Treaty" (an answer to the House of Councilors Budget Committee by Mr. Sakutarō TANINO, Head of Asian Section of the Foreign Ministry on August 27, 1991).

The government has taken similar attitude towards other countries, too. With regard to China, it says that the Chinese government declared its will to relinquish its right for reparation through the Japan-China joint statement in 1972. Relating with other countries including Burma (1954), the Philippines (1956), Indonesia (1958), Vietnam (former South Vietnam - 1958), Singapore (1967), Malaysia (1967), the Japanese government has taken the attitude that reparation issue was settled through the reparation agreements established between Japan and the countries concerned.

However, reparation issues between the states and compensations towards victimized individuals are different matters. Most of civilized countries have faithfully compensated for damages suffered by individual victims.

That West Germany has compensated on a large scale to the victims of Nazis crimes, is well known. United Germany has been broadening the scope of its compensations. For instance, on November 7, 1992, Congress of Jews claiming for compensations, which confirmed that compensations shall be paid to victimized Jews living in former East Germany and have not been compensated so

far (AP News). The governments of the United States and Canada have also made official apologies and paid indemnities to Japanese Americans and Canadians who were put into concentration camps during the war.

As a historian, I feel extremely regrettable to know that the Japanese government has continuously taken rigid attitude that all the matters relating to compensations have been settled.

Reparations between the states and compensations towards victimized individuals are entirely different matters. So long as those who were victimized by the dishonest acts of the state, such as those who were forced to labor or made war prostitutes were left without any sincere apologies or compensations, it cannot be said that Japan has expiated itself for its acts during the war. Japan that has become an economic power in the world today has a duty to make full compensations. The victims are all aged now, 47 years after the end of the war. When we think of the fact that many have lost their lives without being indemnified, we feel it our duty to sincerely tackle with this question with sincerity.

Yasuhiro OKUDAIRA (Japan)

Allow me to speak from the standpoint of a scholar of the Constitution.

Pacificism and the principle of international cooperation stipulated in the Constitution of Japan have two phases: one is an aspect based on a passive position which concerns the way to deal with the legacy or negative impact of the past: sticking to the principle of renouncing war totally and possessing no war potential whatsoever; and the other is an aspect based on a positive position to give priority over an idea for transforming negative impact of the past to an advantage: seeking for ways to make positive contribution for world peace. In short, the Constitution of Japan implies passive and positive features with regard to the question of peace and international cooperation, which are integrated into an idea or system as a peace Constitution.

In the 50-year history of Japan after its defeat in the war, many circumstances have combined to cause problems in relation to the passive aspect of the Constitution. Actions that are contradictory to the principle of non-possession of war potential or non-belligerency have been continuously taken by

the government to create suspicion among the people of Asia that militarism, aggressiveness or chauvinism might be revived in Japan again. The situation have not been completely reversed. To do away with such an unhappy situation is weighing heavily upon us.

However, this is not the sole situation. Proposals and actions to fulfill positive aspect of the Constitution based on the pledge for non-belligerency, non-access to any hostile operations, and make these pledges known to the people of the world through trustworthy means and practices, have gradually been gaining weight among the people since the beginning of the 1980s. A greater number of the people are now positively practicing the spirit of the Constitution.

As if to steal the people's initiative, however, the government and the big business are giving exaggerated publicity to their responsibility for making international cooperation. This is a question that was repeatedly pointed out by the panelists from abroad during the discussions yesterday and today. The task assigned to us now is to take the idea back from them and realize it with the people of the world, in a way to correctly realize the spirit of the Constitution.

What should be taken into our consideration in this respect, particularly in relation to the pacificism and the spirit of international cooperation meant by the Constitution, is that the government and the big business are interpreting the wordings in the Preamble, which reads "Japan wants to acquire an honourable position in the international society", to serve for their interests. For instance, they interpret the wordings as "Japan should behave as a world power because it has already become an economic power of the world". They interpret them as if "to occupy an honourable position in the international society" were what a world power has the right to do, and, for that purpose, it is natural for them to make international contribution including military contribution. In this way, they misinterpret the meaning of the sentence intentionally. By making militaristic contribution, Japan will surely become a "diplomatic power" and be able to be a member of the Security Council of the United Nations. Under these circumstances, we must understand what "an honourable position in the international society" means and work for the direction which is correctly meant by the Constitution.

