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Militarization of Japan's ODA

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Militarization of Japan's ODA

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1. After September 11

In May 2002, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichiro announced that Japan would strengthen its efforts for the "consolidation of peace" and nation building, making this a pillar of Japan's international cooperation. Minister of Foreign Affairs Kawaguchi Yuriko also emphasized the importance of the "consolidation of peace" concept before her visit to Afghanistan. Japan's ODA related to the "consolidation of peace" has three components: (1) the promotion of peace processes, (2) securing domestic stability and security, and (3) humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. Using this new diplomatic tool, Japan has been trying to play an active role in providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to several countries, including Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Aceh in Indonesia, Mindanao in the Philippines, East Timor, and finally, Iraq.

Immediately after September 11, however, the government already launched plans to utilize ODA money to contribute to the US led global "War on Terror." On September 19, 2001, Tokyo announced Japan's measures to respond to the terrorist attacks in the US, including financial assistance to Pakistan and India.

In 1998, after Pakistan tested a nuclear weapon, Japan imposed sanctions, suspending new ODA (both grants and loans). However, just eight days after September 11, Japan announced that it would lift the sanctions. It offered 3 billion yen in emergency financial support and 1.7 billion yen for refugees support, and implemented 64.6 billion yen of official debt rescheduling. The three billion yen of emergency financial assistance was categorized as "Non-Project Grant Assistance," which can be used to purchase any "goods" needed by the

recipient government. But since no reports have been made on what goods were purchased, it seems likely that this money was in fact a "gift" for the Musharraf regime, which became one of the US's key allies in the War on Terror. Prime Minister Koizumi told a special envoy of President Musharraf that he respected Pakistan's attitude of breaking off its ties with the Taliban and cooperating with the United States.

2. The Militarization of Aid: Japan's New ODA Trinity

The recent changes in Japanese ODA can be described as a "militarization of aid". It is a global shift with several significant points: (1) the adoption of a broader definition of terrorism and the introduction of major anti-terrorism legislation; (2) the redefinition of aid and ODA within the framework of geopolitical interests; and (3) the allocation of ODA more on the basis of a selectivity and conditionality that reflects the interests of the donor, particularly under the rhetoric of "opposing terrorism." In the face of this strong reactionary trend, Christian Aid, one of UK's leading development NGOs, called for a "strong and robust reaffirmation of the principle that poverty reduction should be aid's primary driving force."

In Japan, rather than using "opposition to terrorism," the government widely uses the sweet-sounding term, "consolidation of peace." Since Japan has a "Peace Constitution," the "consolidation of peace" itself is a desirable policy. However, what I would like to argue here is that in most of the countries where Japan has allocated ODA for the "consolidation of peace," the Japanese Self Defense Forces (SDF) have also been dispatched to engage in "humanitarian assistance" or logistical support

for US military operations. The government now plans to tie ODA allocations and SDF operations together in the name of “international peace cooperation,” and “coordination between the SDF and NGOs” has also been proposed.

For more than two decades, Japan's ODA has been described and criticized as being part of a “trinity” of ODA, investment and trade. However, a new trinity—ODA, NGO and the military—is emerging, as Japan becomes much more involved in peacekeeping and emergency operations linked to the “War on Terror.” As a loyal ally of the United States, Japan has contributed huge amounts of aid for the “consolidation of peace” operations—and the Japanese government uses the term “Japan as a whole” to illustrate the idea that Japanese involvement includes enterprises, NGOs and the Self Defense Forces.

This shift of ODA towards a security agenda is not limited to Japan. New definitions of ODA have been discussed in the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC). These discussions raise concerns about the inclusion within the definition of ODA of security measures such as counter-terrorist activities, intelligence gathering and military training for “non-combat” peace building operations.

International NGOs are concerned that this discussion may be interpreted as an opening of the door to the re-direction of aid away from poverty reduction and towards a counter-terrorist and security agenda. The argument in favor of the redirection claims that strengthening governance is crucial, and emphasizes support for democratization and modernization, finance and security. However, what these arguments do not take into account sufficiently is that counter-terrorism operations are mainly implemented by the police and military, and in particular foreign military forces.

