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## Special Issue

### In Search of "People's Peace" in East Asia:

### On the Crossroads of Historical Experiences between Japan and Korea

From an "Island of Massacres" to an "Island of Peace": Invitation to a Discussion of "Peace" on Jeju Island UTSUMI Aiko .....	2
Humanitarian Problems Involving North Korea: Repatriation, Japanese Wives, and Abduction LEE Young-chaе .....	4
Jeju: Island of Peace SUH Sung .....	6
What <i>Mirai wo Hiraku Rekishi (History to Open the Future)</i> Has Opened and What It Still Needs to Open HA Jong-moon .....	9
A Common Supplementary Text for History Teaching for Japan, China and South Korea, <i>Mirai wo Hiraku Rekishi (History to Open the Future)</i> TAWARA Yoshifumi .....	10
A Comparison of Korean and Japanese Peace NGOs KAWASAKI Akira .....	12
The Anti-Base Movement against the Expansion of the US Pyeongtaek Base KO Yoo-gyung .....	15

### Reports from NGOs Working for Peace

Jeju 4:3 Research Institute MURAKAMI Naoko .....	18
Hokkaido Forum on Victims of Forced Mobilization and Forced Labor KAYANO Tomoatsu .....	19

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# From an “Island of Massacres” to an “Island of Peace”: Invitation to a Discussion of “Peace” on Jeju Island

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The Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) will hold its 2007 Autumn Research Conference in November on Jeju\* Island, the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the first time that we will have a conference overseas. We are living in an era when money, information, and people are all crossing borders. PSAJ is a member of IPRA (International Peace Research Association), and its members are also active in international exchanges. Nevertheless, it had been difficult to hold a meeting outside of Japan. Ritsumeikan Center for Korean Study, however, has been closely interacting with Cheju National University and Jeju 4.3 Research Institute. It is these practices that have made possible the research conference, co-hosted by three groups in South Korea and Japan (Jeju 4.3 Research Institute; the Institute of Peace Studies, Cheju National University; and the Peace Studies Association of Japan), with support from various organizations in South Korea (Cheju National University, Jeju National University of Education, Korean Association of Genocide Studies, and Jeju Special Self-Governing Province).

South Korea, whose people fought a long struggle for democracy under the military dictatorship, is now suffused with a huge, newly liberated energy. Academia, the world of art, and economic activities are all undergoing change at an extraordinary pace. The Truth Commission on Forced Mobilization under the Japanese Imperialism is now launching a research and fact-finding project on the coerced mobilization and wartime deaths that took place during the Japanese colonial rule of Korea. It is also readdressing the past, by investigating “pro-Japanese” Koreans. Furthermore, it is reexamining the state violence that was imposed

not only during the Japanese Imperialist era, but also under the military regime following liberation, as exemplified by truth-finding regarding the “Jeju 4.3 Incident.”

“The Jeju 4.3 Incident,” said to be one of the most tragic events to occur in South Korea during the period of US military occupation, was triggered when the police fired indiscriminately into a crowd of people on March 1, 1947, killing and injuring many. The victims were marching after a rally commemorating the March First Movement, a Korean independence movement. The islanders protested the shooting by going on a general strike, to which the police and far-right groups responded with furious terrorism and torture. The Workers Party of South Korea organized the uprising into a struggle against the separate elections that were being prepared in South Korea with the aim to set up a separate South Korean government. On April 3, 1948, the Jeju islanders took up arms. The island was laid to waste by US and South Korean military forces, and massacres took place. It is estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 islanders were killed, as then director of police administration stated; “Spray gasoline over and burn up Jeju Island, which is crawling with Red bandits and insurgents.” However, because the incident was labeled as an armed uprising led by “Reds” (communists), it was impossible, for the following 50 years, to mention the incident or to retrieve the remains of victims.

The victory of the struggle for democracy enabled fact-finding to begin on this “incident,” which had long been confined to the darkness of history, and allowed the excavation of remains. In December 1999, a “Special Act for Investigation of the Jeju April 3rd Incident

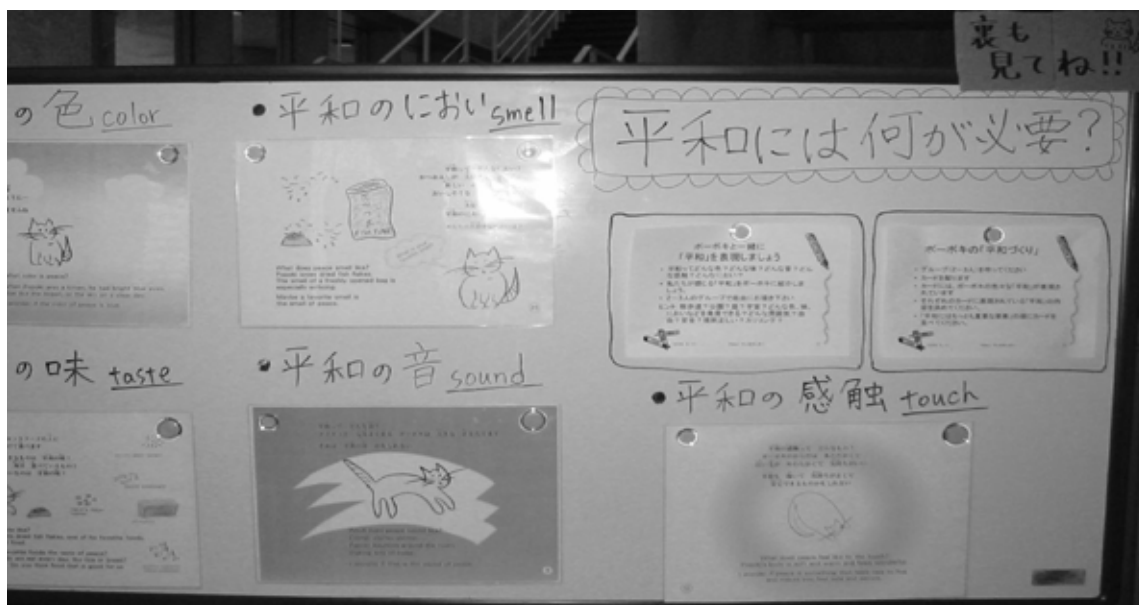
and Recovering the Honor of Victims” was enacted. The final report on the investigation was published, and the President of South Korea officially apologized to the residents of Jeju Island for the violence committed by the state. Currently, an April 3rd Peace Park is under construction on the island. The Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, which will jointly host the conference, was established in 1989, and has been playing a central role in these survey and research studies. Jeju Island is making major moves to readdress the past: discovering the truth, restoring the honor of victims, and excavating remains. We will sincerely readdress Japan’s past as well.