The Preamble of the Constitution of Japan defines an idea of international cooperation or pacificism, but it states hardly anything that should be taken to

realize this. Article 9 stipulates passive aspect of the Constitution with rigorous wordings, but it does not indicate in concrete words what should be done by us in the world in future. In the first half of Japan's postwar history, we were not requested to scrutinize it, probably.

When we foresee far into the future, however, we Japanese people are tasked to give a great deal of thought to what should be done, and develop an argument on pacificism and the spirit of international cooperation of the Preamble together with the people of Asia through conferences such as this. What is unhappy is that Article 9 has been interpreted only from its passive phase. And it has been used by the government for its advantage. As you know, the Japanese government is penetrating the people with an idea that "pacificism observed only by one country — Japan" is out-of-date and does not match with the current world situation. The Japanese people who have been spoiled with an idea of an economic power consciousness are given in such an idea. Japanese people's readiness to think things in abstraction leads them to think that it is necessary to make "international contribution with manpower" in the current world situation, and that Japan therefore should play a role suited to it from humanistic standpoint. This Japanese way of thinking has come to be regarded more important and weighty than the correct interpretation of Article 9 of the Constitution, and become penetrated wide and deep in the minds of ordinary Japanese people.

In this situation, it is important to educate the people that the principle stipulated in Article 9 is the very idea that plays an important role in making humanistic contribution, that Article 9 is not inconsistent with "humanistic contribution", and further that Japan should contribute to the international society through the realization of the principle stipulated in Article 9 as Japan has renounced war potential. We must consider what "humanistic way of contribution to the international society" means on that basis. The spirit of Article 9 would be made naught only by commenting on "humanistic contribution". Let me repeat this again: Article 9 is an idea based on humanistic viewpoint which was given birth in that severe situation in 1945, and there is no ground to disprove it today. We should understand the word "humanitarian" on the basis of such concept. Otherwise, the word "humanitarian" employed for realizing a certain type of policies will destroy the idea of Article 9 which expresses universal humanitarianism. Then, we will commit the same fault that we did in the 1950s when we approved the establishment of the Self-Defense Forces under the pretext of the right to self-defense. Of course, we still have difficulty in letting the general public fully understand the difference, but

this is what we must do, I believe.

CHUNG Chin-Sung (Korea)

In yesterday's session, I confined my remarks to criticism of Japan. Now I what to speak about quite the opposite, by way of expressing my gratitude I came to feel after listening to the remarks of those who spoke in today's morning session. To give you more friendly impression, I'll speak in my poor Japanese. Please tolerate many mistakes I'll make.

To tell the truth, I have some very good Japanese friends. Also there are some Japanese professors I truly respect. I have met a lot of Japanese who helped us very much with our campaign for solving the problem of the comfort women who were forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers during the war. But I only got to know Japanese people of limited circles. I have been wondering why Japan as a nation tends to act badly, though there are such good Japanese. Is it because there are few good Japanese? Is it because even good Japanese give top priority to national interests at the bottom of their heart? Or, is it because the fundamental principle of social science is functioning in Japan, that individuals' personalities has nothing to do with the society formed by them?

I have learned in this symposium, however, that many more Japanese people and organizations of various circles than I know are working on peace and human rights issue. And besides, I can feel sure that they are thoroughly devoting themselves to such an activity. It seems to me that until quite recently has such an activity not developed into a big social movement. And I believe that if such a movement develop even more, the whole society of Japan is sure to change. Then another principle of social science should function in Japan, that a society is not a simple group of individuals, and actions taken by individuals can bring changes to it after all. In this way I came to have a great hope that Japan can become a different society.