Several donor countries, including

Denmark and Australia, have already announced that security would be a key criteria for deciding on ODA allocations. Japan may also follow this path.

3. The New ODA Charter: Whose ODA and Security?

Japan's 1992 ODA Charter laid out the basic themes for Japanese ODA today. It had four major principles: (1) Environmental conservation and development (2) Any use of ODA for military purposes or for the aggravation of international conflicts should be avoided; (3) Full attention should be given to trends in the recipient countries' military expenditures, their development and production of weapons of mass destruction and missiles, and their exports and import of arms, in order to maintain and strengthen international peace and stability; and (4) Full attention should be given to efforts towards democratization and the introduction of a market-oriented economy.

Prior to the adoption of the 1992 Charter, there was a heated debate in Japan about the country's “international contributions.” When the Gulf War broke out, the government decided (in line with Japan's Peace Constitution) not to dispatch the Self Defense Forces, but to provide great financial support to the coalition forces and ODA to the “surrounding countries” such as Egypt, Jordan and Turkey, at a cost of US\$2.04 billion. On top of this, the government provided US\$11 billion to support the Multinational Forces (in reality the United States Forces). However, the US did not clearly show an attitude of appreciation for the support, and this led Japan to enact a law for dispatching the SDF abroad. Leading conservative politicians claimed that an international security regime based on United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations needed to be established, and argued that Japan should join this regime. But behind this lay American interests in utilizing the UN in order to fulfill its own purposes.

Ten years later, in 2003, there was a shift in Japan's ODA, bringing it more directly in line with the US-led approach to global security. The new ODA Charter adds Japan's own security and prosperity to its purposes, and the "prevention of terrorism" is also included in the principles of ODA implementation. This shows that Japan's national interest (on security and prosperity) is to support the US led "War on Terror." In the past, Japanese ODA policy tacitly supported US interests. But this attitude has changed and become a more positive policy.

A group of politicians and elite bureaucrats known as the "Kantei" (Prime Minister's Office), who can be equated with the neocons in the US, led this policy change. One bureaucrat in this group clearly stated that the ultimate *raison d'être* of a nation-state is security, and since Japan faces multiple global threats, diplomacy should respond to this. He also mentioned that ODA is an important tool for this kind of diplomacy, and consequently that Japan's ODA should be shifted more to peace consolidation or peace building. This idea implies that Japan's ODA has been not allowed to be used for military purpose, and that this prohibition should be withdrawn.

The "Advisory Group on International Cooperation for Peace" (a group under the Chief Cabinet Secretary), headed by former UN Under-Secretary-General Akashi Yasushi, also played a crucial role in pushing this change forward and giving it a concrete form. In December 2002, the group submitted its recommendations to the Prime Minister. However, the report includes several points which might contravene the Peace Constitution:

- (1) international cooperation should be ranked as the main role of the Self Defense Forces, and the relevant laws should be amended,
- (2) the government should make preparations to amend laws to join the coalition forces based on UN resolutions,
- (3) the government should argue for new budgetary mechanisms to support

the military in the consolidation of the peace process, and (4) ODA should be actively used for conflict prevention, peace building, rehabilitation support, etc.

In August 2003, after these views had been put forward, the government reviewed the ODA Charter. The new Charter has several significant points from the viewpoint of security: (1) it makes clear that ODA implementation should consider the national interest, (2) it introduces a new concept of human security and peace building in order to link counter-terrorist wars and ODA, (3) the terms terrorism and conflict are included, to open the way for Japanese ODA to be used for military purposes, and (4) the strategic use of ODA is strengthened.

Many NGOs and community-based organizations, international institutions as well as the majority of governments have publicly stated that the main purpose of ODA should be to alleviate global poverty. But security concerns and poverty alleviation are difficult to reconcile. It is a time to reconsider what the real purpose of ODA is.

4. Mindanao: Division of Labor between the US and Japan

In December 2002, Japan announced a 'Support Package for Peace and Security' in Mindanao to consolidate peace, and provided ODA to three programs:

- (1) Loan aid for ARMM Social Fund (2.47 billion yen)
- (2) Sector Program grant aid (1.5 billion yen)
- (3) Other projects (40 billion yen): road, container terminal, Agusan River.