Moreover, on Jeju Island, investigations on coerced mobilization by Japanese troops are underway. On the island, Japanese troops constructed an airstrip, underground communication facilities, and trenches to protect airplanes. They also dug an artificial cave on the coast, which functioned as a base for manned torpedoes used for suicide attacks. The islanders, of course, as well as others brought forcibly to Jeju from mainland Korea, were made to work at such construction sites. One researcher has stated that if the US forces had landed on Jeju Island, the island would have gone through the

same tragedy as took place during the Battle of Okinawa.

Jeju Island, once an “island of massacres” is determined to live through the 21st century as an “island of peace.” What kind of “peace” will we discuss on this island where so many lives have been sacrificed in a struggle for peace, in contrast to Japan, where we have the Peace Constitution? What will be the significance of state violence, and what will happen if the Japanese military points weapons at its own people in a country that has started to take actions towards the revision of its constitution? The Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Gwangju May 18 Massacre will help provide answers to those questions. What future awaits us if we relinquish Article 9, paving the way for maintaining full-fledged military forces? We will chew over and discuss such issues, learning what we can from the history of Jeju Island. Then, we will try to re-examine the contemporary history of Japan and Korea in order to seek a “people’s peace” in East Asia. For this purpose, there is no place more suitable than Jeju Island in South Korea, the venue of the Conference.

\*Before 2000, Jeju was usually spelled Cheju.



Poster by Ronni Alexander describing peace, displayed at the peace poster exhibition held for the first time at the spring 2007 PSAJ research conference at Waseda University

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# Humanitarian Problems Involving North Korea: Repatriation, Japanese Wives, and Abduction

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Humanitarian issues involving North Korea have been emerging recently. Such issues include repatriation of Korean residents in Japan, *Kikoku Undou*, or Repatriation Movement (approximately 100,000 people “permanently returned” to the “Socialist Fatherland” of North Korea during a period of about 25 years), Japanese-born wives (1,871 Japanese wives who returned voluntarily to North Korea during *Kikoku Undo*), and abductions of Japanese by North Korea which were generated under the abnormal conditions of the Japan-North Korea relationship, and are typical humanitarian problems whose settlement is still difficult.

These issues are viewed as involving human rights. The humanitarian problem between Japan and North Korea had already existed as a political issue, and it requires a solution through diplomatic processes. It is also very important to know the historical backgrounds of those issues so as to solve them by diplomatic means. Therefore, in this essay I focus on the historic background of the issue of human rights surrounding North Korea.

It is very difficult to clearly understand the characteristics of *Kikoku Undou* because its activities cover such an extensive period of time. The focus of the present study, however, with regards to characteristics of *Kikoku Undou* is on the changes during that period, as the intentions on the part of Chosen Souren and North Korea had shifted. *Kikoku Undou* may be divided into three stages, each related to a different motivation: 1) North Korea’s aim to become independent from the USSR, and to co-exist with Japan after the Korean War, 2) Kim Il Sung’s intention to strengthen his leadership during the factional conflict crisis in August 1956, and 3) North Korea’s aim to change the duties imposed on Korean residents in Japan due to rapid changes in the internal and external political environment

around 1960-62.

North Korea and Chosen Souren first considered small-scale *Kikoku Undou* targeting political refugees and low income people. In mid 1958, however, they officially set up mass *Kikoku Undou* as a political project. During that time, mass political purges of those who opposed Kim Il Sung’s leadership were carried out, especially after the “August faction conflict of 1956.”

In addition, the mass mobilization for a new economic plan was also necessary. Meanwhile, the government of Japan approved a mass repatriation to North Korea as a “cabinet consent item.” A mutual exchange scheme was carried out based on the agreement between the Japanese and South Korean governments, whereby Japanese fishermen detained at Pusan were returned and those who requested repatriation to North Korea from Omura Camp were released on parole.

In order to implement a mass repatriation, North Korea and Chosen Souren appealed to Korean residents in Japan to make a contribution to the fatherland by joining a mass repatriation. Emphasizing patriotism for the socialist fatherland, they asserted that it was these residents’ obligation to protect the socialist fatherland, strengthen the base of the revolution, participate in the construction of the socialist country, and help achieve reunification.

In the period of severe competition between the South and the North, the mass repatriation to North Korea of 100,000 people, mostly from South Korean, brought a temporary political victory to North Korea. This was used to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system of North Korea both internally and externally, leading to the strengthening of Kim Il Sung’s leadership.

However, due to rapid changes in the internal and external political environment around 1960-

62, the proclaimed duty of Korean residents in Japan shifted from “repatriation to North Korea to strengthen the base of the revolution” to the construction of a Japan-based ‘vanguard party’ working both for the revolution in South Korea and for the reunification of Korea. And then, mass repatriation was replaced by a “free mutual visit” movement from 1964, officially ending “Kikoku Undo as a political and nationalist movement.”

The reason for *Kikoku Undo* to have ended was that it was not operating purely from the standpoint of human rights, but for political reasons. Problems of returnees rose up in a new form after the end of Cold War, and those who were repatriated are now emerging as masses of refugees from North Korea.

Recently, Japanese-born wives of North Koreans are included among the North Korean refugees. They are the people who went to North Korea as part of *Kikoku Undo*. In the latter half of the 1990s, North Korea accepted, for the first time, the temporary homecoming to Japan of the Japanese-born wives, for the purpose of promoting the Japan-North Korea normalization negotiations. It was a major policy shift considering that North Korea had refused discussion with Japan during the Cold War, insisting that the question of the Japanese-born wives was a “domestic issue” involving North Korean citizens. It is believed that the biggest reason for North Korea’s caution toward the homecoming of the Japanese-born wives is the fear that information on the domestic system may leak outside. This issue is also a very important human rights theme in the context of improving the relation between Japan and North Korea.