Here I want you all Japanese to make sure one thing, and I believe to think about it will benefit the true development of such a movement. That is a question relating to your motives for engaging in peace and human rights movement. Are you taking part in such movement because you want to work for peace and human rights, which are absolute moral values in true sense, or

because you give top priority to interests of Japanese society after all, or because you just want to satisfy yourself taking actions for moral cause?

It is absolutely true that such a movement can elevate the level of the Japanese society in the end. But if you remain satisfied with the level your society reaches, there will be a danger that some Japanese take to actions in defense of national interests, like some Japanese communists underwent serious conversion during 1930s. It is necessary to go above the level of self-satisfaction. It may sound impertinent of me to suggest it, but I want to ask you to keep self-examining your movement.

In conclusion let me speak about the actual situation of social movements in South Korea. To be frank with you, an important factor that deepens the South Korean's inferiority complex toward the Japanese people, "inferiority complex" I talked about last night, is the existence of conscientious social movements in Japan. Though the South Korean society have various problems, there have been only a youth movement and labour movement so far. A grass-roots movement in our country like you have in Japan has just been organized and is at the very first stage of its development. I am eager to learn various experiences from all of you who are here. Also I want to use this opportunity to strengthen solidarity with other Asian countries including Japan. Thank you very much.

TAN Chee-Beng (Malaysia)

Thank you. I agree with Dr. CHUNG that we've learned so much from this symposium. Like her, before I attended the symposium, I didn't realize that actually so many groups, many more groups, I realize, are involving in promoting peace in Japan. And I'm quite touched and I listened and learned so much. I have so much to talk, but I confine to just one or two issues in this concluding session.

I believe that Japan can contribute to peace by ensuring that the government of Japan upholds the principle of justice and peace both within Japan and outside Japan. I stress "both within Japan and outside Japan". That is in the context of the global politics also. I think it is very important. You have a marvelous peace Constitution which stresses peace and renounces the use of force. And I think it very important. It is a document data which

should be upheld and should be the guideline in the domestic politics and also in global politics. I think that it is very important.

I say global politics because, just as other participant mentioned and I'm very happy to mention the example of Burma. Burma is the country so oppressed by the military regime. Japan, China and Thailand contributed immensely to the support of the military regime in Burma. The lawyer mentioned about this fact and this is one example where promoting of peace involves the global politics. Japan is indirectly contributing to the survival of the military regime in Burma, which actually suppressing the peace in Burma. So the concept of peace would be extended to the international situation.

Japanese. Please tolerate any mistakes I'll make.

And I think it important in terms of the global politics because Asia is going to be a very important part of the world in terms of the global politics toward the 21st century. And because in terms of the economic development, this is the region where there is marvelous growth in development. Japan of course and Korea are world power in terms of economic power and China is opening up, so many things are happening in China in terms of economic development. I think China seems to be growing in terms of the economic growth in the world and there is a very important factor in such a huge country with so many people. And many countries even in South Asia are doing better now. Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand. The Philippines is unfortunately still not so good. So Asia is going to be a very important region. So in our concern of peace, I think that we should bear that in mind. There is an important factor in terms of relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia and the industrialized West, especially USA.

What is the relationship between Japan and the USA? I think it is going to be very important for peace in the future. You notice that Malaysia proposed the East Asia Economy Group which includes Japan but excludes the USA. The USA is very quick to destroy this plan by persuading Japan not to participate because the USA is excluded. This is partly because the USA realizes the Asia is going to be a very important region in the coming years. Instead the USA is working on North America Free-Trade Region which shows the double-standard policy of the USA. So what I'm trying to say is that in our topic on peace in Asia, I think we have to bear in mind the global politics and the citizens of Japan can contribute to peace by putting on the global perspective.

The symposium shows that many topics or questions of the Constitution on the question of the cruelty of the Japanese soldiers and many issues. We are moving toward the 21st century. This symposium shows that we still have many

problems in terms of Japan and its relations with the people in Asia. This problem I think should be solved when we're going to the 21st century. You'll be very unfortunate in the 21st century that the relations between people in Japan and peoples in Asia are still haunted by the memories of the war. Of course the Second World War you can not forget. It should be lesson. But we should try to leave the Second World War behind. We're moving to the 21st century. How we do that?