In addition, in June 2003, Japan and the Philippines exchanged an official note on a project for Establishing of the Automated Fingerprint Identification System under the Mindanao Package to fight terrorism, at a cost of 975 million yen, which directly supports the Philippine National Police.

Since the launch of US operations in Mindanao (called Balikpapan 02), Japan has pledged to provide support for the restoration of peace and order in Mindanao. In other words, Japan is willing to offer economic support for the US-led War on Terror in Mindanao. In comparison to other regions in the Philippines, Mindanao may be the biggest recipient.

5. Iraq: Providing ODA and the SDF for the US War

To achieve Iraq's "reconstruction," the World Bank and Coalition Provisional Authority (the interim government under the occupation of Iraq) appealed for assistance for the costs of rehabilitating Iraq over the period from 2004 to 2007. The World Bank estimated that US\$35.6

billion would be required for priorities such as electricity, water and education. The CPA estimated that US\$19.4 billion would be needed for rehabilitating oil-related equipment and security. This sum of US\$55 billion was enormous compared to the cost of rehabilitating Afghanistan (US\$4.5 billion) and East Timor (US\$0.52 billion).

To support this huge rehabilitation budget, the US, Japan, UK, Australia, Spain, South Korea and EU pledged to contribute large amounts for five years, as shown in the table. These are the same countries which dispatched many soldiers to Iraq.

Country	Pledged amount (\$ billions)	Dispatched troops (as of Feb. 2004)
US	20.3	130,000
Japan	5	750
UK	0.91	11,000
Australia	0.83	850
EU	0.236	
Spain	0.3	1300
Italy	0.236	3000
Korea	0.26	470

Of the US\$5 billion it pledged, Japan is planning to distribute US\$1.5 billion in grant aid in 2004. This represents almost 70% of its total bilateral grant aid and 40% of its total grant aid, including multilateral grant aid.

The government explains that the grant fund will be provided through four channels

(1) UN agencies such as the UNDP Trust Fund (US\$ 846.7 million);

(2) The Trust Fund for Iraq Rehabilitation (US\$ 500 million: US\$ 450 million for UN, 90 million for World Bank, US\$ 10 million for IFC);

(3) Direct support to Iraq administrations

(US\$ 227 million);

(4) Emergency assistance to international organizations (US\$28.3 million)

Within the direct support for the Iraq administration, US\$51 million was allocated for the Rehabilitation of Main Hospitals in Southern Iraq, including Samawa where the Japanese SDF is operating. Under this program, medical equipment is distributed through SDF operations to the Samawa General Hospital, where an SDF medical team is working. This shows how Japan's ODA has ventured into the area of security since the ODA Charter prohibited Japan's ODA from being used for military

purposes. The SDF's "humanitarian operation" should also follow this.

The government allocated US\$29 million for armored police cars to the Iraq State Department. This might not be direct military support, but is likely support for the "War on Terror."

In addition to this new aid money, Iraq holds a huge amount of foreign debt. The total amount is still unclear. The country's official loan debt (Paris Club debt) alone is estimated to be US\$21 billion. Aside from these official debts, Iraq has unpaid war reparations to Kuwait and unpaid military related debts. The Washington-based private think tank Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) estimates the total outstanding amount to be US\$380 billion. Calculating from this amount, each Iraqi shoulders a US\$16,000 debt burden. However, the huge amount of money that flowed into Iraq during Saddam Hussein's regime can be described as "odious debt." Japan is the biggest creditor of official debt (US\$4.1 billion).

The US has urged donor countries to cancel the debt. Countries like Japan seem to be reluctant, but may succumb to this pressure. If a government like Japan decides to cancel Iraqi debt, it might seem to be an acknowledgement that the money spent supporting Saddam Hussein's regime was "odious." This would imply not only the responsibility of the regime itself, but also the responsibility of the donor countries who helped to fund it. Debt cancellation for heavily indebted poor countries still encounters many obstacles from international society, but Iraqi debt may be very quickly dealt with by donors. This double standard on debt emerged after September 11, in preparation for the war in Afghanistan. Many donors, including the World Bank and the IMF, cancelled or re-scheduled debt owed by Pakistan in order to make its regime more pro-US.