On the other hand, North Korea’s abductions of Japanese citizens are also an important human rights question in the Japan-North Korea relationship. The abductions of Japanese citizens from Japan by agents of the North Korean government happened during the period of six years from 1977 to 1983. Although only sixteen (eight men and eight women) are officially recognized by the Japanese government, there may have been more Japanese abducted. On September 17, 2002, at the historic Japan-North Korea summit meeting, the chairman of Kim

Jong-il National Defense Commission officially admitted kidnapping thirteen citizens, and said that he had punished the person in charge. The abduction problem, however, gave Japanese society a big shock..

*Kikoku Undo* might have been planned to use Korean residents in Japan as mediators in negotiations between Japan and North Korea, and as resources for economic development in North Korea. However, the abductions of Japanese nationals by North Korean agents might have been devised to use people of a foreign country as tools for their revolution. Whatever the reason, the fact that state agents were related to abductions of foreign people brought a big question over the justification of the North Korean government. The abductions of Japanese citizens by North Korea were a serious issue, which deserve being labeled as “state terrorism.”

Solution of the abduction problem involving Japanese nationals has been an important subject for the progress of Japan-North Korea relations. The meaning of “solution” of the abduction problem is, however, not so easy to define. Moreover, there is no agreement on what should be called as a “solution” yet. Still, North Korea needs to re-explain the circumstances that led to the death of some of the abductees above all first. However, attempting to solve the problem by the breaking off of diplomatic relations between Japan and North Korea has the possibility of complicating the problem further.

*Kikoku Undo* of Korean residents in Japan and abductions of Japanese were conducted during the Cold War under the circumstances where there were no normal relations between North Korea and Japan. Considering the standpoints of the various actors, it is clear that the two actions were carried out because Japan and North Korea were in a state of war as a matter of fact. Japan wished to “get rid of troubles,” while North Korea demanded the use of Japanese people as a political tool. This would then imply that cooperation between the relevant countries, which would be considered on the premise of negotiations for the normalization of ties between Japan and North Korea, is necessary to solve the human right problems of North Korea emerging at present.

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# Jeju: Island of Peace

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The fall 2007 meeting of the Peace Studies Association of Japan is now scheduled to take place outside of Japan for the first time in its history, on the island of Jeju, under the theme “In Search of ‘People’s Peace’ in East Asia: On the Crossroads of Historical Experiences between Japan and Korea.” It is quite rare for general meetings of Japanese academic societies to be held overseas.

Jeju today seems based on the brand of “peace,” as can be seen from the label “Island of World Peace” and places such as the Jeju International Peace Foundation, Jeju International Peace Center, Jeju International Peace Institute, Jeju Peace Pavilion, Institute of Peace Studies of Cheju National University, April 3rd Peace Park, etc. Why is the island of Jeju so full of “peace”?

Jeju Province is a Special Self-Governing Province (corresponding to a Japanese prefecture), making it a first-class local administrative district in Korea. It has a population of about 550,000 and an area of 1,845 square kilometers, consisting of Jeju Island and the surrounding islands. Jeju is a volcanic island and the soil has little water retention. In the old days it was a very poor area, where people eked out a living from growing barley, millet, sweet potato, and other crops, or from fishing. It also suffered from intermittent attacks from Japanese pirates and Mongolians. It was an island of exile, exploitation, and invasions.

During the Japanese colonial period, direct liners such as *Kimigayo-maru* carried people from the destitute island of Jeju to the Osaka and Amagasaki area looking for income, and one out of every four islanders, totaling around 50,000, went to Japan to find work in the mid 1930s. Female divers from Jeju worked in a wide area from the Chishima (Kuril) islands in the north to the Arafura Sea in the south and the Indian Ocean in the west, not to mention the islands of

Japan.

Following its emancipation from colonial rule, Korea was divided along the 38th parallel by US forces and Soviet Red Army. US forces occupied the southern part and, working in tandem with right-wing and pro-Japanese groups, crushed the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, led by Yo Un-hyong, which aimed to build an autonomous independent nation, the People’s Committee, and other groups that they saw as left-wing. In Jeju, where the People’s Committee of Jeju-do, under the leadership of people’s liberation movement groups, enjoyed overwhelming support, the police opened fire on a group of demonstrators calling for the establishment of an autonomous independent nation at the 1947 Ceremony of the March 1st Independence Movement, killing 6 people. The residents protested, and in response, the US military administration sent in, from the peninsula, police and right-wing terrorist groups such as the Northwest Young Men’s Association (Anti-Communist Death Squad) to suppress them. On April 3, 1948, the people of Jeju rose up in opposition to the elections for the first National Assembly, which had been scheduled for May 10 by the US military administration and Syngman Ryeo with the aim to establish a government for just the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Guerilla groups clamoring against “elections for south Korea alone” attacked 14 police stations. In the ensuing cruel extermination, lasting more than six years, by the US and government forces, more than 30,000 residents, accounting for at least one ninth of the population of the island at the time, were reportedly massacred.

Since then, terror and taboo prevailed on the island, and people were prohibited from even talking about memories of April 3rd Uprising. There is a place called the Baekjo Ilson Grave

(meaning the grave of one hundred ancestors and one descendent) in the middle of a large field in Sagye Village in southern Jeju. On August 30, 1950, when the subjugation of the April 3rd Uprising was nearly complete, 132 people from this area were taken under pretext of the preventive detention of “impure elements,” and were brutally murdered at the site of an old Japanese military ammunition storehouse in the cave in Songak hill, the most south-west part of the Island. The police banned access to the site. It was only in April 1959 that the remains were collected and buried in the grave. Because some households were decimated, leaving no descendents behind to worship the ancestors, there were cases where people with different last names had to carry out services for the victims, something that is quite rare in Korea. That is the origin of the name of Grave of Baekjo Ilson, meaning that one descendent had to worship 100 ancestors. In 1960, Syngman Rhee was driven from his presidency by the April student revolution opening the democratic air hole, and the names of the victims were engraved on a stone monument. After the May 16 coup led by General Park Chung-hee, however, the police destroyed the gravestone, and April 3rd Uprising was once again turned into a forbidden topic. In 1995 a stone monument was rebuilt at the grave and a memorial service was carried out with the participation of members of the parliament and the provincial assembly.