In my mind, I think one of the few immediate measure, one thing is clear from this symposium that I think one immediate measure is for the people in Japan to pressure the government to come up with a formal apology, a sincere formal apology. This seems to me the minimum requirement for promoting relations between people in Japan and people in Asia because everywhere people demanded a formal apology and recent issue of the comfort women highlighted the issue again. We must not just look at the regime, I always say relation between people in Japan and the people in Asia. I do not say the government of Japan and the governments of Asia. We must not emphasize the government because the government can compromise in terms of a certain interest. The recent visit of the Emperor of Japan to China for example. The people in China were preparing to protest about the Second World War, but the Chinese government decided that it's not good for the relation between China and Japan, because of the economic interest. And so they were suppressed. People were not allowed to protest, you see. But it does not mean that the people accepted the government's view. So we have to emphasize the peoples's relation. We want to improve the relation between people in Japan and the people in Asia. What to do toward is quite clear for Singapore, Malaysia and Korea. All people want a sincere formal apology.

I think some people in Japan may think that a formal apology is a shame to the country. In my mind, it is not a shame. To me, it's couragerous and also shows the sincerity and courage of the people in Japan. There were mistakes in the past. To recognize mistakes, and give a formal apology show that the people in Japan sincerely uphold justice and peace. And that is important.

Secondly, I think the next important immediate issue is the PKO bill. I'm so encouraged that so many people here, for example, representing so many groups are working very hard to criticize the government of Japan on the PKO issue and working hard to reverse the trend that the PKO was approved now and trying to change the situation. I'm quite encouraged to hear that so many participants involved it. I think this is an important issue because this affects the peace

in Asia and the world in general. As I mentioned yesterday, the victory of the PKO bill involved the psychology of victory for those pro-military people. It can lead to more military solution of the problems. So I still fully support the action of the people in Japan to continue with the PKO issue.

Then I think this is an immediate issue but in terms of the more lasting issue, more long-term issue. I have two points to make, just as somebody mentioned, about how to make a message to integrate the ordinary people of Japan, how to make them realize the importance of the participation in the fight against the PKO bill. Yesterday I mentioned the right attitude to history. It still seems to me, I want to stress again here, that it is important in a long term. Because if all you here are the informed people, you are the converter, you all know, but the people out there, I'm sure, in Japan do not understand the issue. Why we should oppose the PKO bill, for example, and implication the sufferings of the people in Asia, the fearing of the people in Asia. So unless they understand the history, they cannot come to support. And so I think the textbook issue is a very important issue mentioned by the participant just now. I think you should continue with the fight to make sure the textbooks corrected, proper and to tell the truth about the whole things. Only the truth can light up people. I think it is important in the history.

I respect and am very happy to listen to one participant from a Buddhist group talking about that this Buddhist group has involved themselves in promoting peace. I'm quite touched by that and that brings to my mind the point I made yesterday how to relate the values to actual practice. Since Buddhism is a strong tradition in Japan, if I'm not mistaken. So this is one example. The Buddhist group is an example in terms of how to make intelligent people and to relate this to the teaching of the Buddhism for example.

In Buddhism it insists non-violence. It emphasizes non-violence. So you can argue how the PKO bill, for example, violates the very principle of Buddhism principle of non-violence. Because PKO, sending the SDF overseas eventually irritate violence to make the solution of the conflict. And so this is important. It seems to me the religion in the world should be made a meaningful to the modern world and the only way it made meaningful is to relate the values to actual political situation. This is the good opportunity, I think, for the people in Japan to do that, to relate the values to actual practice in the context of Japan.

I'm just touched by the last remark made by Dr. CHUNG, which I've been

thinking of when I was listening to all the participants' sayings. The Japanese people are such good people but the country is not so good. I have been also thinking about these things, for example, maybe you need more study. How could the Japanese soldiers commit such a cruelty including burying people alive, killing people, burning houses and in cases I learned about raping women, not just raped them but after raping, killed them. How could it be possible? The people outside Japan always say that the Japanese are bad people, their culture made them such very vilent. They talked about "Samurai" attitude.

