Peace Studies Bulletin

Editor's Note :
Since 2001, the title of this publication has been changed from the **Peace Studies Newsletter** to the **Peace Studies Bulletin**. Our editorial policy remains essentially the same. Issue numbers will continue uninterrupted from the **Peace Studies Newsletter**.   (SATAKE Masaaki)

A New Phase of Imperialism in the Era of Globalization

KITAZAWA Yoko

1. The 9/11 Attacks and the US Response

When the Cold War ended, there were hopes that all of the world's people would be able to live free from fear and hunger in the 21st century.

However, these hopes have been betrayed.

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11) plunged the world into mass hysteria, and the "free" US media fell into step. The Bush Administration's subsequent war against Afghanistan has changed the world order.

On the day of the attack, US law enforcement authorities publicly stated that the prime suspect was Osama Bin Laden and his terrorist network, Al Quaeda, which was based Afghanistan.

President George W. Bush termed it a war against the US. and called upon world leaders to join an anti-terrorist alliance headed by him. Even Prime Minister Castro of Cuba and Chairman Arafat of Palestine, both sworn enemies of the US, responded positively and joined in the alliance.

World leaders and the American people were mobilized in an alliance centered around President Bush.

2. Terrorism Must Be Dealt with within the Framework of International Law

Was 9/11 an act of war? Clearly not. The concept of war is military conflict between states. It was, rather, an act of international terrorism. Consequently, it should be handled within the framework of international law relating to terrorism. The UN as well as the G 7 has been discussing how to cope with terrorism for more than a decade. The UN has enacted a series of international conventions i.e., the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, the International Convention against the Taking of Hostage, the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, etc.

In addition, the terrorist attack of 9/11 constituted an act of genocide and a crime against humanity. Accordingly, the UN should have established a mechanism through which the terrorists could have been prosecuted, and an ad hoc international court should have been set up to try them.

Instead of taking such legal steps, on October 6, 2001, the US began a war of revenge against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, saying that it was harboring the criminals behind 9/11, i.e. Bin Laden and Al Quaeda.

In the contemporary world, acts of revenge are not considered legitimate either at the level of individuals or at the level of states. The US war on Afghanistan is neither legal, nor legitimate according to international law.

3. What Really Happened on that Day ?

Immediately after the attacks, the US FBI made it public that the hijackers had been 19 Arabs, that their passports had found from the wreckages of the hijacked planes, and that 11 of them were Saudi nationals. Meanwhile, none of the black boxes of the three hijacked planes, which were supposed to remain intact at temperatures up to 2,000 degree, were ever recovered from the crash sites.

According to the FBI, the three hijackers who piloted the three planes had undergone training for six months at a Miami flying school. However, the school only has a training course for small propeller planes for private purpose. How could the hijackers pilot such huge jet airplanes and precisely strike their targets ?

In March 2002, the New York Times carried an interesting article. "After a careful examination of the videos taken on the scene of the incidents, experts found that the speed of the two hijacked planes that hit the two World Trade Center buildings in New York, was between 500 and 800 km per hour." According to this analysis, at such a high speed and such a low altitude, the planes would not have been able to fly and hit the targets so precisely without automatic ground air control.

The story of the third plane that struck the Pentagon in Washington D.C. is also mysterious. The building has three floors, and the jet hit the ground floor. Is it really possible for such a huge jet plane to fly at an altitude of almost zero and hit a target ?

These mysteries naturally lead to the assumption that it was not the sole action of hijackers, but that somebody carried out remote control for them.

4. Who Did It ?

Professor Takeshi Igarashi of the Tokyo University stated that the US is a society full of democracy. However, democracy requires the consumption of a great deal of energy and time to achieve a consensus among the population. Therefore, when a president of the US decides to carry out a bold action as waging a war, there is an inevitable tendency toward conspiracy. The history of the US is

full of conspiracies, and since they have been planned and carried out at the supreme level of the state, the truth is never revealed.

In the case of 9/11, we should look at who most benefited from it. There is no doubt that the answer is George W. Bush, whose presidency had been in question. In the presidential election, his rival, Al Gore, received a majority of the popular vote.

However, soon after 9/11, President Bush's popularity in opinion polls went up to 80%, the highest record among all US presidents.

Clearly, George W. Bush was the largest beneficiary of 9/11.

5. The Pre-emptive Strike Doctrine of the US

On January 29, 2002, in his State of the Union Address, President Bush named Iraq, Iran and North Korea as constituting an "axis of evil." He created new enemies for the US even before the war in Afghanistan was over, since neither Bin Laden, nor Omar of the Taliban leader had been captured.

Certainly, these were among the rogue states that had been named by the Clinton Administration as harboring and supporting terrorists.

Bush did not specify why they were evil to the people of the US and the international community. He failed to explain how the three countries were related to Al Quaeda and Osama Bin Laden.

"Rogue" and "evil" are very vague expressions. They are not the terminology of international law. Rather, they are expressions of American "cowboy" language. It is commonly understood that rogue and evil countries carry out acts of terrorism, illegally occupy foreign lands, and are under dictatorships.

However, Israel, which has been illegally occupying Palestine land, in violation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 242, for more than three decades, and which carries out state terrorism against the people of Palestine, has not been named as a rogue or evil country.

The US itself has both militarily and economically supported a number of countries that are under dictatorships and carry out illegal occupations of foreign lands, but it has never been named as a rogue or evil country.

On 6 June, 2002, in a speech at the US Military Academy at West Point, President Bush said that the US was ready to launch preemptive strikes against countries that harbored and supported Al Quaeda terrorist network cells, in more than 60 countries.

Apparently, the US military strategy has shifted from its previous stance of self-defense to a preemptive one. The US is free to strike at more than one third of the countries of the world.

President Bush appears to believe that since the US is the single superpower in the post Cold War era, it can do whatever it likes. This is lawlessness. It should not be permitted.

6. The US Resorts to Unilateralism

In the 1990s, the UN held a series of summit—level conference on global issues such as the environment, human rights, population, social development, women, education, and human housing. UN member states unanimously agreed on concrete plans of action to solve the global issues facing them. Then, in September 2000, the UN convened the Millennium Summit, and agreed to halve absolute poverty by the year 2015.

If member states sincerely implement those plans of action, to which they themselves have agreed, it would be possible for all of the people of the world to live without hunger, inequality, and injustice, which are the haunts of terrorism. It is the shortest way to uproot terrorism.

This is multilateralism, in the spirit of international cooperation.

However, 'the Bush administration has taken the opposite road, unilateralism.

7. Challenging the US Superpower with Another Superpower, World Public Opinion

The war in Afghanistan, waged by the so-called multilateral forces headed by the US, has changed the world order, albeit temporarily.

George W. Bush, as president of the world's sole superpower, called President Saddam Hussein of Iraq enemy number one of humanity. He said that Iraq had kept weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical and biological weapons—as well as the means to deliver them—missiles of long length. He said that this constituted a violation of a series of UN Security Council resolutions adopted since the Gulf war, and there were high risks to allowing those weapons to proliferate in the hands of terrorists.

However, this time, things have not gone in favor of George W. Bush.

First, there is no solid evidence, even from the CIA, that proves a relationship between President Hussein and Al Quaeda. Rather, they are nearly archenemies of each other.

Second, the US Congress approved the White House proposal to launch a war against Iraq on the strict condition that the UN Security Council endorses it, as it did at the time of the Gulf War. Because of pressure from the voters in their constituencies, the members of Congress could not endorse the President's proposal without brackets. President Bush was obliged, reluctantly, to put the case before the UN.

Third, the UN Security Council was split over the use of force against Iraq. Resolution 1441 was adopted unanimously, demanding the sending of a UN Inspection Team to Iraq. With Iraq's acceptance, a UN Inspection Team headed by Mr. Hans Blix, together with a team from the IAEA, was sent to Iraq to search for weapons of mass destruction in November 2002.

President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair were not happy with the work and reports of the UN inspection team. Both insisted that Security Council resolution 1441 had authorized them to use military force if Iraq failed to comply with it. They added that since Iraq was not cooperating sufficiently the UN inspection, it was violating the resolution.

Three Permanent Security Council members—France, Russia, and China—as well as two non-permanent members—Germany and Syria—opposed the use of force against Iraq. The remaining six developing countries were not supportive of the US and UK position. They shared the view that he UN Inspection team should continue its work in Iraq and that a new resolution of the Security Council would be required for the use of military force.

Fourth, the international community reacted vehemently in opposition to the war against Iraq.

On February 15-16, 2003, a series of huge anti-war demonstrations encircled the globe, starting from London and moving to Madrid, New York, and Melbourne. It is important to note that the governments of these countries supported the use of force against Iraq. Clearly, what these governments said is not supported by their populations.

These demonstrations were attended by a total of 12 to 20 million people. In London alone, two million people demonstrated, chanting the slogan of NO WAR. In Tokyo, 7,000 people took to the streets to express their opposition to the war. And on March 8, in Tokyo, 40,000 demonstrated against the US war.

One of the coordinators of the London demonstration said that it was not a demonstration, but a historical event. Certainly, with the help of the Internet, this global wave of anti-war demonstrations was the largest action of direct democracy in the history of humanity.

This historical event has had an impact on the Western mass media, which had lined up behind the Bush Administration's foreign policy after 9/11. The *New York Times*, on February 17,2003, made the following comments :

"The fracturing of the Western alliance

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over Iraq and the huge anti-war demonstrations around the world over the weekend are reminders that there may still be two superpowers on the planet : the United States and world public opinion."

Indeed, There is another superpower of peace, consisting of global civil society, which is a countervailing force to the US military superpower's hegemony. This is the new world order today.

8. A US Invasion without UN Approval

On March 20, 2003, President Bush announced that US military forces had started bombing Iraq. Soon afterward, US and UK ground troops invaded Iraq from Kuwait, with the objective of removing President Hussein from office. A number of scholars of international law stated that the US action constituted a grave violation of international law. After all, there was no evidence that the US had been attacked militarily by Iraq, and the UN Inspection Team failed to find any weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, the US could not take preemptive military action of self-defense in the supposition that there might be a military attack against it in the future.

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan warned that without a Security Council resolution, military action against other countries would be regarded as illegitimate. The Security Council alone has the right to judge whether there is a threat to peace or not, and to decide to use military force. Security Council Resolution 1441 did not have a clause permitting the use of military force against Iraq.