Studies on and condemnations of the Jeju 4.3 Incident were initiated by people from Jeju who had fled to Japan around the time of the incident. *Cheju-do—chino rekishi* (Jeju Island: history of blood) by Kim Bong-hyon and *Karasu no shi* (Death of a crow) and *Kazan-to* (Volcanic island) by novelist Kim Seok-beom had a tremendous impact on the movement to investigate the truth of the April 3rd Uprising and to restore the honor of the victims. The incident came to be publicly discussed after a fierce struggle for recognition beginning in the 1980s with the strengthening of the democratization movement. During this process many people suffered from suppression under the National Security Act, etc.

Under the scorched earth strategy pursued during the suppression of the April 3rd Uprising,

Nohyoung Village, the home of novelist Hyon Gi-yong, was burnt to the ground. On October 26, 1979, two days before dictator Park Chung-hee was assassinated, Hyon published his first collection of works titled *Suni Samchon* (Aunt Sunyi) whose main character was a woman who suffered from aphasia after her husband was cruelly murdered in the Incident. Shortly after, he was apprehended by a joint investigation team of the Martial Law headquarters.

In the 1980s, Kim Myung-sik and others established the Jeju 4.3 Research Institute and began demanding an investigation of the truth while suffering from suppression under the National Security Act. In 1991, a Special Committee for the Jeju April 3rd Incident was established in the Jeju provincial assembly and a public inquiry into the truth started.

My own first visit to Jeju was in August 1998, when an international symposium on the Cold War and State Terrorism in East Asia was held there to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Jeju April 3rd Incident. The symposium, attended by about 500 people including researchers, activists, and victims and their relatives, was called the largest non-governmental international symposium not just in Jeju but in South Korea as a whole. This symposium was blessed with the participation of prominent figures uncharacteristic of a non-governmental symposium, such as Jose Ramos Horta, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate from East Timor, DEN Hideo, a member of the House of Councilors of Japan, five members of the parliament of Korea, the Governor of Jeju Province, the chair and members of the Jeju Province assembly, and the mayor of Jeju City. The organizers tried to make the meeting as grandiose as possible, with the intention of focusing light on the Jeju April 3rd Incident, which had been covered in darkness. The symposium was recognized as a turning point for the island, because people gathered without anybody's interference and discussed the Jeju April 3rd Incident, which had remained hidden under the control and surveillance of the intelligence agencies and the police.

On December 16 of the following year, a Special Act for Investigation and Recovering the Honor of Victims of the Jeju April 3rd Incident

which had been a long-cherished dream of the people of Jeju Province, was enacted by the parliament and was promulgated on January 12, 2000. This Special Act was epoch-making in that even though it was clear that communists were involved in the outbreak of the incident, the state itself decided on a policy of reexamining the responsibility of the state for the massacre of citizens. Based on the Special Act, a final report was presented to President Roh Moo-hyun and on October 31 the same year, the President officially apologized to the relatives of the victims and to the people of Jeju Province, admitting the wrongs of the state. There is great historical significance in the fact that the head of the anti-communist ROK recognized the state's responsibility and issued an apology concerning an incident related to the legitimacy of the state beyond the Cold War ideology. The April 3rd Special Act does not include a clause on individual compensation for victims, and it was decided to build the April 3rd Peace Park and a museum based on the idea of "collective compensation." A revision of the April 3rd Special Act has been proposed in the parliament. As can be seen in the contents of the proposed revision, it seems that the Jeju April 3rd Incident has moved from the realm of struggle to that of "commemoration" where "peace" has emerged as a convenient term.

On January 27, 2005, the government of the ROK officially designated Jeju as "Island of World Peace." Although it is claimed that the designation came from a multifaceted consideration of factors such as Jeju's natural environment and rich culture, consolation for the tragic history of April 3, geopolitical position, etc. it seems that it has almost nothing to do with the Jeju April 3rd Incident as such and much to do with the "regeneration of the island," "regional promotion," and experiments in "decentralization" based on the policies of the Roh Moo-hyun government

It is said that discussion of the Island of Peace, Jeju, started from a report titled "From the island of honeymoons to the island of peace" by Professor Moon Chung-in (presently professor at Yonsei University) and others, which he presented at an international symposium held in New

York in 1991. Professor Moon is a native of Jeju Island and has been called a missionary for the "Sunshine Policy" in particular as a foreign and national security policy brain for the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations. Within the Roh Moo-hyun administration, he has served as Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative and from the rather practical point of view that "there can be no peace without prosperity; peace not based on prosperity will not last long," he drew up a plan for an "Island of World Peace" and as the form for its implementation has formed Jeju Peace Forum, Jeju International Peace Foundation, Jeju International Peace Institute, Jeju Peace Pavilion, and other organizations, under the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. In 2005 professor Moon took office as President of the Peace Studies Association of Korea which focuses on international politics and security issues. It can be said that he is at the center of peace building led by the government. The concept of the "Island of World Peace" proposed this way is closely related to "Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative" which embodied the "Peace and Prosperity Policy in Northeast Asia", the first national policy priority of the Roh Moo-hyun administration. It is a reflection of the government's intention to promote Northeast Asia's exchanges and cooperation and promote the possibility of an East Asia Peace Community through the "Island of World Peace" of Jeju, and the central government and province and city of Jeju are in the process of launching various enterprises related to the "Island of World Peace" initiative.

Jeju, an island filled with "peace." Whatever intention may be behind this slogan, I would like for the moment to cast a "yes" vote for the cause of anti-war and nonviolence. The upcoming meeting of the Peace Studies Association of Japan will be held on the island of Jeju. I hope that various realities and imagination will emerge from the symposium concerning the present and history of Japan and Korea and peace in East Asia.

This article is an adaptation of "Higashi asia no heiwa o motomeru tabi (dai 4 kai) Cheju: heiwa no shima" (Travels in Pursuit of Peace in East Asia (in four parts), Jeju-do, Island of Peace), in Disarmament and Global Citizens Quarterly, Meiji University Institute for Disarmament and Peace Studies, January 2007, pp. 140-148.