Japanese Defense Agency former chief

Ishiba Shigeru said that the Self-Defense Forces mission in Iraq will be a major test of Japan's efforts to play a larger role in helping to maintain global peace and stability. The government had to enact a new law in 2003 in order to dispatch SDF troops to Iraq to assist in the reconstruction, since no U.N. framework for such activities had been established following the U.S.-led war. Ground SDF troops have been stationed at Samawa in southern Iraq since January to implement "humanitarian reconstruction assistance." In response to the charge that this violated Japan's Peace Constitution, the government explains that Samawa is not a "battlefield" and that the SDF will not use force, but in fact they are carrying small arms for "defense."

However, using military personnel to carry out humanitarian tasks is quite controversial, because "there had been consensus among military thinkers that armed forces are not best placed to provide aid." In fact, the UK Ministry of Defense's operational principles concerning humanitarian activities states: "If at all possible, do not get involved in humanitarian aid activities," and "If UK forces must get involved, this should be in support of a civilian agency, where the military stays in the background." Japan ignores this distinction between humanitarian and military aid, making aid worker's activities more dangerous.

Since March 2004 many civilian workers have been targeted in Iraq, and three young Japanese were also taken hostage. The captors declared that the hostages would be killed unless the Japanese government announced the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Iraq within 72 hours. This shows how Japan's new trinity of ODA (ODA, NGO and SDF) strips the neutrality of NGOs and aid workers, and creates a vicious form of "coherence."

6. Using ODA to Realize Japan's Peace Constitution

In Japan, government leaders have indicated they will consider permanent legislation to authorize the dispatch of the SDF overseas on postconflict reconstruction missions even without U.N. authorization. Behind this lies the desire to strengthen the Japan-U.S. security alliance by winning Washington's trust. But this is not the end. High US officials like U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage have put pressure on Japan to amend Article 9, the core of its Peace Constitution.

Within the official ODA budget, funds allocated for peace building and conflict prevention have risen dramatically from 12 billion yen in 2003 to 16.5 billion yen in 2004. The budget for emergency grant aid also jumped from 22 billion yen to 31.6 billion yen in the same period. Meanwhile, Japan cut its total ODA budget from 857.8 billion yen in 2003 to 816.9 billion yen in 2004, with grant aid being most affected. The implication is clear. Security interests have a greater priority than alleviating poverty.

Under the slogan of the "War on Terror," many donor countries have put security issues at the heart of their policies. This idea, however, begins from the assumption that all insecurity comes from poor and undemocratic countries in the South. This logic leads to the idea that to eliminate the root of this insecurity, a US led alliance for combating global terrorism is needed, and that a "good governance" criteria should be strictly applied when allocating ODA.

The Japanese government often stresses the importance of the "consolidation of peace" and "human security," and these have become important pillars of Japan's foreign policy. I give these policies a cautious welcome. I do hope that they turn out to be an important step in changing the insecure environments in some of the poorest countries.

However, I also believe that in doing so, Japan's Peace constitution, particularly its

Preamble, should be fully respected. It states "We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." The Constitution creates an affirmative political duty to promote global peace and justice through assistance to peoples suffering from fear and want. Japan's ODA should be used to take initiatives on arms control, poverty alleviation, human rights, refugees, environmental degradation and other global issues, because Japan cannot play a military role in settling international disputes.

JVC's Perspective on Peacebuilding

TAKAHASHI Kiyotaka (Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC))

JVC has carried out humanitarian assistance for emergency relief as well as long-term development on the ground for more than 25 years in a dozen countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Currently, we are engaged in direct operations providing humanitarian assistance in nine countries including so-called "conflict-prone areas" or "post-conflict countries" such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, North Korea and Cambodia. All our activities aim to secure sustainable livelihoods and the consolidation of stability from a long-term perspective. It may not be wrong to express our work in using the term "peacebuilding." However, when JVC uses this word, we always share certain principles and visions about "peacebuilding" as it is applied in practice.