President Bush said that some 35 countries supported the US action, but this is out of a total of 191 UN member states. Who are these 35 countries? They include the UK, Australia, Spain, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, Korea and Japan among the industrialized countries, plus most of the Eastern European countries in transition, along with a few developing countries. Non-aligned nations met in Kuala

Lumpur, Malaysia and adopted a resolution against the invasion of Iraq. Even Canada and Mexico, which make up NAFTA with the US, do not support the war. With the exception of Kuwait, none of the Middle Eastern countries supported the US. Rather, the Arab League adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of US and UK forces from Iraq.

Anti-war statements have not been confined to the level of states. In the Middle East, there have been widespread anti-US demonstrations. In Egypt, Jordan, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, and some of the Gulf Emirates, anti-US demonstrations have threatened to turn against their repressive governments, and this could lead to instability in the region.

This is all contrary to President Bush's wishful thinking when he decided to oust Saddam Hussein and occupy Iraq with the hope of democratizing the country, and thus bringing stability to the Middle East.

9. The US Oil War against Iraq

There is no need to state that the US has plans to take control of Iraq's oil resource. Iraq's oil reserves are the world's second largest, after Saudi Arabia. The US depends on its oil imports from Saudi Arabia. The Bush Administration as well as the oil majors was shocked by the fact that most of the 9/11 hijackers and Bin Laden himself were Saudi nationals. Therefore, they initiated a plan to oust President Hussein and occupy Iraq, in order to secure oil fields.

In every anti-war protest action around the world, one can see slogans demanding "Stop the US Oil War." And it is clear that there will be conflicts of interests between the US and UK, and among the EU member countries, over the post-war reconstruction of Iraq, and the control of its oil fields.

10. Rebellion of the "Multitude"

Since the end of the Cold War, the market economy has spread over the globe. This neo-

liberal globalization may be characterized by the following three dimensions.

First, the gap between the rich and the poor has become so wide that the assets of Microsoft founder Bill Gates are greater than the GDPs of the world's 49 least developing countries (LDCs), with a total population of 600 million. This is almost criminal.

Transnational corporations have grown so huge that the annual sales of the top five—General Motors, Wal-Mart, Exxon-Mobil, Ford and Daimler-Chrysler—each exceed the aggregate GDP of the world's 49 LDCs.

Secondly, poverty has increased in size and depth. A total of 1.3 billion people—one fifth of the world's population—live in hunger, without adequate shelter, safe water, and are illiterate.

Third, neo-liberal globalization has created huge cross-border capital flows. Every day, approximately two trillion US dollars move through currency exchange markets all over the world, for speculative purposes. Countries throughout Asia, as well as Russia, Turkey, Brazil, and Argentina, have suffered from the volatility of these capital flows.

Since Seattle, a series of massive protest movements against neo-liberal globalization have occurred in Washington, Prague, Quebec, and Genoa, to accompany WTO, IMF, World Bank, and G 7 summit meetings.

In Porte Alegre, Brazil, three World Social Forums have been held since January 2001, in order to seek an alternative to the current neo-liberal globalization, under the slogan "Another World is Possible." All the actors in global civil society, including NGOs, social movements, trade unions, farmers' movements, and women's organization, have participated in the Forum. More than 100,000 people attended the last one, held in January 2003 in Porte Alegre.

This huge mass of people, who Antonio Negri called the "Multitude" in his book *Empire,* have taken to streets, protesting against those who promote globalization—the WTO, IMF,

World Bank and G 7. This rebellion of the Multitude is ultimately targeted toward the true beneficiaries : huge transnational corporations.

Since the US military invasion of Iraq became imminent, the rebellion of the Multitude has turned into a massive global anti-war movement against the Bush Administration.

11. A New Phase of Imperialism

In the post Cold War era, the US became the world's single superpower in the military dimension. And since 9/11, the US has faced a new enemy, i.e. terrorism.

In response to this new enemy, the Bush administration has resorted to a preemptive strike doctrine, under which the US military can strike anywhere the world, without the consent of the international community.

Is this US strategy feasible? Is the US invincible?

Definitely not.

First, the US new enemy— "terrorism" itself—is the creation of neo-liberal, and corporate-led globalization. And the US administration is leading these forces of globalization.

President Bush now calls Saddam Hussein an evil man and a dictator. However, in 1979, when the Islamic revolution took place in the formerly pro-US Iran, and when subsequently its neighbour, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, invaded it, the US along with all the Western countries, supported Iraq. The US supplied it with weapons, including materials for chemical and biological weapons. Russia and France also supplied high-tech weapons. Thus, Iraq became the biggest military power in the Middle East region.

Another example is Osama Bin Laden. Today, President Bush calls him the prime suspect of 9/11, and he is the most wanted terrorist in the world. However, Bin Laden was a hero of the guerilla fighters—the Mujahideen—fighting against the Soviet invasion on Afghanistan during the 1980 s. The

CIA was recruiting youth from the Muslim world to join the Mujahideen, and supplying them with funds and weapons. Bin Laden was one of them. He can be seen as a monster that was created by the CIA. And now he is an enemy of the US.

Second, fundamentalism of all forms, including that of George W. Bush's Christian fundamentalism and neo-conservatism, is a by-product of neo-liberal globalization.

For example, Muslim fundamentalists in the Arab and Asian countries emerge from the most marginalized and discriminated among populations. Most of their activities have been devoted to programs to improve the livelihood of their populations by means of lending small credits, setting up Islamic school for poor children who could not go to regular schools, providing medical service to sick people, etc.

With neo-liberal globalization, huge numbers of impoverished people have emerged. In particular, because of the structural adjustment programmes of the IMF and World Bank, governments lack adequate budgets for health, education and welfare to supply the entire population. There are huge vacuums in which Muslim fundamentalists can spread throughout society.

The further that neo-liberal globalization advances, and the more the US wages war against terrorists and evil, the more terrorists and evil the world's superpower will encounter. At the same time, it is certain that the US will face a non-violent rebellion by a huge mass of people, i.e. the Multitude.

KITAZAWA Yoko
Free-Lance Journalist
President : Peace Studies Association of Japan
Co-chair : Japan Network on Debt & Poverty
Founder : Pacific Asia Resource Center and People to People Aid
Books include : From Tokyo to Johannesburg-Japanese Connection with Apartheid (1974 NCC USA New York) and (Co-author) Allies in Apartheid (1988 Macmillan London) Conflict over Natural Resources in South East Asia and the Pacific (1990 Oxford London)

Historical Role of Women's Narratives in South Africa

KUSUNOSE Keiko

Kyoto Seika University

Literature and History

I myself try to think always about the space between literature and history. I think women's narratives, for example, are a kind of literature and at the same time, an accumulation of women's life experiences, which can be read as historical testimonies, records, facts and realities. I think history should be a reflection of the realities of people's lives on a global scale.

History is not the mere accumulation of written documentary facts, which reflect the past. Looking back upon the past, we make sure of our position in the present, and our perspectives for the future. In the context of present visions for the future, we must look back at our past, in order to review, revise, renew, rewrite, reconnect. This means that the past, the present, and the future are firmly connected in a strong line.

However, history in South Africa during Apartheid era was written on the basis of Apartheid policies from the white ruler's perspective. Especially, African people were deprived of all human rights and their existence was erased intentionally. If mentioned at all,

their history was always distorted due to the obsession with racial division which characterizes narratives of South African history.

Therefore, it is a critically important task for the new South Africa to rewrite and reconstruct a New South African history for the present and the future in a nation-building of democracy for all people.

My paper is how much South African literature can make a contribution for reconstruction of the new history in South Africa.

On August 27, 2001, the South Africa history project launched at Old Fort in Johannesburg, which the government took an initiative. The main aim of this project emphasized on the key importance of the value of teaching history and the creative nurturing of historical consciousness. It concluded that :
"The teaching of history is central to the promotion of human values, including that of tolerance. History is one of the memory systems that shape our values and morality, for it studies, records, and diffuses knowledge of human failure and achievement over the millennia."
Goals and Objectives of this Project are ;
(1) to create forums to initiate discussions on the nature of history and history teaching in schools and devise strategies on how it can be improved and strengthened ;
(2) to undertake studies and initiate activities that will strengthen history teaching in the context of the development of a National Curriculum Statement ;
(3) to establish initiatives that will bring history researchers and scholars t ogether to review, revise, and (re) write history textbooks
(4) to initiate activities that will resurrect interest in the study of history by young people.

In order to rewrite this history, they have started to collect historical data or information from various fields, for example, reports to Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and data from interviews with people who were witness to the horrible Apartheid atrocities. Perhaps the most important things to consider are what kind of data should be used, from whose perspective it should be looked at, and how the data should be analyzed for the new history.

Therefore, the new history should be focused on African people who have been treated as an invisible existence socially, politically, economically and culturally as a whole. In order to rewrite the history, it is very important to begin working jointly in all academic fields ; scholars not only of history, but also of literature, sociology, religious studies, the history of nature, anthropology, political science, social science, economics, women's studies, should be involved.

Here, I would like to focus on how the women's narratives should be treated or recorded in history, analyzing women's testimonies in Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the women's voices in South African literature. Women's voices, women's narratives become important data indispensable to historical reconstruction because they have never been paid attention. How have women's contribution been memorized or recorded in history ?

Although it had been said that Apartheid was "the greatest crime to human beings" over many years, one of the biggest problems is how this "crime" is worked out through Truth and Reconciliation Commission established to record human atrocities in search for historical truth. Testimony of the past was summarized in 5 volumes, which covered 2739 pages of text, and was submitted to President Nelson Mandela on October 29, 1998.

However, how much were there women's narratives included in it? Even though Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) held

the special hearing for the women to record women's voices into history positively, and women were encouraged to speak out to break the culture of silence, how much have women's voices recorded in history ?

Moreover, as Ms Cheryl de la Rey, addressing the Cape Town special hearing, noted that

"(t) oo often when we do not specific actions to draw attention to the issues that affect women, what happens is that men and the experiences of men become the yardstick by which judgements are made".

And the final report of TRC said "The argument that apparently gender-neutral approaches are often discriminatory because they unwittingly assume a male outlook is in accordance with the conception of equality found in the South African Constitution. This conception is one of substantive, rather than merely formal, equality. It recognizes indirect as well as direct discrimination, implicit as well as explicit and intentional bias."