# What *Mirai wo Hiraku Rekishi* (*History to Open the Future*) Has Opened and What It Still Needs to Open

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In May 2005, a textbook entitled, *History to Open the Future* was issued to the world. Three full years had passed since an agreement was made among representatives from South Korea, China, and Japan, at the first Forum on History Conception and East Asia Peace, held in Nanjing in March 2003, to produce a common supplementary text for history teaching. Although I was fortunate enough to be present at the meeting where the representatives of the three countries made a heroic “Oath of the Peach Garden”\* born out of a sense of desperation I began with the preconception that it would be impossible to complete the task, while of course hoping that my prediction would turn out to be wrong.

The ensuing process was a succession of “difficult struggles,” and just remembering it makes me shiver. It took five meetings just to complete the table of contents, including one marathon meeting of 11 hours. Frankly speaking, none of the three countries were really satisfied with the table of contents we agreed to. Nonetheless, even though it was unsatisfactory, nobody would argue in favor of discarding it. *History to Open the Future* has finally come to see the light of the day, through a feeling of solidarity, not knowledge, and through a broadening of the horizons to East Asia overcoming the mother country-centered view.

Traveling back and forth between the three countries for three years, the participants were able to experience the tragedies of the East Asian modern history one by one. In the face of the advancing tide of the Western powers, each of the three countries went its own way. And with these choices made came August 15, with the victimizer and victimized having different understandings. While the history of East Asia in the second half of the 20th century began anew with apologies and reconciliation, the gap of mistrust and discord ended up only deepening.



Cover of the textbook, *History to Open the Future* (Japanese edition)

It was painful for the different parties to learn of the burden of history which had not been settled; the possibility for overcoming it seemed dim.

As the meetings proceeded, however, the participants came to the belief that they would only be able to see a future and peace for East Asia if they were able to acquire a shared conception of history, overcoming the gap between the victimizer and the victimized. At the same time, we realized that the only hope we had would be to confirm the same resolution with friends from foreign countries that are nurturing the belief. Historical revisionists in Japan have criticized us, claiming that it is impossible to share a conception of history in East Asia. I think the greatest significance of *History to Open the Future* is that it opened the way for reconciliation and coexistence within a history of “impossibilities.” The present textbook of *History to Open the Future* is the first version. Therefore, the bigger its significance, the bigger the task of overcoming it in a critical way will be. It goes without saying that the *History to Open the Future* is not a completed work but just a significant step forward.

Although *History to Open the Future* attempted

to incorporate a true “history of East Asia” which would bring forth a common conception of history, the traces of national borders are still clearly there. Under the goal of producing an alternative to the *New History Textbook*, a revisionist history textbook published by Fusosha, with the spring of 2005 as a deadline, was not open to compromise. Due to the mother country-centered historical views that the authors of the three countries instinctively held, it sometimes ended up being a pasting together of the history of the three countries in a clumsy way.

It was regrettable that, with the main focus being given to accurately describing the colonial rule and the war of aggression, the possibility of other historical changes was not given sufficient consideration. For example, it would have been possible to work to present a historical picture different from the militarism of the 1930s, dealing with Taisho Democracy, the March First Movement, and the May Fourth Movement from a variety of angles. It is also an important task for the future to find a way to turn the half-century history of confrontation between



5th International editorial meeting (Seoul),  
from *History to Open the Future*

ideologies into a message of solidarity and coexistence.

We are just at the beginning. Let us not be satisfied with the possibilities opened up by the first version of *History to Open the Future* and open a new future for East Asia, boldly taking on our new tasks.

\*A pledge of fraternal loyalty from the Chinese novel, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.

## A Common Supplementary Text for History Teaching for Japan, China and South Korea, *Mirai wo Hiraku Rekishi (History to Open the Future)*

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We have long criticized the history textbooks written by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (Tsukuru-kai) as having a chauvinistic and nationalistic view that justifies the past war of aggression and colonial rule and distorts history. Criticism alone, however, will not be sufficient to resolve the history textbook issue. It seems that the question for us is what kind of history children and citizens of Asia, including Japan, are to learn and what historical recognition they are to share. One precondition for building a peaceful East Asian community is to forge a common a historical recognition.

This is an urgent task especially for children and citizens of Japan. As a way to respond to this task, a joint team from Japan, China and the Republic of Korea has been working to develop and produce a common supplementary text for history teaching.

Mr. Shinichi Arai, professor emeritus of history at Ibaraki University, and I, participating in the symposium (in Beijing) sponsored by the Institute of Japanese Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, proposed to the scholars from China, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea that

we hold a series of discourses in the form of forums concerning our historical recognition in order to resolve Japan's history textbook issue. The scholars of those three countries agreed to this proposal and we decided to hold an annual Forum on Historical Recognition and East Asia Peace for the purpose of sharing a historical recognition with the aim to create a peaceful East Asian community.

In the first "Forum on Historical Recognition and East Asia Peace—Japanese History Textbook Issue" held in Nanjing in March 2002, a basic agreement was reached to jointly produce a common supplementary text for history teaching as a means to share our historical recognition. Following that, a committee to develop and produce an East Asia-wide common supplementary text for history teaching was organized in each country. In Japan, a 13-member committee was formed by scholars (including Zainichi Koreans), junior and senior high school teachers, graduate students, and citizen activists with Waseda University professor OBINATA Sumio acting as the chairperson.

The first international conference for the development of the supplementary text for history teaching was held in Seoul, in August 2002 and following that, a draft was developed in the course of ten meetings, with the participating countries taking turns hosting the meeting. In May 2005, *History to Open the Future: The Modern History of Three East Asian Nations: Japan/China/Korea joint edition* was published simultaneously in the three countries.

Although there have been bilateral attempts between Japan and Korea and Japan and China to hold dialogs on history and produce history class materials, the trilateral attempt to produce a common supplementary text for history teaching is the first in history. Doing such work bilaterally is difficult enough, and the attempt to do it by three countries has faced difficulties beyond our anticipation. It became an important task to overcome the differences of understanding due to differences in history study and history textbooks in each country.

Based on the principle of equal footing and equality, we managed to iron out the differences of views and opinions through untiring discussions, respecting each other's positions. It was a major fruit of these efforts that those involved in the three countries have developed a true friendship through the discussion and exchanges.

In Japan, 60,000 copies of the first edition and 1,100 copies of the second edition have been printed (as of April 2007). In Japan, the malicious attacks against the supplementary text for history teaching and peace materials/education carried out by Tsukurukai and local assembly members have made it difficult for public junior high school teachers to adopt this supplementary material. Therefore it is mostly sold through bookstores, but there are some private senior high schools and universities where it is used.