Peacebuilding is a comprehensive and inclusive concept that encompasses all peace-related activities throughout different "stages" of a conflict, namely "pre-conflict," "in-conflict" and "post-conflict."

In the pre-conflict stage, a culture of preventive must be nurtured. Particularly in order to prevent activities and actions from contributing to the exacerbation of violent conflict, a conflict-sensitive approach must be applied. By the same token, we call upon the Japanese government as well as international community to apply the same principle and approaches to all interventional activities such as ODA. The promotion of a culture of prevention is the central theme. Our art exchange activity with North Korean children is a case in point.

Toward Peaceful Symbiosis in Northeast Asia

In 2002, the Korean peninsula became the

subject of unprecedented world attention. However, the channel for talks between Japan and the D.P.R.K has virtually been closed since the summit in September 2002, where the D.P.R.K government officially admitted having abducted Japanese citizens. Despite this difficult political situation, JVC is making efforts to build a stable relationship between the two countries. We are continuing regional support, while opening exhibitions of children's artwork and workshops with the slogan of "Peace Building in North-East Asia."

The previous year, as a member of the "Relief Campaign Committee for Children, Japan (RCCJ)," we installed a second solar power generator providing heating and light at a nursery home. Construction work was completed in November, before the arrival of the severe winter, in cooperation with people at the Taekam cooperative farm on the outskirts of Pyongyang. Meanwhile, here in Japan, we have held an exhibition, entitled "Friends in North/South Korea and Japan," for two consecutive years. We invited children from South Korea to attend the event, and the exhibition was also held at elementary schools in Pyongyang, Seoul, South Korea, and several cities in Japan.

Together with a number of educational researchers and journalists, we have also conducted a study on "peaceful symbiosis in Northeast Asia." In addition to repeated meetings and fieldwork in South Korea, we held the "Japan-Korea Peace Workshop" in February, where participants discussed multicultural symbiosis in Japan. Meanwhile, continuous efforts have been made to maintain networks both overseas and domestically through a NGO liaison office for humanitarian aid in North Korea.

At present, when there is a growing anti-war movement around the world, it is important to continue this movement to resolve the conflict in Northeast Asia. In addition, the voices of Korean minorities need to be heard inside Japan to nurture diversity in our society.

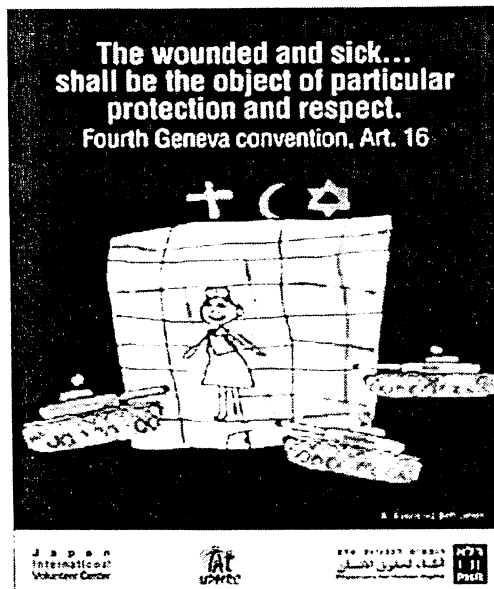
During conflict situations, we focus on securing humanitarian space with the principle of respecting human rights as a universal standard represented in the Geneva Conventions and other relevant international law.

Together with the Palestinians

In Palestinian camps under Israeli occupation, movements of people are extremely limited by checkpoints, roadblocks and curfews: even everyday activities such as going to hospital or school have been seriously disrupted. Not only have Israeli forces attacked homes, but also farms and factories, undermining the economic livelihood of the Palestinians. The unemployment rate is extremely high, and incomes are decreasing due to the economic stagnation brought about by the occupation. One of the consequences of the occupation is widespread malnutrition, affecting children in particular. In the spring of 2003, a peace process called the Road Map began. Some Israeli troops started to retreat from Palestinian camps, but on the other hand, work began to erect a so-called "Apartheid Wall." The wall encroaches into camps, taking land away from more Palestinian and making the blockades on camps more intense.