Some women testify about violations of human rights that happened to family members or friends, but they would not like to talk about what happened to them as the victim of a gross human rights abuse although they have also suffered abuses. It reflects patriarchal system. It shows how gendered roles affected the experience and its aftermath.

Most of those who talked at the special hearing spoke of their experience as direct victims even though they were very few in numbers. Their experiences, in particular because of women, different from those of men, provide some idea of the range of sexual, physical and psychological abuses experienced by women.

Dr Sheila Meintjies said at the women hearing in Johannesburg like this, "We suggested that the issue of sexual violence, in particular, was one which women found and still find very difficult to speak out about or even to admit that it happened. Indeed, we know that very few women have, in fact, come forward to recount their experience of sexual abuse in the context of political violence. Of nearly 9,000 cases of violations only about nine have claimed they have been raped. Yet, in our research we came across many cases of violations which could be described as rape or where women knew of others who had been raped.

Although the woman is treated secondarily, intrafamily violence does not decline. Young children and young women still continue being raped, and women cannot acquire the peace of the heart and cannot walk freely, either. There is no true freedom in this country. Then, in this way, I look back upon the past of the women, us, and wish to be sure of better tomorrow today."

Antjie Krog wrote her novel, *Country of My Skull* from TRC stories dealt with guilt, sorrow, and the limits of forgiveness in the new South Africa. Jane Taylor wrote a play, *Ubu*, recounting TRC narratives. Sindwe Magona wrote a story of Emy Biel from TRC testimonies, in her novel, *Mother to Mother*.

These individual narratives come to stand for the larger national narrative, which reflected the stories of personal grief, loss, triumph and violation now stand as an account of South Africa's recent past. History and autobiography merge to form a literature.

However, these stories show tendency to reconcile the racial conflict between the victim and perpetrator in the name of Apartheid logic and politics, although testimonies give a new subject and new dimension, direction to the new South African literature.

As one of good examples of reconciliation, in a film "Fools" by Ramadan Suleman, original novel written by Njabulo Ndebele, Suleman changed a part of its ending for reconciliation between the Africans and white supporters of Apartheid. In the time of publishing this anthology of his short stories, during the Apartheid period, the author, Njabulo Ndebele,

the president of University of Cape Town, wrote this story of the fools to show anger, frustration, suffer, isolation, protest against the Apartheid system. However, the film was produced in a post-Apartheid period, by a director of this film, Ramadan Suleman, to highlight the changing landscape, reconciliation of racial conflicts, reconstruction of the rainbow nation, in South Africa after 1994. That is why the ending of the story in the film had a slight alteration from the original text.

Zakes Mda said about the past, which South African Literature has dealt with, in his interview with New York Times, as follows recently ;

"It was easier to write about the past… because the past created ready-made stories. There was a very clear line of demarcation between good and evil, you see? Black was good ; white was bad. Your conflict was there. There were no gray areas…. We no longer have that. In this new situation, black is not necessarily good. There are many black culprits ; there are many good white people. We have become normal. It's very painful to become normal."

African writers in the post-Apartheid South Africa, like Zakes Mda, and Mandla Langa, have seized the initiative in writing stories about more complex issues beyond racial politics rather than white writers like Nadine Gordimer, JM Coetzee, and Andre Brink, largely preoccupied the theme of violence against the blacks.

In particular, Nadine Gordimer could not find her typical literary theme like racial conflict, injustice any more in the new South African situation. She moves to the different arena like the Arab country in *Pickup*.

On the contrary, Zakes Mda, dealt with characters coming to terms with post-Apartheid life, of which the struggle to hold on to traditional African values in the face of the new South African politics and western

materialism is an important theme, publishing *Ways of Dying* in 1995 and *The Heart of Redness* in 2000, from the gender perspectives.

As Zakes Mda said, the daily lives in the past, history, can offer the good theme for the literature to revitalize the voice of voiceless people. I would like to introduce here how they could give the voice to the voiceless women through historical struggles in South Africa.

Women's History ; The Repatriation of Sarah Baartman

When it comes to women's history in Africa, this field has been ignored totally in the general history of Africa, and women's voices have never been heard.

The repatriation of Sarah Baartman to South Africa, which was made a reality last year, 2002 for the first time in 192 years, is one example of this. Sarah Baartman was treated as a "freak", like a wild animal in a cage, or "sub-human", an object of scientific examination, and a supposedly primitive sexual oddity, providing an excuse for stereotyping African women in grotesque ways.

Sarah Baartman was a woman taken to England and France in 1810 and was exposed to public ridicule, while being paraded around Europe as the "Hottentot Venus", a derogatory term used to describe "Khoikhoi" of Southern Africa. Even after her death, her remains were kept in the French Museum of Humankind, in particular, her large buttock and vagina were kept for display in a jar of formaldehyde in a museum. They remained on display until 1975. Since 1995, a campaign for the return of her remains has been waged by the Griqua National Conference. Women's voices became stronger and stronger, demanding that she be brought back to her homeland, and at the same time that her dignity as a woman be restored in the present time. Thus repatriation of her body becomes a symbol of restoring national dignity and humanity for African women.

Sarah Baartman has been discovered by

many women in South Africa, in England, in the United States and in other countries. Plays and poems have been written about her, films and speeches have been made telling her story in the hopes of reclaiming her torturous, miserable and lonely past.

As early as 1824, a young Jamaican, Robert Wedderburn who was so furious at the exhibition of Sarah Baartman in London, wrote *The Horrors of Slavery*, protesting against slavery and racism when the anti-slavery debate was raging in England.

Recently, Diana Ferrus wrote a poem as a tribute to Sarah Baartman, while in Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1998 when she became homesick.

Willie Bester, a contemporary South African artist, made a metal sculpture of Sarah Baartman which is now displayed at the main library of the University of Cape Town. Bester's father was Khoikhoi and his mother was what has been called "Cape colored." He was himself classified as "other colored" during the Apartheid years, according to the Group Area Act. These racial categories annoyed him and led him to create a sculpture of Sarah Baartmen when he went to Paris to know how Sarah Baartman was treated in European countries. However, it provoked controversy

In the USA, an African American woman, Deborah Willis, has written a book on Sarah Baartman, entitled, *The Black Female Body : A Photographic History*. Willis, curator at the Smithsonian's Anacostia Museum and Center for African American History and Culture, wrote Sarah Baartman's case, as follows,

"The stereotypical caricatures of Baartman portrayed her as entertainment while also sexualizing her image. (Despite the negative and stereotypical nature of Baartman's images) the bustle soon became very stylish in Europe and later in America, and this may have been the result of the popularity of her images."[i]

As for a new documentary film on her, Zola Maseko, who grew up in Swaziland,

produced "The Life and Times of Sara Baartman—"The Hottentot Venus"." from Icarus/First Run Films in 1998 in the Western mind for Television, Dominant 7, SABC 2. His film was focused on the racism of the colonial era, and the notion of black female sexuality, using historical drawings, cartoons, legal documents, and interviews with noted cultural historians and anthropologists. He tried to deconstruct the social, political, scientific and philosophical assumptions which transformed Sarah Baartman into a representation of savage sexuality and racial inferiority.

On 4th August last year, the day of the ceremony at the Civic Center in Cape Town to send her remains to her homeland, near Gamtoos River at Hankey in the Eastern Cape, a lot of women expressed their dedication to Sarah Baartmen. Mavis Smallberg, Gertrude Fester and others read their poems to her.

Yvette Abrahams, an academic who completed her PhD on Sarah Baartman, performed her agony through her dance.

In all these works on Sarah Baartman, the mindset of the Western people toward African people which prevailed throughout the history of racism and colonialism was questioned. As Yvette Abrahams said, "People know more about her genitalia than her mind".

About 30 years ago, Bessie Head, a South African woman writer, in her novel, *Maru*, criticized white scientists who examined African people and defined them inferior as follows :

"In Botswana they say : Zebras, Lions, Buffalo and Bushmen live in the Kalahari Desert. If you can catch a Zebra, you can walk up to it, forcefully open its mouth and examine its teeth. The Zebra is not supposed to mind because it is an animal. Scientists do the same to Bushmen and they are not supposed to mind, because there is no one they can still turn round to and say, 'At least I am not a ···' Of all things that are said of oppressed people, the worst things are said and done to the Bushmen. Ask the scientists. Haven't they yet

written a treatiese on how Bushmen are an oddity of the human race, who are half the head of a man and half the body of a donkey? Because you don't go poking around into the organs of people unless they are animals or dead."[ii] (pp.11-12)

These are examples of the project to reclaim the ignored and silenced women's history through individual efforts to document the history of African women and the nature of violence against women in Africa.

Moreover, in the case of Sarah Baartman, the South African Government devoted all its energy to restore the dignity of all South African people in modern history. President Thabo Mbeki stated,

"I see in this bill a double symbol. Firstly, it gives us the opportunity to turn the page of decades marked by colonialism, racism and sexism. It will mark the end of a painful period, when non European populations were not viewed as equal to the European ones. Secondly, it marks our will to acknowledge equality among people. This is an important moment of unity around an essential principle— the dignity of any human being, whatever his/ her religion, origins and condition."[iii]

And on 9th August, the National Women's Day, President Mbeki said Baartman was exploited by European scientists to prove their racist theories about white superiority. He said, "Sarah Baartman was taken to Europe to tell this lie in the most dramatic way possible." However, it was not Baartman who was a barbarian, "but those who treated her with barbaric brutality."

Thus, obviously the South African government has been involved in historical projects of restoring the dignity of all African people and gender equality. However, in fact the number of sexual crimes is increasing even though the law prescribes gender equality in new South Africa. It is obvious that violence against women and domination of women's bodies by men have continued to violate the human rights of women both in Apartheid period as well as in the present.

Obviously, the South African government has tried to make repatriation of Sarah Baartman a symbolic milestone in African women's history, recording and remembering and reconstructing the facts around women, which means, reconstruction of gender/women's history.

The issue here is our attitude toward history. In other words, the South African government has begun with Sarah Baartman's case, in order to restore human dignity from the perspective of non-racial and non-sexual, democratic society. This could not have happened without great efforts against racism and sexism in gender politics.

This is one of examples how we look into the African women's perspective. The new South African government has squarely dealt with its past in order to restore the dignity of Sarah Baartman and victimized women during the Apartheid period.

As I mentioned at the beginning of my paper, women's literature is based on narratives, women's voices as well as women's history. Therefore, we can understand realities and facts of women's lives in history through women's literature.