9th International editorial meeting (Nanjing), from *History to Open the Future*

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# A Comparison of Korean and Japanese Peace NGOs

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## Introduction

This article aims to draw a comparison between peace NGOs in South Korea and Japan in terms of the issues they deal with, the actors engaged in them, and their relations with other sectors. It is a rough overview based on the author's own experience of activism and consultation with his fellow activists in South Korea rather than the outcome of any scientific research. It does not provide evidence on each point because of the limited space. Rather it aims to describe general tendencies in order to contribute to the readers' further research and studies.

## Background

What are "peace NGOs"? There is no internationally established definition. The issues that peace NGOs or peace movements cover differ from country to country and according to historical, political and social backgrounds.

The South Korean peace movement and NGOs are based primarily on the experience of the people's movement for democratization and reunification, whose peak was reached in the 1980s. Japan's peace movement and NGOs have their roots in the movement against nuclear weapons that arose in the 1950s, and also in the national movement against the 1960 Japan-US Security Treaty. In both cases, the origins of the peace movement/NGOs were fundamentally linked to domestic political struggles against their governments during the Cold War.

In the post-Cold War era, both Korean and Japanese peace movements improved their organizational and administrative capacities as "NGOs." They also expanded their fields of activity to cover international issues such as Iraq and regional conflicts that often involve development assistance, which is another important field of NGO activism.

## Issues

In the case of the recent nuclear crisis over **North Korea**, major NGOs in South Korea and Japan have been active in calling for a "peaceful solution towards nuclear disarmament." However, while the main focus of South Korean NGOs is peace between the North and South, The focus of their Japanese counterparts is more on nuclear disarmament. In other words, the concern in South Korea is to avoid armed confrontation and to permanently end the war on the Korean Peninsula, whereas the Japanese place greater stress on the seriousness of nuclear testing and the need to eliminate nuclear weapons.

Korean and Japanese NGOs have worked together to encourage the **Six-Party Talks** and call for the establishment of a **Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (NWFZ)**.<sup>2</sup> The NWFZ campaign was initiated by Japanese NGOs, who have long had interactions with overseas NGOs working on nuclear disarmament.<sup>3</sup> South Korean NGOs carry out a wide range of **North-South interaction** at the civil society level, while Japanese NGOs struggle to advocate the **normalization of Japan-North Korea diplomatic relations**. Organizations of Zainichi (Korean residents in Japan) have played an important role in facilitating the normalization process in Japan. There are a large number of South Korean NGOs providing **humanitarian assistance to North Korean people**. Japan also has NGOs of this type, many of which work in partnership with South Korean NGOs. In many cases, assistance is provided through South Korean NGOs.<sup>4</sup>

The issue of the **US military bases** is another major area in which Korean and Japanese NGOs work in concert. In both countries they are led by local initiatives in base-

affected areas, such as Maehyangri and Pyongtaek in South Korea, and Okinawa and Yokosuka in Japan. They focus on crimes committed by US soldiers, including **violence against women** in particular, as well as **environmental pollution** caused by the bases and the question of cleaning up the pollution. Claiming that the security of people is threatened, strong campaigns have been conducted to revise the unfair **Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA)** attached to the security treaties with the US. The recent **US military transformation** accompanying the global realignment of bases and the development of **missile defense** systems has become a major concern in the two countries in this context.

With regard to **Iraq**, both Korean and Japanese civil society joined the global anti-war movement in the period leading up to the 2003 US invasion to Iraq. However, there was no large-scale or strategic partnership between the Korean and Japanese movements at that time. After Iraq was occupied, the two governments dispatched non-combat troops to Iraq. Nationwide opposition movements were organized, and people's movements in both countries improved their relations and partnerships in such campaigns. In Korea, the experience of crimes by their troops in Vietnam was recalled. In Japan, the country's continuing integration into the US global military strategy has been criticized as leading to the abandonment of its post-WWII "no-war" commitment through a revision of **Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution**.<sup>5</sup>

In both countries, peace movement-

oriented NGOs are expanding their partnerships with NGOs dealing with global issues such as development, environment and human rights. Economic issues such as **Free Trade Agreements** have also been highlighted in South Korea. Korean farmers and their supporters have played important roles in the global movement for peace and justice, including the **World Social Forum**.

### Actors and Their Relations

In South Korea, the 386 Generation — who were in their 30s during the 1990s, entered university in the 1980s and were born in the 1960s — have been the driving actors of NGOs. The leaders and brains of the present government and political parties are also members of this group. Young leaders who experienced the democratization movement make up the core of both governmental and non-governmental communities in South Korea. This makes possible an active interaction between NGOs and government and political parties. South Korean NGOs are in fact engaged in political activities, such as campaigning against corrupt candidates in elections through the ongoing monitoring of politicians' activities.<sup>6</sup> Young leaders of NGOs have also developed a culture of advanced internet communication, which has mobilized mass demonstrations — often called "candle demonstration (candlelight vigil)" — in cases such as the killing of two girls by a US armored vehicles in 2002.

In Japan, the foundation of the peace



South Korean delegates at Northeast Asia Regional Meeting of Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), Ulaanbaatar, May 2007  
Photo: Stacy Hughes, Peace Boat



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# The Anti-Base Movement against the Expansion of the US Pyeongtaek Base

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In March 2000, the US Forces Korea proposed a plan to the South Korean government involving a consolidation of US bases and training grounds (Land Partnership Plan), and entered into negotiations. Under the proposed plan, US Forces Korea would return about 40 million pyong (one pyong = 3.3 square meters), including training grounds and 15 bases, by 2011, and in exchange, South Korea would provide 750,000 new pyong. The plan also called for expanded joint use of the training grounds of South Korean forces, and for creating safety easement areas around the dangerous areas such as ammunition depots. As a result of the negotiation, in March 2002, Washington and Seoul reached an agreement for US Forces Korea to return 28 bases amounting to 2.14 million pyong and training grounds amounting to 39 million pyong, and for the South Korean side to offer 1.54 million pyong to US Forces Korea for new bases.