JVC believes that we should stay together with the Palestinians, who stay alive by putting their hope on tomorrow, and help them to secure a little time or space for peace and quiet even under occupation. This year, we will continue humanitarian assistance which we started last spring while focusing on children's nutrition. We will also continue our educational and cultural support, which we began in 1997 more successful. Meanwhile we provide information on those

human rights that should be protected in civil war, namely the protection of the weak and the ability to access medical treatment. In addition we will continue to spread awareness of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict throughout Japan.



In Iraq, JVC has promoted exchanges between Japanese and Iraqi children since 2002, and worked for a peaceful settlement during the prewar period. Yet, we were unable to prevent the war in Iraq. Many citizens became victims, and people are still being injured, maimed and killed by unexploded shells. Under these circumstances, medical facilities cannot perform their basic functions due to the postwar devastation and lack of supplies. JVC promptly decided to provide assistance to set up of a clinic in a poor district of Baghdad in cooperation with a European NGO. We have given continuous support to this project, providing appropriate medical supplies in order to restore hospital functions fully while advocating the necessity of securing humanitarian space and a protected corridor against violent intervention by US-led forces under the guise of "stabilization."

Restoring Hope and Confidence

In the post-conflict stage, we focus on local capacity building to resolve conflicts in a

non-violent manner. This “conflict management” includes long-term development initiated by local people for economic and social stability.

In Cambodia, although three decades of civil war still cast a long shadow over the country, people were released from fear after the rounding up of remnants of the Khmer Rouge in 1999. However, while peace is returning to everyday lives and the reconstruction of the country is moving forward, new social issues related to development are re-emerging. JVC has witnessed new threats to the people, and has committed itself to tackling them. To cope with issues such as indebtedness and natural disasters, careless introduction of modern agriculture, a severe lack of resources and personnel, and the lack of fully functioning local government, JVC is carrying out projects to promote sustainable agriculture combined with rural community development, through the construction of a resource center for propagating agriculture and environmental knowledge, support for a technical school, and research and advocacy on community-based



natural resource management.

In South Africa, the prolonged Apartheid Policy before 1994 forced black South Africans to leave their land and work away from their homes either in mines or in white-owned plantations. As a result, traditional rural communities were destroyed. Meanwhile black children were denied education. Twenty times more money was spent on each white child than each black child. These policies deprived black people not only of a basis for livelihood but also

their human dignity. Since the end of Apartheid in 1994, the country has been striving to establish a new nation where people of all races live in harmony. However, the country lacks the capacity to enforce new policies or legislation especially in rural areas. The vast disparity between the rich and the poor still exists. Black people face serious difficulties such as a high unemployment rate (40–50%), HIV/AIDS (5 million infected, making up about 10% of the population) and poverty.

Since 1992, JVC has been working to improve living conditions in slum areas and working in community development in rural areas. After the end of Apartheid, JVC has conducted vocational training for South Africans as well as other African refugees. Currently, there is an ongoing ecological agriculture project in the Cala district of Eastern Cape Province that aims to improve food production, revitalize land and nature and empower rural communities. We are also supporting a home for disabled children and elementary and junior high schools in urban areas. JVC supports grassroot communities and organizations that work tirelessly to improve people's lives and society. We aim to restore people's hope and confidence, which were taken away during the Apartheid period. In addition, JVC wants to create awareness in Japan about our work and activities as well as the many problems faced by the South African people so that we may all consider an active partnership with them.

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Peace Depot: Citizens' Think Tank

UMEBAYASHI Hiromichi (President, Peace Depot)

The Peace Depot is an incorporated research and education-oriented NGO derived from the grassroots anti-nuclear movement. We consider ourselves a citizens think tank on peace issues.