That's why I expect the new South African Women's Literature to record, rewrites, reconstruct, review the women's narratives buried in long history.

Note ; This paper was read at the conference of African Literature Association in Alexandria, Egypt, 2003 March 19-23.

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i   *The Black Female Body : A Photographic History*, by Deborah Willis and Carla Williams, Temple University Press, February 2002,

ii   Bessie Head, *Maru*, Heinemann, African Writers Series, 1971, pp,11-12.

iii   South African President Mbeki on Saartjie

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KUSUNOSE Keiko
Professor of Kyoto Seika University, Faculty of Humanities. Specialized field ; African Literature, Women's Studies on Africa. Books : *Bessie Head ; A Literature of Refusal and Acceptance*, Daisan-shokan, Tokyo, 1998. Translation ; *Maru* by Bessie Head, Gakugei Shorin, Tokyo, 1995. and others.
Email : kusunose@kyoto-seika.ac.jp

Self-regulation and Global Network under the Institution for Sustainable Mining Development
——Through the Tampakan Mining Project in the Philippines——

KURITA Hideyuki

Introduction

The institution for sustainable, development, constructing rapidly in the South countries in recent years, contains a big defect. This defect is that the institution does not narrow the influence[1] gap enough between affected people and project (or developers). Therefore, doing so the gap is necessity to enforce this institution appropriately.

This defect is remarkable in mining fields since it is difficult to construct sustainability in spite of necessity for the present economical activities. Substantially, the influence of the affected people on a mining project is so limited that their damages mainly depend on the will of the developer and the government. The history of mining development has always showed a concentration of damages to such socially weak people. The reason for development agencies such as the World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to support the institution for sustainable development and to promote mining projects in spite of such damages is their recognition as the following. The accumulation of mining experiences would increase companies' and the government's ability to manage mining activities, thus improving technology and leading to a proper relationship between a company, the government and the affected people under strict self-regulation[2]. In fact, many cases indicated an improvement of the influence gap even though serious damages still occurred quite often.

This paper reexamines the relation between the influence of the affected people and self-regulation through the Tampakan Project in the Philippines, which was rejected by the affected people in 2002. Through this work, I would like to emphasize the glocal-network through the medium of NGO, which was ignored in the institution for sustainable development.

1. Self-regulation in the institution

The new institution is composed of 6 sub-institutions ; the institution for direct and indirect regulation such as total emission regulation and tax regulation, institution for Environment Impact Assessment (EIA), institution for local government, institution for indigenous people, institution for the participation of the affected people and the institution for self-regulation such as "best (or good) practice".

The enforcement of the first 5 sub-

institutions above depends on the governance of the project country, and it is rare that the government of the South countries engage enough in good governance by the following 2 reasons.

The first reason is that the gap of the influence on the institution between developer and the affected people is too large. These sub -institutions refer to the position of the affected people as monitors and profiteers. However, they do not get enough authority to access the institution in order to enforce good governance. For example, if these people or a monitoring team, which always includes delegates of the affected people, get to know about the violation of the law (or consent of the project) or serious damage by the developer, what they can do is just tell to the proper governmental agency. They do not, however, have the right to make the developer change the project directly. In addition, generally in the South countries, going to court are very difficult for most people because of the cost and jurisdiction dependency on politics. Therefore, sustainability of the affected people's life really depends on the conscience and good will of the government and developers but not the will of the affected people.

The second reason is that the benefit from a mining project is in close relationship to the government through tax revenue, benefits of a national company, introduction of foreign investment and employment. In recent years, pressure to privatize national companies gives them and the government a strong incentive to improve financial conditions, which often causes a strong intervention of the government on projects as developers (or overemphasize the economical profit from projects). So this reason leads to the expansion of the influence gap between the affected people and developers.

However, the imbalanced attitude of the government as a developer is not the same as many of the large Trans National Corporations (TNCs). The reasons are follows ; 1) TNCs think much more in a relatively long term

benefit than the government, 2) many of the large TNCs still depend mainly on mines and refinery in the North in spite of the recent large investment to the South. In addition, TNCs' desperate strategy of "image change" with vigorous research and technological improvement pushed by the strengthening and expansion of anti-mining activity, especially in the North, have improved self-regulation called "best practice" which is more rigid than even the environmental regulation of the North. As a result, "best practice" makes regulation of the South meaningless. The problem of governance in the South also becomes meaningless for sustainable development if such self-regulation is implemented properly by the TNCs.

2. Outline of the case

The Tampakan Project[3] may be the first case in the South country where the affected people could succeed in rejecting a large mining project under the new institution for sustainable mining development. Also, this may be the first case in mining history of the Philippines that people could succeed in rejecting a large mining project in spite of a strong proceeding by the government, TNC and local elites[4]. All this indicates a possibility for the affected people to exercise a strong influence on the project under the institution.

The Tampakan Project of the Western Mining Corporation (WMC) is located on Mindanao, the southernmost island in the Philippines. The goal of the project is to obtain a low-grade copper deposit. In 1987, WMC began exploration activities in the Philippines. On the most attractive of these properties at Tampakan, WMC applied for a Financial and Technical Assistance Agreement (FTAA)[5] over an area of 99,000 hectares. In 1995, the president at the time, F. V. Ramos, granted permission. When WMC finished exploration in 1998, WMC applied for the transfer into the development stage. The Philippine government demanded WMC to get

agreements with the affected indigenous communities[6] based on the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act implemented in 1997. WMC presented an "excellent" compensation program[7] that has been never seen in the mining history in the Philippines and had been grappled with gaining consent of the affected people. A large amount of investment for infrastructures and for public uses had been planned and been spent one after another. In addition, WMC presented 1% from its benefit for development of indigenous communities and another 1% for development of local communities. As a result of WMC's vigorous effort, they were able to succeed in gaining "consent" for development from most political leaders in the affected areas.

On the other hand, an anti-project movement developed on a local, national and global level. The developer (WMC) and supporter (government and local elites) intervened actively, but on the contrary, the movement strengthened by rapid construction of the glocal-network. In the face of long delay and strong anti-project movement not only in the Philippines but also in its homeland, Australia, WMC declared withdrawal on January 2002.

3. Deterioration of the institution[8]

The process of the project overstepped the institution for sustainability from the first stage. The agreement between WMC and the Philippine government was done without informing the local government. Local political leaders including indigenous communities completed many agreements without legal process, and the intentional neglect of monitoring compensation by WMC indirectly admitted private use by such political leaders.

In terms of visible action of negotiation, WMC and the government held several public meetings in numerous places in the area. However, in terms of invisible action, the governmental agency recommended anti-project leaders to use compensation for private use.

Also, the National Committee of Indigenous People (NCIP), the governmental agency to manage the indigenous problem, changed a tribal leader of the affected tribal community from anti-mining to pro-mining without legal procedure.

The most serious damages to the affected people had occurred by the strong intervention of local elites to acquire consent especially in Tampakan Town. An armed group attacked and threatened anti-project residents several times, which brought about many casualties and strong opposition from the public, especially in Australia. The accumulation of attacks and threats was enough to force a change in the will of anti-project residents.

4. Anti-project movement

Although the institution for sustainable development deteriorated, the anti-project movement based on organized social weak people succeeded in rejecting the project at last. This powerful movement was developed on various levels from local to global, which gave the movement enough influence on the project. This paper focuses on 3 levels ; the local level, national level and global l evel to describe the deployment process of movement as complementing and strengthening mutually.

Local level

The main feature of this opposition movement is the deployment of systematization on a local level at a very early stage. This feature differed greatly from the "failure" case. The areas where opposition was the most active were General Santos City, Diego Town and Tampakan Town on a local level. Although the network of anti-movement on the local level was newly organized, most of NGOs and POs, that consisted the network, was already exist or just reorfganized on the existing organization.

AGD (Alliance for Genuine Development) bore the role of mediator, which connected various sectors and areas with each other and also connected this local movement with the

national and global movement. This organization that covers South Mindanao is an alliance with NGOs and POs that was established since the beginning of the project in 1995.

Although the AGD itself was newly systematized, most NGOs and POs that bore activity in the movement under the alliance of AGD was already organized and connected by network in order to deal with their own problem. Among them, organizations that supported main activity of anti-project were CAUSE-DS (Citizens Alliance for Unified Sectoral Empowerment in Davao del Sur), TAPCEP (Tampakan People's Crusade for Environmental Protection), and KALUHAKU (Kahugpungang sa mga Lumad sa Habagatang Kutabato : Union of Tribal Communities in South Cotabato).

CAUSE-DS is an NGO made under the initiative of BAYAN (Bagon Alyansang Makabayan), a nation wide NGO alliance, to deal with the problem of Davao Sur, especially focusing on a land problem. Under CAUSE-DS, AYALANKA was newly organized by the rice crop farmers, who were supposedly badly damaged by polluted water, based on the private irrigation association. TAPCEP was a newly organized movement as well, but was based on the network of church in Tampakan. Although KALUHAKU was NGO established for the purpose of land recovery for indigenous people in South Mindanao, many affected indigenous communities agreed on a traditional peace pact called "JANDI" under the initiative of this NGO to protest.

The activity on a local level, which bears the base of the movement, was started as a part of a global network from the beginning. The BAYAN acquired information about the project from its branch in Sydney in 1994, which became the opportunity for movement on a local level. This information was immediately informed to the network of the local NGO and church, and the information about the environmental and indigenous problem, which the operation of WMC caused in its home country, Australia, was also sent simultaneously. This information not only caused enough impact for people to participate the movement, but also made residents possible to protect their judgment from false information given by the governmental agency and WMC henceforth.

Following this, the network of movement was established based on the existing organization as mentioned above and active movement was developed. AYALANKA based on irrigation association, its higher organization CAUSE-DS, indigenous alliance initiated by KALUHAKU through JANDI and TAPCEP by positive participation of the church were all excellent from the first stage in communication of information and the capability of solidarity and mobilization. In the early stages in 1994, the number of mobilization in the anti-project meeting already exceeded 1,000 persons, and assembled 6,000 persons in 1995.

At the beginning, activity was focused on understanding the contents of the contract between WMC and the government, the actual condition of WMC and advertisement them to the affected people. Henceforth, the information of another destructive mining project in the Philippines and in the world was brought forth by NGO at a national and global level, and analyses of the contract and mining law were made even further. This information had been supplied to the people, as well as organizing work at a local level and networking work among various levels had been developed rapidly through the education activities using such information. Then, exchanging information with the national and global level also came to be emphasised in a strategy at a local level.