Remember yesterday I mentioned, as the anthropologist's position, I mentioned that it is not Japanese people it is not in Japanese culture or anything. It seems to me it has to do with some ideology. I must examine more carefully. What kind of ideology provoked at that time, made the people behave that way? Was that something compared to Nazis ideology? Was that any racialism or not that made them kill so cruel? So it's the question of ideology. We must examine, so that we can learn from this. And the point is that it is not the Japanese, any people could have done that.

One good example is that Thai people is very gentle people. So when the tempers or violence took place, the students hung other fellow students on the tree and burned them alive. American anthropologists do not understand how is it possible such gentle people did the thing that hung the students and burn the students on a tree. So it's not just the Japanese people. It's something else. Politics, ideology or what? I think we need to study. When you will study these, maybe you can learn from them. I have many more to say, but I end here. Thank you.

Bonifacio H. GILLEGO (the Philippines)

Since I am not a historian or a sociologist or an anthropologist but a politician, what I am getting in this symposium from my fellow panelists is very instructive. I must confess that I do not know as much as I must know about our Asian neighbours. But from the participants who presented their speeches this morning, they were very inspiring and very touching because we in the Philippines have always associated Japan with the people who are proud, brave and patient. Now you have every reason to be proud of your history, of your culture, of your tradition. And so I must use again the word "embarrassed", I feel embarrassed that I, a Filipino, coming from a country with very poor

people, should be giving you advice. A proud people do not want unsolicited advice, especially the reference made by my Malaysian friend that we have been left behind in the economic race.

Let me remind you, my friends, that before imposition of the Martial Law by Marcos, the Philippines was the second to Japan in terms of the economic progress. Sad to say, the Philippines is now the number two from the bottom, Bangladesh. Now you will ask what went wrong: the military regime. President Marcos in order to maintain himself in power increased the military so many times. When I was a soldier and the officer of the armed forces, we had an army of only about 45,000. Under Mr. Marcos it jumped to 250,000. So that's a good reason: militarism. It's up the budget so much, as much as 18 - 20 % during Marcos time. And when you consider that Marcos, according to the Guinness book of records, is the greatest thief in the world robbing a very poor country of 5 to 10 billion dollars including reparation funds. He centralized corruption now again because of militarism, because of the dictatorship.

So I was very much touched that a proud people like you must have agonized as you reflect about that shame detailed part in your history that all of us talked about. But from your presentations, as I said, I'm very much touched because here you are from all walks of life in Japan, from different strategic sectors of Japanese society.

All invoked the Article 9 which our constitutional expert has talked about. Two words in that article stick in my mind: forever and never. When you say the Japanese people renounce war forever as a sovereign right, or as an instrument of a national policy. Then because of that, ideal of peace, the renunciation of war in a positive sense, you also said in your Constitution that land, sea and air forces shall never be maintained. No wonder many of your leaders consider the peace Constitution now a foreign law and would like to have it amended.

Now our constitutional expert tells us that there is an undergoing revision by interpretation. Who interprets finally the Constitution: the people? the members of the Diet? or the Supreme Court? Theoretically anyone of them can. but let us be realistic. The powerful interprets the law to suit their purposes and advantages and that is what is happening now. That's why I said this morning, "Look all of your represent the people".

According to the poll survey, 70 or 80 % of the people of Japan are in

favour of peace, against the SDF being sent abroad. All were against the passage of the PKO. But why did the PKO pass? Who are your representatives? Are they truly really the representatives of the Japanese people? What happened?

So as a politician, in my place and as I studied also the politics of Asia, I am interested in how we could convert people power into real political power. Perhaps as you are hinting now, among your political mentors and commentators is talked about a revision, a change of the political system where corporations may be even prevented from making political contribution. Like in the Philippines, politicians actually buy the seats in Congress by spending so much money despite political constitutional reforms regarding expenditure.