The plan signaled a shift in the center of the US Forces Korea. Under it, the US would return little-used training grounds of the US Army, and in exchange expand US Air Force bases and the Marine training grounds. To this, citizens' groups etc. responded with strong criticism, saying that the purpose of the consolidation of the US forces was to streamline operations and boost the forces in South Korea. The intention of the US became gradually clearer in the winter of 2002 through the Future of the Alliance Policy Initiative (FOTA), which was set up following a meeting between the South Korean Minister for National Defense and US Secretary of Defense. During the course of 11 meetings, the two governments agreed to redeploy the Second Infantry Division and Yongsan Garrison, carry out a strategic reinforcement of US Forces Korea

amounting to 11 billion dollars, with an increase in South Korean defense expenditures for the purpose of realizing it, reduce the number of military personnel of US Forces Korea by about 12,500, and transfer part of the responsibility of US Forces Korea to the South Korean forces. Washington and Seoul changed the content of the base consolidation that had been agreed upon in March of that year, and agreement was reached for South Korea to offer 3.62 million pyong to the US Forces Korea as land for the new bases in exchange for the return of 12.18 million pyong of US bases and 39.49 million pyong of training grounds.

This redeployment package agreed to by the two governments meant not just land negotiations but negotiations concerning South Korean-US military policies. In 2006, the South Korean side officially recognized the "strategic flexibility" of US Forces Korea. This meant that the role of the US forces on the Korean peninsula was no longer limited to defending against North Korea, but was changed in character to a mobile force that could swiftly move to conflict areas to carry out interventions as a Northeast Asian regional force.

On the other hand, with regard to the redeployment of the Second Infantry Division and Yongsan Garrison, the governments of South Korea and the US carried out negotiations based on the idea of offering land totaling 3.49 million pyong including 2.85 million in Daechu-ri and Dodu-ri of Pyeongtaek of Kyonggi-do, to the south of Seoul. In response, residents organized a committee and asked for meetings with the Minister of National Defense and members of the parliament. The US and South Korean authorities, however, refused to listen to

the residents and concluded an agreement. The purchasing of the land of residents began. On September 1, 2004, a public hearing on a special law concerning Pyeongtaek was held unilaterally by the government without any reflection of the will of the residents, and a group of residents who came to the hearing to protest were forcibly removed by the police. In protest, residents began the "Candlelight vigil: Defend our land at all cost," and kept the candle burning for 935 days, without missing even a single day. In March 2005, citizens' organizations and a committee of residents jointly formed the "Korea Committee against US Base Expansion in PyeongTaek" with the aim to stop construction of the Pyeongtaek war base.

In addition to holding a candlelight vigil each evening, residents resisted the public authority of the Ministry of National Defense and the police at the risk of their lives, organizing an unprecedented nationwide tractor pilgrimage in January 2006, returning their resident registry certificates in February, blocking the occupation of farmland by the Ministry of National Defense in March, blocking the intrusion by the state into the Daechu-ri elementary school, etc. Pyeongtaek Jikimis (voluntary supporters) gathered from all over the country to support the struggles of the residents and showed their solidarity in various ways.

Various actions such as a visit by factory workers to the Pyeongtaek site, paddy rice growing by farmers, a greenhouse concert and peace and art village development project by artists, prayers by religious figures at the Pyeongtaek site, a peace march of 285 ri (leagues) by supporters (a number based on the amount of land to be seized), and a nationwide pilgrimage were organized. The Pyeongtaek Jikimis, who lived in Daechu-ri and Dodu-ri, along with the residents, carried out farming themselves and operated the library and facilities for children while working to spread the voices of residents to the outside world through the activities of the Hangyore 21 campaign, residents' broadcasting station, etc.

While enforcing the policy of using physical force to drive out the residents, the government adopted a policy of appeasement and division of the residents through a discriminatory com-

pensation plan. Residents stood up against the attempts at appeasement and violence, but on May 4, 2006, the Ministry of National Defense sent troops to establish, within the agricultural lands, a protected area for military facilities surrounded by barbed wire. On that day, police and vigilante groups totaling more than 15,000 were mobilized, and the Daechu-ri elementary school, a base for the residents' resistance, was heartlessly demolished.

Beginning with the exercise of state violence on May 4, the police set up double and triple checkpoints began to strictly regulate traffic from the outside. Farmers could no longer perform farming because of the barbed wire, and had to undergo violations of their human rights on a daily basis, needing to go through checkpoints every time they went into and out of the village, for example. On September 13, the Ministry of National Defense once more mobilized the police and vigilantes to demolish some of the houses of the village and on November 3 a court handed down a two-year prison sentence to Kim Ji-tae, the chairperson of the residents' committee. This effectively crushed the final hope of the residents.

At the time the agreement was concluded, the government promised that it would hold a parliamentary hearing, but it failed to keep this promise and continued to trample the rights of the residents using public authority. As a result, the residents lost hope and were forced to choose negotiations with the government to protect the remaining community. The reason that the residents agreed to negotiate was not that they favored an expansion of the US base but that they did not see any hope of winning. The residents have left Daechu-ri, but the struggle against the expansion of the Pyeongtaek US base continues as opposition to the South Korea-US alliance of aggression and the "strategic flexibility" of US Forces Korea and as an anti-war peace struggle opposing US imperialism.

In March 2007, the Ministry of National Defense released a comprehensive plan concerning the Pyeongtaek base construction. The contents, however, included a postponement of the completion of the construction until 2013, and South Korea's share of the cost was not deter-



mined precisely. The 2004 agreement stipulated that the base construction be finished by 2008, but the two governments have yet to make any moves to change the postponed plan. The postponement of the construction was partly due to the strong opposition by the residents and their supporters but it is also a fact that cost overruns have contributed to the delays. While the US is demanding that South Korea shoulder most of the cost of the construction, it was discovered in 2007 that a portion of the land designated for the base expansion would become idle, not being the site of any military facility. Also, although the responsibility for environmental clean-up on the bases to be returned to South Korea is supposed to be borne by US Forces Korea, bases have in fact been returned without any clean-up, and the South Korean government has not been able to come up with measures to deal with the problem.