The strengthening of the local organization and network was connected with the strengthening of the affected people's influence at a local level, which also lead to some local governments' anti-project decisions[9]. Moreover, the movement appealed the invalid consent made by political leaders for illegal procedure and for violation of human rights, and asked the government for withdrawal of the

permission with WMC.

National level

It is the church and NGOs, such as the Catholic Church, UCCP (United Church of Christ in the Philippines), LRC (Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center) and BAYAN, engaged in the problem regarding human rights, indigenous and environment, that are to support the movement positively on the national level. These organizations strongly hold the opposite position from the viewpoint of the environment and human rights against large mining development altogether.

Since LRC, supporting indigenous people to gain the privilege for their natural resources, consists mainly of law specialists, the anti-movement also obtained excellent capabilities in legal analysis. Therefore, they strongly advertised the illegality of the project not only to the affected people but also to the public in the Philippines and in the world[10].

BAYAN is the largest NGO alliance in the Philippines organized as an anti-Marcos movement in 1985. After political power shifted to Aquino from Marcos, activity continued for the purpose of the release from the Philippines rule by the domestic elite and the United States. BAYAN has many branches not only all over the Philippines but also in several countries where a lots of Filipinos work.

As for churches, both the UCCP and the Catholic Church supported the anti-large mining activity[11]. The participation in opposition plays a very important role to gain trust from the public, because they tend to consider an opposition movement as a dangerous activity. Moreover, since the church already had excellent glocal network, it played a most important role as a contact point within the network.

The intentional activity of a national level can be divided into 2 parts. The first part is making each case of anti-mining activity in the Philippines joins toward the movement on the national level and systematizes in a strategy of anti-large mining movement. Consequently, many NGOs which work on a national level bore anti-large mining movement very strongly, and built a mutual cooperating relationship between each other. Since the Tampakan Project was the first project of FTAA, it was positioned as a center of the anti-large mining movement. For this reason, investigation by many specialists and NGO activists for clarifying the problem of the project was conducted, and an official announcement of the result became a basis of justification of the anti-large mining movement. Moreover, the trial which questioned the unconstitutionality of FTAA was raised from Tampakan under the initiative of LRC[12]. In addition, the visiting of activists, specialists and the media, and the holding of seminars and meetings about mining problems, etc. accounted for a very vital role in exchanging information. Also, the very heated anti-large mining and anti-project movement at a national level attracted much attention from the media to the Tampakan Project.

The second part of the intentional activity is to gain information, funds for activity and influence on countries of TNC by strengthening the network at a global level. The information about the project and WMC was sent through BAYAN from Australia as previously stated. Moreover, the Australian Church and Indigenous-Pilipinas, Australian NGO to support indigenous people in the Philippines, performed a field survey in collaboration with AGD. When clarifying the problem of the consent procedure by their investigation, this information became the important basis of justification of an opposition movement[13]. Many funds and equipment, such as a land cruiser, was donated to the movement from abroad. Furthermore, the 2 nd International Mining Conference which became an important opportunity when unifying the movement to a glocal movement was held in support by the initiative of the Mining Watch in Britain. In addition, the powerful appeal from the national level as to the illegality of the development

process became not only the basis of reasoning of activity on a global level but also the catalyst for activation of anti-movement.

Global level

The activity on a global level has been created directly and indirectly by several NGOs. The main organizations participating directly were BAYAN Sidney (branch of BAYAN in Australia), Indigenous-Pilipinas, Church in Australia and Theresa Ladille (Switzerland). The organizations above not only offered funds and information but they also deployed active movement in Australia (without Theresa Ladille). These organizations and many NGOs engaging in problems of the environment and indigenous people shared information and strategies together, and demanded the project to be stopped from the Australian government and the WMC head office.

Moreover, in spite of indirect participation, huge NGOs engaging in mining problems, such as the Mining Watch and Oxfam (especially the branch in Sidney), were considered to have had an essential role in putting pressure on WMC. These NGOs gave the movement the capability to send the information of the Tampakan problem to the appropriate people and organizations that have strong interest in the problem of the environment and indigenous people all over the world. The appeal of the problem to the world by holding international mining conferences and creating informative homepages lead to strong pressure on companies which consider world deployment of operation such as WMC. The problem of WMC will become clearer, as it become a more serious obstacle in the future for the acceptance of WMC's project in various areas in the world. This had worked well as to the "stain" information on WMC in Australia, which was supplied to the residents in Tampakan from an early stage. Consequently, the residents' antipathy strengthened, and the difficulty and protraction of the procedure by

the powerful and continuous opposition movement became the big factor for withdrawal.

Function of glocal network

As the case shows, the movement against the Tampakan Project had been developed with mutual cooperation and complementation at each of the 3 levels ; the local level, national level and global level. From the local level, the situation of the site was revealed to the national level and the global level, which the basis of justification was given then as to the movement against large mining projects at both the national and global level. An important point is that many of the affected people had continued advertising an opposite intention with strong unity.

The national level not only bore the role which connected each local movement, between local and global movement but it also built an unified strategy based on the information brought from global level and each local level. Moreover, although an appeal of the illegality of the procedure and problem of the large mine itself tends to be made light of just in the Philippines, it serves as a focal point at a global level.

From the global level, the technical information for expertise, funds, the opportunity of glocal solidarity and the connection of the opposition movement in Australia were offered. In addition to the climax of the opposition movement in Australia, the home country of WMC, attention at a global level and information dispatch (and its capability) to the world emitted intense pressure on WMC.

5. Conclusion

The case of Tampakan shows not only the defect of the institution for sustainable development but also the beginning of a new phase by construction and deployment of a glocal network. The defect here is a large influence gap on the institution between developers and the affected people. For this

reason, good governance does not function, and a domestic legal system cannot help but become very powerless or useless at protecting the affected people from damage. Although the case of the Tampakan succeeded in the project refusal, the damage was still serious even before starting full-scale development.

However, the new phase of the institution for sustainable development can also be seen at the point of finally having made the project "refusal" successful, in spite of the large influence gap between the affected people and developers at the early stage of the project. The new phase was produced as a result, which began to have mutual influence directly between the North institution and the South by turning the glocal network into a driving force through one of the sub-institutions, self-regulations, and glocal networks that exist over the North and South. The condition to work the self-regulation was prepared by the glocal network, and the function of the sub-institution followed appropriately at last. The reason for constructing such a suitable glocal network before too much advance of the project or demolition of affected people's organization was that the movement succeeded in spreading the network around quickly by using an existing organization and network effectively. In other words, such a network was the result drawn from the accumulation of activity experience in various levels before.

It can be said that the case of Tampakan is considered as an epoch because of its success in attracting attention not only from a local level but also from a national and global level as well. However, this is taken up not as an exception but as an example generalized to some extent in the near future. Because the glocal network of the NGO is now expanding quickly with increasing capability, and relation and interaction of the South and North countries have also been quickly strengthened as a result.

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1　The general expression, "negotiation power" or "power", in the conventional research is expressed as "influence" in this paper to emphasize social structure as structural violence. Galutung (1975) has regarded the existence of violence as existence of gap between potential realization and reality through the medium of influence. So we can consider existence of violence as existence of influence gap.

2　This view has not changed at all from the early 1990 s, but the analytic focus has been applied to the state of negotiation with affected residents, especially indigenous people in recent years. See UNDP (1992-a) (1992-b) (1992-c).

3　On the detail of the Project, see WMC (1997).

4　For the history of Philippine mining, see Lopez (1992). For the position of the Project in the history of mining in the world and the Philippines, see Kurita (2001).

5　FTAA is a new contract type under the Mining Act of 1995 with TNC that permits full ownership of mining activities to a large investment from the exploration stage as well as smooth transferring to the development stage.

6　These communities are mainly constituted by B'laan.

7　For the information on the compensation program, see Stephen (1998).

8　For details about the deteriorations and anti-project movement, see Kurita (2002).

9　These local governments are South Cotabato Province, Sarangani Province and Tampakan Town.

10　For information on the position of LRC to large mines, see Andre (1997)

11　For details on the position on large mines and the mining law (=FTAA), see Bishops-Businessmen's Conference for Human Development (1999).

12　For details on the trial, see LRC (1998).

13　The report of investigation was published in the Philippines [Emmanuel et al, 1998]

KURITA Hideyuki
Lecturer of International Development Study, Faculty of Law and Letters, Ehime University. He has investigated large scale development projects such as mines and power plants in the Philippines to seek for the solution of its problem by the affected people themselves. This paper takes the position as a continuum of Kurita (1999).

1. Politicization of Indonesian forest

Pulp and paper industry in Indonesia has emerged as a flag bearer of 'sustainable development', compromising their economical motive with environmental concerns. Now Indonesian paper companies are supposed to be value-added paper product exporters to the world market rather than resource consuming raw material exporters. Furthermore, they are expected to be self-sufficient fosterers of fast diminishing forests in the country, engaged in industrial afforestation with fast growing species such as acacia or eucalyptus. Despite many globalization endorsers' emphasis, industry's rapid integration to the world economy is never levered by the 'invisible hand', nor does it occur in the political vacuum. Rather, their most significant 'comparative advantage', an abundance of cheap materials, has been molded by the hand of the government both in the Colonial era and mostly thereafter.

Bryant and Bailey [1997] point out that today's environmental crisis in the third world countries, e.g., deforestation, soil erosion or desertification, is inextricably linked with developmental constraints. The costs of the problems tend to burden the weak actors, typically rural peasants or nomadic tribes, whereas the mainstream efforts of the 'problem solving', usually combined with institutionalized technologies, tend to benefit the powerful ones, mostly the government or multinationals. Bryant and Bailey see the third world environment inevitably being 'politicized' by various actors as they compete for access to natural resources : tropic timbers or minerals..

Thus, series of studies called 'political ecology' emerge, which analyze political and economical aspects of the problems, putting them into much wider developmental contexts in the third world politics. However, only a few studies tackle remained question, *how the third world environment has been politicized.* This case study delineates the process how Indonesian forest has been carved into a political arena, where various stakeholders including the government, industries, local communities, NGOs and the media struggle over access to the 'forest', since its colonial era until post-Suharto regime.