So how much more money should be spent in wealthy country like Japan? So let us, I mean from a politician's point of view, let us convert people power into political power. And let's be realistic. The seat of power is not in the conference room of peoples' organizations like this. The seat of real power is not in the ball rooms of even big labour unions who, sad to say, favour militarism because it will mean more jobs, higher wages, so that Japan can sell arms, it's the manufacture. So the seat of power formally in making the law is in the Diet but the seat of real power is somewhere else: in the corporations, rooms of big multi-nationals, bankers, financiers and investments.

So how do we translate? We translate that peacefully by reforms. We can translate it to by means of more forceful methods like what the NPA is doing in the Philippines, like what the "Shining Path" is doing in Latin America. But that is very destructive method of like and property. Even the people will be the victims, besides look at this meeting. We are free to express our views. There is a democratic space that we can exploit. We can agree with all the suggestions of my fellow panelists that it is time to change this collective wisdom of the people into the social and political awareness. Food, rice and the cry of the people will smooth out the cry of corporation managers and even organized gangs.

Now I would like to touch another point in the Japanese character which is a source of the strength but which also worries us in the Philippines: pride. As I said, you have every reason to be proud of your history, culture and people. And it was pride that made the Japanese military overload in the Philippines.

Many of our nationalist leaders, believe me my friends, rally behind the Japanese because the cry was liberation, liberation from the Americans or the formal colonial masters. It was a very good cry. And formally we were given independence. So you read names in Philippines politics nationalist leaders, Laurel, Aquino (the father of Ninoy Aquino). This big political leaders recto rally behind the Japanese. And yet because of this cruelty, this arrogance of power, many Filipinos like us worked off and fought on the side of our formal colonial masters. Imagine, that's unthinkable.

So when I contemplate the economic strength of Japan, which according to statistics will make Japan overtake America after the year 2000. Number one creditor, banker and investor. And even in the U.S., it is estimated that one-fifth of U.S. manufactures will be falling on largely Japanese own and one-fourth of the American exports will be actually manufactured by Japanese-controlled or owned firms in America. So what happens? Even today, 40 % global production is controlled by Japan and the U.S., 20 % of the world trade is between America and Japan. Now I must repeat what I read in a book, it's about time that Japan say "No" to America and use positively the independence and the decision-making process by the Japanese, considering the needs of Asia that are very basic, food, clothing, shelter, medical attention, education, not a sophisticated as your satellites, as your communications, as your bullet train.

What will prevent Japan from leading is intervening for peace. I mean peace that is not just static cessation of military operation, but peace that is improving the quality of life of the poor people and, instead of war against our own people, war against poverty, war against social injustice, war against environmental destruction, war against corruption and war against either alien local or elite dominance locally or externally, war against the kind of war under such alliance.

So I hope you will not only listen but also reflect on this unsolicited advice form a beggar country that has been impoverished by foreign debt, militarization and alien control. One day we will also follow the path of Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, path towards economic progress, progress not just for the corporations but progress for the common people. Growth with not just productivity but with equity. We, Filipino people, 70 % of whom are living below the poverty line, can hope to be released and freed from the bandage of domination, misery and poverty. Thank you.

Van TAO (Vietnam)

First of all, I want to refer to the problem of war compensation. Many have taken up the problem of compensation for various kinds of criminal deeds committed by Japanese fascists during the war.

As it has been said, the Japanese government made clear its position that the problem of war compensation concerning Vietnam had already been settled between Japan and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration in 1958. But Japan caused a famine in which so many Vietnamese were starved to death in the north, not in the south. And the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, which received compensation from Japan as you know was not representing the whole of Vietnam. It used the compensation for the purposes against people's interests and was overthrown in the end. Therefore, the state of the people which has a right to demand compensation is the present Vietnam, which is the nation that represents the whole of Vietnam.

Secondly, Ngo Dinh Diem and others of the south could not have known of the famine that the north of Vietnam was suffering. The argument that the problem of compensation concerning the famine has already settled is not very convincing.

As it was stressed in the remarks of those who have spoken already, Asian countries are now taking up a question of war compensation for individuals. In Vietnam tens of thousands of families, none of or some of the members of which survived, have been considered to have right to demand compensation. I believe it quite reasonable to have these victims demand compensation, as it is being done by other countries.