The original purpose of the South Korea-US alliance was to defend against attacks from North Korea, but it has become clear that the alliance will become an “alliance of aggression,” involving both the dispatch of troops to

Iraq and the strategic flexibility of US Forces Korea. Under the name of preventing terrorist conflicts in Northeast Asia, the role of the US Forces Korea has been changed to one based on preemptive strikes and the containment of China, and its war executing capability has been strengthened. The deployment of stealth aircraft at Kunsan Air Base and South Korea-US joint exercises (RSOI/FE) with US forces from Hawaii and Okinawa have been carried out in spite of opposition. While it is impossible to say anything definite about the possibility of a war breaking out on the Korean Peninsula, it is a fact that the risk of war is growing day by day due to the strengthened war executing capability, continuous war training and dispatch of US Forces Korea to conflict areas overseas, as is the case of the Iraq War.

Considering this situation, it is expected that the movement against US bases in South Korea, with its focus on the struggle against the expansion of the Pyeongtaek US base, will continue, hand-in-hand with the anti-war peace movement, as a campaign against the South Korea-US alliance of aggression and US imperialism.



Candlelight vigil © News Cham

## Jeju 4·3 Research Institute

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Fellow of the Jeju 4·3 Research Institute, Jeju, Korea

### Establishment of the Jeju 4·3 Institute

The Jeju 4·3 Research Institute was established on May 10, 1989, as a private research center in Jeju Island, South Korea. Following its establishment, the institute's activities have advanced together with other democratization movements in South Korea.

The Jeju April 3 incident refers to a series of protests and massacre from 1948 to 1954 under the US military government and the subsequent Rhee Syngman regime under US tutelage. This tragic situation ended with an estimated 30,000 civilian casualties, the overwhelming majority of whom were killed by government forces. Under the authoritarian system until 1980s, even discussion on this state violence was completely forbidden. With the democratization movement in 1987 serving as a turning point, islanders' simmering desire for an investigation into the truth about the massacre opened a floodgate. In the process, the Jeju people established the Jeju 4·3 Research Institute to reveal the historical truths of the incident.

### Activities of the Institute

However, establishment of the institute was merely the beginning of the fight against government oppression to their activities. Despite being in such a situation, with the support of more than 200 members, the institute concentrated its efforts on field investigation and the correction of oral history, and published its research in many books and journals, which contributed greatly to communicating and sharing Jeju 4·3 experiences widely in Korean society. Based on the research, the institute discovered the sites of the massacre, and revealed many facts about it, in each village on the island. The institute set up guide plates at each site in order to preserve them as historical sites. The accumulation of these steady and sustained activities provided a foundation for the enactment of the Special Act for Investigation of the Jeju April 3 Incident in 2000, and the official apology by President Roh Moo-hyun for state violence in Jeju. These achievements played a pioneering role in settling the past in South Korea and significantly influencing the investigation of other incidents in



Exhumation of the remains/Photo by Jeju 4·3 Research Institute

the past. The other main current project of the institute is exhuming the remains of the victims buried at the time of the massacre across the island.

Social educational activities, such as undertaking site fieldwork and organizing open lectures for citizens from within and outside the island, constitute one of the most important practical activities of the Jeju 4·3 Institute. Furthermore, through building international networks with citizens of the world, the Institute is attempting to disseminate historical lessons from one of the most tragic genocides of the twentieth century to the entire world, and to collectively think about peace and human rights as universal values common to all humankind. Concretely speaking, the institute holds international academic conferences with scholars from home and abroad and continually engages in active exchanges with NGOs that work for peace and human rights.

We will commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Jeju April 3 incident next year in 2008. The members of the institute are striving even harder for peace, human rights, and reunification, based on abundant previous experience and practical research activities.

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## **Hokkaido Forum on Victims of Forced Mobilization and Forced Labor**

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### **Forced Labor and Hokkaido**

From 1939 to 1945, some 700,000 Koreans were brought to Japan to perform forced labor. Of them, 145,000 were forced to do harsh labor in coalmines or at construction sites in Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost main island. In Hokkaido alone the deaths of 2,015 laborers have been confirmed, but the total number is still unknown. Some remains of victims are kept at Buddhist temples, but most have lain underground unnoticed for over 60 years.

In 1976 a grassroots movement aiming to recover a people's history started searching for the remains of victims at the Shumarinai dam construction site in northern Hokkaido. A group of citizens began searching for, excavating, mourning and repatriating the remains to the bereaved. This movement gradually developed into a Japan-Korea workshop where youths from the two countries worked together to excavate remains, study history and discuss the future. Workshops have been held on ten occasions at different sites in Japan and Korea including Jeju Island. So far, more than 1,500 people from Korea, Japan, and other countries have taken part.

The Hokkaido Forum was formed in 2003 from the above precursors after a Buddhist temple in Sapporo publicly apologized for having kept the remains of 101 victims in three pots with the personal identification lost. The Hokkaido Forum has been working to find bereaved families and invites them to visit the remains including 20 others found in 5 different temples, and 12

excavated at Shumarinai in Hokkaido. From 2005, a new excavation was started at Asajino in Sarufutsu village in northern Hokkaido. In the summer of 2006, 350 people from a number of countries gathered at Asajino for "The Workshop for a Peaceful Future in East Asia." The remains of 12 victims were discovered and are now being kept at a nearby Buddhist temple with support from the local community.

Besides grassroots initiatives such as those listed above, the governments of Korea and Japan agreed in 2004 to cooperate to search for and repatriate remains. Applications on behalf of 23,000 victims were received by the Truth Commission of the South Korean government. On the other hand, by the end of 2006, information on 1,669 remains had been collected by the Japanese government. A huge task still remains for both governments and civil society.

### **Because the Past Is the Present and the Future**

To treat the victims' remains with dignity, all the facts concerning these victims should be brought to light and should not be kept hidden as "Inconvenient Truths." The Hokkaido Forum is asking the Japanese government and companies to recognize their responsibility toward these victims and to sincerely extend their apologies to the bereaved. The Hokkaido Forum's repatriation program became possible thanks to the cooperation between Korean residents in Japan and concerned parties in South Korea. It is paving the way to building peace between the two countries with initiatives for a transnational civil society.

### **Hokkaido Forum on Victims of Forced Mobilization and Forced Labor**

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Photo by Hiroshi Oda, PSAJ member, at Asajino 2006

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Please note that the proper names and spellings of countries, places and institutions are not edited for uniformity and have been left as originally written in most cases. We try whenever possible to respect the original intention of the authors: any changes are minor, and have been made with the authors' consent.