Following chapters will bring four processes of politicization into focus. Chapter 2 reviews a rent-seeking process on Indonesian timber resources among powerful actors, anchoring in Ascher's analysis. Chapter 3 describes how powerful actors dismantled local governance over forests, while local resistance against it is discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 drives us to another arena, competition among actors for legitimacy over forest governance that reflects current trends of globalization.

2. Tapping forests as a national cashier

Since the Dutch started to colonize Indonesia in the early 17th century, deep dipterocarp forests that spread over the nation have been tagged as 'rich timber resources'. Dutch colonizers mainly extracted high valued timbers such as teak or ebony to cash in. As the teak boomed in the late 19th century, they established the first teak plantation in 1897, introducing western-born scientific afforestation technologies in the tropical forests. The Dutch left around 82,000 ha of

teak plantation mostly in Java until the Japanese Imperial Army intruded their territory (Hurst [1990 : 2]). Japanese army also tried to develop pine plantations in Java and Sumatra during its brief occupation. After its independence, Indonesia succeeded its former suzerains' 'log and plant' policy.

September 30, 1965, the attempted coup against President Soekarno was quelled, being accused of the Communist's plot. Huge bloodshed and social disorder followed, victimizing more than a million of suspected communists. As Suharto won the succeeding political strife, he took over Indonesian founding father's power in 1967. Basic Forestry Law was established that year, declaring all forests be administered by the state.

Under this law, Suharto's *Orde Baru* or New Order regime had issued logging concessions mostly to retired generals of Indonesian National Army and its allied logging companies. Suharto utilized forest together with the state oil company, Pertamina, as a source of his 'off-budget' financing, in order that he could tame his poorly budgeted military. The government kept a low rate royalty and tax on timber harvests, totaling to 25% of stumpage value, so that those army 'brothers' could enjoy profitable logging in the huge concessions in Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) and Sumatra (Ascher [1999 : 59-84]). These low logging royalty and tax made army generals possible to cover their soldiers' needs with logging profits, e.g., food allowance, health care assistance or salary supplements, as well as to fill generals' own pockets, while they never filled poorly financed national budget. Through this off-budget mechanism with issuing power of logging concessions, Suharto succeeded in controlling his possible rivals, i.e. army generals, letting them compete with each other in the rent-seeking process (ibid.).

Such politically manipulated profitability also attracted foreign investors to the forestry sector in Indonesia. In the same year when

Basic Forestry Law was established, the new Foreign Capital Investment Law started to exempt foreign investments in forestry sectors from a corporation tax for 4-6 years, and reduced export taxes to only 10% (Dauvergne [1997 : 76-78]). Many foreign-based multinationals, including Japanese Sogo-Shosha, started to operate especially in Kalimantan in cooperation with the Indonesian Army. It augmented Indonesia's acquisition of foreign currencies until Indonesian Government increased log export tax in 1979.

The period between 1950 and 1981 was the logging boom in Indonesia when approximately 49,000,000 ha of Indonesian forests, much larger than total area of Japan, was logged in Kalimantan and other islands (Hurst [1990 : 3]). The government, who suffered from rapid decrease of profitable forests, doubled round log export tax in 1979, and then restricted round log export to plywood manufactures in 1981. That government's move placed army generals out of the stage of rent-seeking. Ascher points out that at this time the Indonesian army was no longer a threat to Suharto because he finished reorganizing his military and put it under his full control.

He needed to invite another actor on the stage, who were Chinese businessmen skilled enough to promote downstream wood industries following their patron Suharto's off-budget financing (Ascher [1999 : 77]). The Indonesian government interdicted foreign companies from holding logging concessions in 1984, and then implemented total round log export ban in 1985. Those actions of the government explicitly banished multinationals out of the forestry sectors in Indonesia, except for a few joint ventures with Indonesian investors.

Parallel with these policy changes, the government set up Reforestation Fund in 1980, which collected fee from loggers and refunded it to those who replanted trees in the area after harvest. In 1984, the government also implemented Industrial Afforestation scheme or *Hutan Tanaman Industri (HTI)* as a part of

the Indonesia's Forth Five-Year-Development Plan (1984-88). The Reforestation Fund provided free interest loan to *HTI* concessionaires and obliged them to cycle logging and replanting in their concession area. The official direction of those policies was to relieve rapid forest degradation and to enhance sustainable forest resource use, nursing value adding forestry sectors, i.e. plywood manufactures and pulp mills. In 1986, the government settled the general forestry plan for the following 15 years, and aimed at increasing pulpwood estates rapidly to some 1,300,000 ha.

Series of these policies also furnished Suharto another opportunity to mobilize the Reforestation Fund as his new off-budget financing resource by letting the fund kept under the Ministry of Forestry, rather than having it sent to the national budget. Moreover, Suharto obliged Industrial Afforestation concessionaires to build social infrastructures such as roads, bridges, power lines, hospitals, schools, and even mosques in certain concession areas. This mechanism made Suharto possible to pursue his development plans without national financing (Ascher, ibid.), though at the same time it imposed the social burden on the local level, that will be described in the following chapters.

3. Dismantling local initiatives on forest

According to Republican Regulation on Industrial Afforestation Concession in 1990, the concession should be issued to a corporation that wishes to operate logging and reforestation in already degraded low productive forest. However, since the concessionaire is permitted to fell off the whole area, applicants eagerly pursue more profitable forests. A number of Industrial Afforestation concessions have been issued in natural forests, which are nominally classified 'wasteland' by the Forestry Ministry.

What made it even worse was that those 'wastelands' were never unsettled. On the contrary, local communities governed most of

those forests. In rural forested areas in Indonesia, especially in the outer islands, indigenous people as well as early migrants have formed local communities since the pre-colonial era. In most cases, they are blood-tied clans like Marga system in the southern Sumatra or integrated into small local kingdoms in the north and central Sumatra. People there are engaged in slash-and-burn agriculture in communal ways, like many other southeastern Asian rural villagers.

Usually the governance in these communities has followed on their own customary law. In some of the traditional communities in Sumatra, people classify forests into several categories based on the way they use forest resources. For example, in Kuntu village in Riau province, their customary law excludes any community members from cultivating or hunting, let alone logging, in certain part of their communal forest called 'prohibition forest'. On the other hand, any member can cultivate wherever that belongs to 'forest for burning', if the area is not occupied yet. While that prohibition forest is left well preserved both for the community's water resource and for the forest deposit in case the arable land becomes scarce for its population, the cultivation forest is just burned and left as it is, until the land is naturally recovered by the tropical climate. Outsiders sometimes identify such abandoned forest as 'grassy degraded forest' during first few years after it is cultivated.

Surely we should not romanticize the nature of traditional forest management system, since people there are not the 'noble savage'. Nevertheless, similar systems are widely found all over Indonesia, while the level and strictness of prohibition on forest use vary according to each tribe. This system constitutes complicated combination of well-preserved natural forests and almost cleared forests with dry-rice field or rubber and fruit trees within each community's boundary. Even when Dutch colonial power privatized the land to legitimate

colonizers' occupation for their plantation estates in 1870, most of the forestlands remained out of control of the colonial power. Some of the remote communities like Marga Benakat in south Sumatra were authorized by the Dutch government to manage their forest in communal ways.

After independence, the Indonesian constitution claimed in 1945 that land, air and the natural riches be exclusively controlled by the state. Under this idea, Basic Forestry Law in 1967 actually made the Forestry Ministry with Suharto behind possible to dominate in issuing forestry concessions even though most of forested areas in Indonesia had been preoccupied by the local communities.

In 1979, Village Law was established and it replaced traditional local governance with the modern bureaucratic hierarchy in rural Indonesia. The authority of customary leaders both administrative and religious, including local kings called *raja*, became undermined after the local authorities appointed village heads in reality.

Then pulp and paper boom came in the late 1970s and many of Suharto's Chinese cronies moved to Industrial Afforestation estates combined with pulp mills in politically leveled Indonesian forests. Applicants all wanted to be first to invite Suharto's family members as their business partners so that their concessions would be issued smoothly. For example, Prajogo Pangestu, whose timber concession covered more than 5,500,000 ha all over Indonesia, acquired nearly 300,000 ha of Industrial Afforestation concession in South Sumatra in 1989. This area was originally zoned as a conservation forest where endangered mammals such as Sumatra tiger and elephant inhabited. However, it was rezoned to a low productivity forest in 1988, where Industrial Afforestation could be operated. Then the concession was issued to Prajogo's subsidiary, PT. EML (later PT.MHP) in 1989. Afterward Suharto's eldest daughter, Tutut, became the one-third stockholder of another

Prajogo's subsidiary, PT. TEL Pulp and Paper, which absorbed acacia the PT. MHP provided.

As Dauvergne [1997] put it, this type of patron-client politics can be seen in the relationship between concessionaires and local units of Indonesia's National Army. Quite a few concessionaires informally contracted with army units to enclose these communal forests. Local villagers were so scared of being harassed by such an army unit that they could only close their eyes while their customary forest was felled off (Abe [2000 : 73-76], Human Rights Watch [2003 : 33-36]).

The local largely depended on their forest for their livelihood, by planting rubber trees, hunting-and-gathering or logging in a traditional way. However, the enclosure of forests deprived people of their traditional livelihood and made them rely on seasonal employment at concessionaire companies, though it was only available during planting and harvesting.

In 1992, the government introduced Transmigration-combined Industrial Afforestation program that brought the Javanese or people from another densely populated area to the concession area for plantation labor force. Since this policy was imposed on most of the large-scaled afforestation estates, it not only minimized local people's opportunity for the companies' employment but also put them to compete for the barely remained land with outsiders, who seldom followed the customary laws in the area.

In the 1990s, another powerful political discourse, 'sustainable development', was incorporated in the Industrial Afforestation scheme. For example, Prajogo's PT. TEL, producing 450,000t export-quality pulp annually, obtained Japan's governmental investment of US$ 45,000,000. The Japan's governmental Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, now Japan Bank for International Cooperation, rationalized PT.TEL as the 'environmental safeguard project', since its counterpart Industrial Afforestation estate, Projogo's PT.

MHP, would foster 'forest' in the stated degraded area (Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund [1995]).

Thus, the way for paper and pulp industry to cheap materials was paved at a cost of local people. The industry rapidly grew, increasing pulp production from 167,000 t in 1984 to 6,000,000 t in 2001, and paper production from 377,000 t to 8,300,000 t in the same period (Carrere and Lohman [1996 : 211], Human Rights Watch [2003 : 17]). As a result, Indonesia gradually shifted its economical position from a mere raw material exporter of timber and wood chip to the value-adding pulp and paper producer. For example, Greenpeace estimates Asia Pulp and Paper, who operates Indah Kiat paper mill in Sumatra, shares 25% of Japan's total paper imports (Uryu [2002 : 23]).