We heard recently in Vietnam the news that the Emperor of Japan apologized Chinese people for rapes done by Japanese soldiers to Chinese women, and that South Korea is now demanding the Japanese government compensation for the comfort women. This was an encouragement for people of Vietnam to organize a movement for reinvestigation of the realities of the famine in which Japan was involved in order to pass the historical facts to next generations. As scientists, we are devoting ourselves to the investigation based on scientific grounds to prove that 2 millions were starved to death.

Now I want to extend my greetings of welcome and gratitude to the peace movement and peace activists in Japan, who are working for war victims, demanding the Japanese government compensation for them. At the same time I

hope that scientists and politicians of Japan will cooperate with us for unity, friendship and social progress.

Another important thing is that I got to know in this symposium the Constitution of Japan, enacted in 1946 is in favor of peace, and as Professor OKUDAIRA pointed out, it is the expression of the spirit of positive pacifism of Japanese people which has been accepted both in Japan and internationally.

Yesterday I said that the existing Constitution of Japan expresses the spirit of our age. Our age is the age in which we must make every effort for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. I fully agree with Mr. Bonifacio GILLEGO, who put stress on the role of the masses. In today's morning session, a representative of a women's organization spoke of their experience that they produced a "handbook of the Constitution" priced at 100 yen, and 130 thousand were sold in a short period. From this I learned that the masses of Japan have a very strong intention to protect and develop the spirit of the Constitution.

I believe all participants of this symposium are concerned about Japan's rearmament and military build-up, and revival of Japan's militarism. I am convinced that if all of us here work positively to defend peace showing peoples' will to oppose the war and spreading the spirit of the positive pacifism of the Constitution of Japan, we are sure to have a great success.

This reminds us of Vietnam's anti-U.S. struggle to save our country. We were much smaller than the U.S. in strength. But we gained a victory over the U.S., because our struggle won support from peoples of the world and people of Japan.

Let me use this opportunity to thank once more, representing people of Vietnam, all the Japanese and the organizations for peace and social progress for having given their support in various forms to our struggle against France and against the U.S., and to our present task of putting into practice the principles of socialism. I'm sure that we peace forces will make a further advance toward victory. I want to thank again the Organizing Committee of the symposium for organizing it, which has proved a success.

Let me conclude by wishing you good health, expressing my gratitude for all of you and also wishing a success of our struggle in common. Thank you very much.

CLOSING ADDRESS

Shinko Yamaya, Co-convenor

President of the Japan Women's

Christian Temperance Union

The symposium which began yesterday is almost coming to an end and here I am to make a closing address. I have listened closely to the remarks made by the panelists and the participants from various places in Japan, sitting on a chair in the front row. Now I praise myself to have become one of the Co-convenors of the symposium. Coordinator Professor SHIBATA said that he thought the symposium proved a success. Each of you has the experience of carrying forward the movement in each place. Here I want to make a proposal that we continue our struggle for peace and human rights, against the PKO Law and for protecting the peace principle of the Constitution, hand in hand with fresh courage bringing back to each place what we studied here. To tell the truth, all what I prepared and wrote for my closing address during the lunch time was said by three coordinators who spoke before me. So my manuscript and glasses are of no use.

I want to say one more thing. We often hear the word "multi-national corporation" and we heard the word "multi-national forces" during the Gulf war. There are now a lot of arguments on sending "multi-national forces" as Peace-Keeping Forces. I was a little discouraged because our people's power and peace movement seemed weak, while the international solidarity between the ruling classes who has power, money and arm dominate the world. But I have become convinced during the symposium that the solidarity of the people, by the people, for the people can really create a peace. Let us promote such an international solidarity at every place, with various fields of people. We are given many suggestions by the panelists and many important remarks by the participants. We should bear in mind what we have learned from here and continue our struggles at various places in Japan. Thank you very much.

The Constitution of Japan

Promulgated on November 3, 1946

Came into effect on May 3, 1947

Preamble:

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances and rescripts in conflict herewith.

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

Chapter II. Renunciation of War

Article 9:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.