4. Challenging against globalizing industry

Though all the processes of politicization on Indonesian forests seem to be orchestrated to transfer local peoples' customary initiatives on their forests to the hands of the government and concessionaires, we cannot conclude that those people would be mere victims of marginalization and globalization. As Long [2001] portrays, villagers try to draw their best outcomes from even the worst situation.

Under Basic Forestry Law and the related decree on Industrial Afforestation, a concessionaire needs to compensate only a little for standing crops that locals cultivate in the enclosed area, but the company does not have to pay for the land itself, because those lands are regarded as national property. However, in many cases, local people succeed in drawing some recompense from the concessionaire as Bompard and Guizol [1999 : 5] quote from an essay written by a child who lives in PT, MHP's concession area ;

······When the people were asking about compensation money for the land, the foreman always got angry and the people were afraid to reiterate their demand······ Finally, one of them set fires in the plantation of the company, and more than one hectare was destroyed. The loss suffered by the company was not small. After the fire, the foreman paid the compensation for the land······.

Scott elaborated that once their 'subsistence security' got threatened, peasants from time to time resisted against their expropriators by more anonymous and everyday means such as arson rather than joining revolutionary movements (Scott [1985]).

Though villagers could successfully draw concessionaire's compromise in the above case, this kind of resistance often risks forest fires. In fact, Bompard and Guizol suppose that the arson by local people, as well as the company's burning-off land clearance, would be one of the main causes of hazardous fires in 1994 and 1997 in South Sumatra (Bompard and Guizol [1999]).

People can combine their anonymous resistance with more legitimate protests in the political arena, e.g., petitioning or media campaign, if they get external support especially from NGOs or other civil society actors. In 1994, two of most influential NGOs in Indonesia, Legal Aid Association (LBH), a network of conscientious lawyers, and Indonesia Environmental Forum (WALHI), the largest network of Indonesian environmental groups, started to support Marga Benakat community, where Prajogo's PT. MHP operated Industrial Afforestation in their communal forest. One month later, the most popular local paper, Sriwijaya Post indicted PT. MHP for violating the Basic Forestry Law. They claimed that Marga Benakat's *rimba sekampung*, which literally meant 'communal jungle', must not be cleared, because it was not a degraded low productivity forest but a thick natural forest where endangered Sumatra tiger and Sumatra elephant lived. Almost simultaneously, the lodge for the company's

laborers was set on fire. NGOs approached the Indonesian Army headquarters in Jakarta and proposed further investigation on the forest in question. Then the fact-finding team consisting of provincial and military officers, NGOs and the village head was dispatched and that team suggested a provincial governor of South Sumatra to order the status quo until the conflict would be settled. Though the governor rejected that proposal, PT. MHP decided to stop its operation in Marga Benakat's *rimba sekampung* in 1995.

PT. Inti Indorayon Utama in North Sumatra, owned by Sukanto Tanoto (Tan Kaung Ho), held approximately 15,000 ha Industrial Afforestation concession around Lake Toba, and Batak people there also had maintained traditional land rights on the concession area against Indorayon. Conflicts between Indorayon and surrounding Batak communities flared up after its pulp mill had leaked chlorine in 1993. That accident made tens of thousand people panic and evacuated, but a day after, angry people attacked Indorayon and burned more than 100 huts, company's radio station, cars and motorcycles. Protesters urged the mill to shut down and give their lands back, and continued to block logging trucks from bringing timbers to the factory for a few days. But suppressive military's reaction against the locals and lack of external support enabled Indorayon to divide communities by maneuvering village heads and Batak leaders (KSPPM [n.d.]).

In May 1998, Suharto slipped down from the chair of the president. It revived Batak communities' protest against Indorayon. Along with everyday demonstrations against the district governor's office, people started a blockade of Indrayon's timber trucks in June 1998 with the support of students' movements in Medan. That picket continued for a month until the police started to fire at demonstrators in July. According to WALHI, 7 were shot and one dead, and 90 were tortured, one hospitalized and dead, 2 'disappeared', presumably killed,

between July and November 1998. Supposedly for its retaliation, 4 employees were subsequently kidnapped and 3 of them found dead (Human Rights Watch [2003 : 31]). At the cost of their lives, the succeeding president Habibi took the situation seriously and mandated Indorayon 'temporary shut down' in March 1999.

Under Suharto's authoritarian regime, many Indonesian NGOs extended their network outside Indonesia to challenge suppressive developmental projects. In 1995, WALHI faxed its campaign against Prajogo's PT. MHP and PT.TEL to their international allies. Down to Earth in UK and Tropical Forest Action Network in US together with other NGOs responded and started to accuse two companies of violating local people's traditional rights and for the possible environmental contamination by the mill. Some of the Japanese NGOs lobbied Japan's investors in PT.TEL, i.e. Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund and Marubeni, to give up confiscation of productive lots of local people's land.

Recent developments and dissemination of Internet technologies make Indonesian NGOs easily and instantly communicate with outside sympathizers. Now Asia Pulp and Paper (APP) headed by Eka Tjipta Widjaya (Oei Ek Tjhong), producing half of the pulp production and a quarter of the paper production in Indonesia, becomes the next target. APP, which is listed in New York Stock Exchange, operates a 2,000,000 t-per-year paper mill Indah Kiat in Riau, Sumatra. Its supplier subsidiary, Industrial Afforestation estate PT. Arara Abadi, has been blamed for hiring goons and abusing local people who claim their traditional rights on its 300,000 ha concession area. Three international NGOs, Friends of the Earth, Human Rights Watch, Greenpeace issued papers individually criticizing APP and Arara Abadi's activities on the region (Matthew and Gelder [2001], Human Rights Watch [2003], Uryu [2002]).

Another 2,000,000 t-per-year pulp and

paper mill, PT. Riau Andalan owned by another globalized paper company, Sukanto's Asia Pacific Resource International Holding Ltd (APRIL), is targeted, too, being reproached both for depriving indigenous people's forest and for logging the national park illegally. While a local NGO in Riau, Hakiki, is responsible for supporting concerned communities to protest two companies, international NGOs call for the boycott on APP and APRIL's products in the developed world, e.g., in the UK.

Utilizing such international pressure on the powerful actors, local people can compensate their relatively weak political position, whereas local NGOs try to obtain their own goal, i.e. to influence policy mechanism reflexively. As Eccleston and Potter [1996] points out, there is a certain risk that the international campaign would hinder the local NGOs from allying with reformists' fraction inside the government. However, pulp and paper industries including their Industrial Afforestation estates absorbed huge amounts of bilateral and multilateral aid from the north, and most of the consumers of their products are concentrated in the north. Thus the strategy of pressuring those donors and consumers in the north becomes very common these days.

5. Competing for legitimacy

The introduction of industrial afforestation in Indonesia was not a mere consequence of increasing environmental concerns. It rather reflected a shift of political patronage of the president, from army generals and their allied timber multinationals to Suharto's Chinese cronies, at the same time as Suharto secured the Reforestation Fund for a new resource on his off-budget financing.

In the local level, the government established laws and regulations to dismantle local communities' initiative that had customarily governed the area by the time when the afforestation covered it. The paper and pulp industry was legitimized to enclose forested land. This direction of the politicization on Indonesian forest was processed from upper to below, which usually marginalized local peasants whose livelihood heavily depended on the forest.

Above two processes of politicization on Indonesian forest paved the way for the paper and pulp industry to global market, by providing cheap access to the country's rich forest as well as giving them an opportunity to establish vertically integrated industry. But it often incurred varied local resistance against the industry's requisition of 'their' lands in another. Peasants occasionally succeeded in extracting a portion of compensation out of concessionaires by themselves, resorting to their traditional 'everyday means of resistance'.

When they attained external support from NGOs or media, the political arena would be extended from local to national, sometimes to global. NGOs often channel local resistance into their network where they communicate each other even beyond the border, while media covers local conflicts to public. They aim at mobilizing much broader constituency, often called 'civil society', to compensate their weak political status with its representativeness. This process of politicization basically reflects the interest of below against upper, contrary to the preceding two processes.

The last direction broadens our outlook for the further arena, an interaction between two international forces that recently fluidize internal power balance among actors.

First, the international pressure for economical reform, especially from multinational financial institutions, drives the heavily indebted state and industries to appropriate more 'comparatively advantaged' forest timber. On the other hand, it also requires the government to meet recently proposed 'global' standards such as 'good governance' or 'sustainable development'. Transparency and accountability of the administration as well as eradication of *KKN*

(corruption, collusion and nepotism in Indonesian acronym) are on the state's agenda. People's participation is recommended and incorporated into the planning stage in some development projects, though it is often ignored.

Second, since communicative globalization through inter-net technologies enlarges NGOs' network beyond the border, the activity of government becomes more and more exposed to public inspection. Even the conflict between the concessionaire and the local communities in the small mountainous village in Riau can attract attentions worldwide through both NGOs and media's websites. The government needs to attain more legitimacy on its ruling than before so as to stand up to the increasing pressure from globally extended civil society.

Both of two forces push the government to move for political reform, and it consequently makes more political opportunities for NGOs or social movement sectors to reflect their idea to the policy decision mechanism. The arena is being expanded nationally and globally, and more diverse social actors, not only the parties concerned, e.g., the government and the locals, but also external actors such as international institutions and NGOs abroad enter into the arena. These external actors compete not for the timber resource itself but for the legitimacy of their discourses over forest governance, whether they are on the national development policy or on a public focal point for growing environmental concerns. In this process, the 'forest' no loner needs to be a substantial entity as timber, but can be a social target, which may reflect images and interests of actors. This competition for discursive legitimacy can be added as the forth process of politicization on Indonesian forest.

6. Conclusion

As we have shown, politicization of Indonesian forest eased paper and pulp industry of acquiring cheap pulpwood, which opened an enjoyable path for them to globalize

their business. However, this invited other processes of politicization that inevitably let them suffer from diverse resistance from below. Communicative globalization and networking on civil society make internal power relations among actors more fluid than before.

Therefore, we cannot picture the politicization of Indonesian forest as the one-way process of marginalization of people or of people's revolution against the suppressive structure. The consequence of politicization largely depends on the complicated interactions among concerned actors, whether it results in the bloodshed or reflexive political reform.

In conclusion, I emphasize that paper and pulp industry in Indonesia could not be globalized without political groundwork for the industrial afforestation. Moreover, since globalization invites diverse actors into the arena, the industry has to come up with the new political environment, where they must compete for the legitimacy with civil society both nationally and globally. Thus, the industry's globalization has been deeply embedded in political contexts in Indonesia, in contrast to the mainstream's manifestation.

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ABE Ryuichiro
Ph.D. candidate of Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo, majoring political ecology. His recent works include ; (in Japanese) (co-author) *Tojo-koku Shien to Kankyo Guideline* (2002) and "When the Environmental Problem Emerges : An Introduction of Constructionist Approach into Political Ecology", *Komaba Studies in Society*, 11 (2002) ; (in English) "Liberalization for Whom?", *Japan Resources*, 102 (1997).
E-mail : cc 17602@mail.ecc.u-tokyo.ac.jp

WHAT WOULD YOU DO, IF THE GROUND YOU ARE STANDING ON SUBSIDED ALTOGETHER ?

NISHIYAMA Toshihiko

If the above question were addressed to you, Peace Scientist, what would be your reaction? A cold scoff or blunt refusal to answer this questioner, regarding him as a daydreamer? By the ground we are standing on, here, is meant, metaphorically, the Right to Private Property -RPP- which is considered to be "The Legal Foundation of Capitalistic Society"[1] or "The Ultimate Principle of the Modern State Legislation".[2] The unjustifiability of the RPP, examined from a logico-philosophical viewpoint, has been presented by the following arguments : [3]

I. PROBLEM
——The Entitlement to Private Property——

The focal point to be examined is, by what reason, by what entitlement—Berechtigungs-grund—can the RPP be justified? Here, the entitlement means the right of a particular subject (person) sufficient to appropriate particular objects as his own. By "particular" is meant the appropriation by a definite subject of determinate objects, i.e., stated in other words, an INALIENABLE and EXCLUSIVE Entitlement of the subject to the objects, rather than a "general or common" entitlement to goods in general, as is supposed in the "Human Dignity Postulating Theory" which does not yield a differential entitlement of individuals to appropriate a differential amount of goods.[4]

The Theories, deemed, to justify the RPP are distinguished, mainly, as I. Theories external to the subject, such as "Social Function Requirement Theory", "Deriving from Prior Occupancy Theory",…, and II. Theories internal to the subject, such as "Human Dignity Postulating Theory","Life Subsistence Requirement Theory",…,. The former has to be dismissed because it does not justify the INALIENABILITY principle, the entitlement innately or inherently originating from the particular subject, while the latter has to be dismissed for not justifying the EXCLUSIVITY principle, the entitlement exclusively attributing merit to the particular subject, thus leaving "Labour Producing Theory -LPT-" as the only possible theory to be examined.

II. EXAMINATIONS
——The LPT justifying the Right to Private Property?——

The LPT proposed by John Locke, the Founder of Modern Society and Modern Sciences, could be summarized as follows.
1. Since "His Body is his own", (Major Antecedent)
2. "The Labour of his body, too, is his own". (Minor Antecedent)
3. Therefore, "The Product of the labour of his body is his own". (Conclusion)[5]

Although the justification of both the Major and Minor Antecedents has to be examined according to the criteria of Inalienable and Exclusive entitlement,[6] for the sake of brevity, here below is an examination of a single Antecedent by a single entitlement, only.

——Inalienable Entitlement of His Body?——

If the Labour Producing Theory -LPT- should be the most fundamental theory justifying the Right to Private Property -RPP-, the LPT has to be applied to the Inalienable Right of His Own Body, too. But this is not the case for anyone, since everyone finds his body as what is given gratuitously.

Therefore, the LPT can not be a legitimate theory, since no one can claim his body (entitled or imputed causally) as his own. In spite of this fact, under the False Consciousness or Falschesbewusstsein, the pervasive belief goes on assuming that "His Body is the product of his own labour", which is called the "Self-Possessive Theory".[7] This can not be justified, because it is a logico-philosophical impossibility.[8] The LPT, depending on the Self-Possessive Theory, is a fundamental theory which in turn is offered as a justification of the RPP! Therefore, it is clearly evident that the First Duty of the Legal Philosopher and Scientist, including of course the Peace Scientist, is to make evermore clear, before rebuking unequal distribution, that SPT and LPT are, both, nothing but Legal Fictions contradictory in themselves.

One more contradiction to be noted is the divergent acceptance of innate qualities of the disadvantaged and advantaged. Nowadays, more and more with the awakening of fundamental human rights, disadvantageous qualities, such as individual handicaps or collective structural-violence, are, considered, not to be imputed as his own debt, while the advantageous qualities, both individual and collective, are still assumed as his own merit, sufficient to yield an unconditional entitlement to appropriate![9]

——Exclusive Entitlement to the Labour of his body?——
In addition to the above examined difficulty, the LPT to become an adequate theory justifying the RPP, the good to be entitled has to be the exclusive product of His Body, which can never be ascertained on this planet. In a closed society, where all human activities are interdependent, no single activity can be causally independent from the others. Any activity is, either directly or indirectly, the cause of any other causes and any activity is, in turn, the effect of any other effects, thus making a ring of causation where any activity is either cause of any effects or the effect of any causes. Arbitrarily denying such causation, under the False Consciousness, again, the

Power-Structure allows the Advantaged to monopolize the advantageous part of the Causes-Effects-Global-Ring, abnegating the Disadvantaged, at the same time, to appropriate his own dividends.[10]

The above examinations demonstrate that the Labour Producing Theory neither satisfies the inalienability nor exlusivity needed to justify the LPT. This means that the LPT, considered as the only possible proof justifying the RPP, being based on the Self-Possessive Theory—a mere legal fiction—and logical inconsistency, is not capable of justifying the RPP from the logico-philosophical viewpoint.

III. CONCLUSION
——A Less-Unjustifiable Private Property System the Priority of all Scientists, especially of the Peace Scientist?——
Any Private Proterty System -PPS- is an unjustifiable contradiction, as it is sanctifying solely vested-interests, and is an indispensable foundation, at the same time, for launching any social activities. Being "Contradictory, yet, Indispensable" means only that any PPS holds provisionary validity only, perpetually requiring action to become a less unjustified Measure and Means for whole human activity. Having clarified this fundamental nature of the PPS, it is obvious that the whole endeavour of a scientist may become scientific only when and to such a degree that the New Scientific Reality has been created from a Less-Unjustifiable Principle. Even more so for the Peace Scientist, because the very objective of the science of peace is to establish, by incessant amelioration, the Universally Justifiable Global Order and its sum total Peace.[11]

The concluding remark is this ; to get Peace Science initiated, objective peace must be visualized and projected in various phases and stages.[12] But, the first and foremost pre-requisite to get initiated is the full and deep-penetrating understanding that any ongoing private property system is a Contradictory

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Legal Fiction, Indispensable, but, Logically Subsided right from the beginning.

NOTES

(1) Youzou Watanabe, *Zaisan-Ken Ron* (On the Right of Property), Ichiryuusha, 1985, pp.8, 36, 50.

(2) Takeyoshi Kawashima, *Shoyuuken no Riron* (Theory on Private Property), 1949, p.40.

(3) This brief report is partly based on Toshihiko Nishiyama, "Logical Unjustifiability of the Right of Private Possession : in Order Lucidly to Share Alternative Building as the Objective of the Science of Peace", *PEACE STUDIES*, Vol.24, Nov.1999, 100-109, and partly based on Toshihiko Nishiyama, "Isn't Structural Violence Theory Equal with the Principle of Perfect Egalitarianism and Absolute Personalism? —concerning the need to be freed from both "All the Imputabilties" attributed to individuals and "All the Entitlements" to what has been given gratuitously—", Sapientia University, *Research Institute of Christian Culture Bulletin*, Vol.16, No.1, March 2001, 153-168.

(4) Younosuke Inamoto, "Shoyuuken Shisou no Rekishi" (A History of the Thoughts of Private Property), Michitarou Kai, etc. (Eds.), *Shoyuuken Shisou no Rekishi*, Yuuhikaku, 1979, 1-10, p.5.

(5) John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), ed. by Peter Laslett, Cambridge U.P., 1959, Ⅱ Chapter V, 27-30, 305-308.

(6) Toshihiko Nishiyama, "The Logical Consistency of "Equality of Opporunity" and "Equality of Result"." Sapientia University, *Research Institute of Christian Culture Bulletin*, Vol.17, No.1, March 2002, 93-111.

(7) C.B.Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, Hobbes to Locke*, Oxford U.P., 1962.

(8) Kiyoshi Shimokawa, "Iwayuru "Jikoshoyuu" Genri no Kousatsu" (Consideration on so-called "Self-Possessive" Principle), *Soubun*, No.335, 1992, 1-5.

(9) Toshihiko Nishiyama, *op.cit.*, 2001, passim.

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NISHIYAMA Peter Toshihiko, Ph.D.,Ed.D.
Osaka Catholic Archdiocesan Committee for Justice and Peace
Former Professor of Sociology, Eichi University

Books :
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(URL) http : / / Peace-Appeal . Fr . Peter . T . Nishiyama.catholic.ne.jp/
(E-mail) PeaceAppeal.FrPeterT.Nishiyama @ catholic.ne.jp

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PSAJ had only 72 members when it was founded in 1973. Now with 830 registered individual members and 9 corporate members, it is one of the largest national peace research organizations in the world. PSAJ tries to maintain good relations with peace researchers and organizations around the world. We wish to extend our warm greetings to all peace researchers in the world and invite you to participate in our endeavors. If you happen to come to Japan, it may be possible to arrange a meeting with Japanese peace researchers during your visit. Please advise the Overseas Liaison Committee or PSAJ secretariat as far in advance as possible.

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   a) *Peace Studies* (annals of PSAJ, in Japanese)
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   c) *Peace Studies Bulletin* (in English)
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PSAJ Secretariat (November 2001–October 2003)
c/o Prof. FUJWARA Osamu, Faculty of Contemporary Law, Tokyo Keizai University
1-7-34, Minami-machi, Kokubunji City, Tokyo 185-8502
Tel.: +81 42-328-9236   Fax: +81 42-328-7774
E-mail: psaj@tku.ac.jp
URL: http://wwwsoc.nii.ac.jp/psaj