The Peace Depot was born of practical necessity. A movement to keep nuclear weapon-equipped warships out of local ports spread on a worldwide scale in the 1980s. One trigger for this movement was the US Navy's deployment of cruise missiles with nuclear warheads aboard its ships. In light of Japan's three non-nuclear principles, the entrance of nuclear-equipped US warships into Japanese ports stirred up considerable debate and protest. However, absolute opposition based on the idea that "All US warships are nuclear-equipped"



created a tendency for arguments about nuclear weapons to lose all sense of reality. Meanwhile, we learned of the research activities that were fast-becoming the foundation for anti-nuclear movements in the US and Europe. It became essential for the anti-nuclear movement to be able to answer specific questions such as "What

kind of ship carries aboard what kind of nuclear weapons?" "How does the military train its personnel to handle nuclear weapons?" "What is the likelihood of a nuclear weapon accident?" Unfortunately, here in Japan we had to rely on research being done overseas to answer these questions.

Preparations to establish the Peace Depot (Peace Resources Cooperative) began with studies of the methodologies and techniques used by the foreign research NGOs that were building the foundation of the peace movement. It took seven years, but finally the Peace Depot was launched in 1997. The greatest difficulty, of course, was building an adequate economic infrastructure for supporting full-time workers who could be committed to the work. The economic infrastructure is still the major issue, and one that Japanese civil society must consider from a structural perspective.

Working for a Nuclear Free World

The activities of the Peace Depot are based on three main pillars. Because of the background described above, one of those pillars is to utilize the US systems for freedom of information to conduct research on US forces in Japan and their nuclear activities. Currently, we utilize Japan's own freedom of information system as well to research Japanese involvement in such activities.

The second major pillar of our activities is to carefully follow all developments in international nuclear disarmament and

non-proliferation. Through this, we seek to discover and examine the reality concerning Japan's nuclear disarmament policies. We began this activity after communicating with NGO activists who came to New York from all over the world to monitor the NPT process at the NPT Review and Extension Conference in 1995. The Peace Depot, which was still in its preparatory stage, began that summer to issue a biweekly publication, Nuclear Weapon & Nuclear Test Monitor. In the Monitor, we translate US strategic documents, UN documents, and official governmental statements and working papers on NPT related meetings to provide as much documentary information as possible for the sake of the nuclear abolition movement in Japan.

In this respect, the Peace Depot launched a new activity in 2002. We organized an Evaluation Committee of ten experts to monitor the Japanese government's nuclear disarmament efforts from the standpoint of a disarmament

NGO, and give Japan a Report Card every year. The Committee creates its Report Card based on detailed research into subjects related to the 13 practical steps toward the implementation of Article VI of the NPT as agreed at the 2000 NPT Review Conference.

The Report Card has been presented to the Japanese Government and utilized in Japan. It has been translated into English and delivered to diplomats and NGOs overseas to show the international community the policies being pursued by the Government of a country that suffered from atomic bombings. We believe this activity is vital.

The third pillar of the activities of the Peace Depot is to propose cooperative security alternatives in Northeast Asia and oppose the current regional security framework based upon the US military presence in Japan. Japan's tilt toward militarism has gained further momentum since the revelations regarding the nuclear and missile programs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In order to counter this trend, the Peace Depot is developing proposals such as a Northeast Asia nuclear weapons-free zone (NEA-NWFZ), a zone of exclusively nuclear-free defense, and a missile control and disarmament system. In particular, it has been working together with Korean disarmament NGOs to develop a concrete arrangement for a NEA-NWFZ. A Model Treaty for a NEA-NWFZ will be presented in a NGO workshop to be held in the UN Headquarters in New York at the time of the 3rd Preparatory Committee in April 2004.

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A Bridge Between Academics and Citizens

PRIME (International Peace Research Institute, Meiji Gakuin University)

KATSUMATA Makoto and KAMIJO Naomi

PRIME (International Peace Research Institute, Meiji Gakuin University) was established in 1986. The institute is under the jurisdiction of the University President's Office.

PRIME's mission is to conduct and promote peace studies—a field of research on violence in its various manifestations, including war and other forms of violence, militarization, political repression, poverty, underdevelopment, social exclusion, and gender discrimination. The mission also includes research on ecological and cultural degradation.

To fulfill this mission, members of PRIME with different academic backgrounds carry out research projects. One recent activity has been to more deliberately seek to build a network of cooperation with institutions of similar concern in other parts of the world—involving not only scholars but also citizens—so as to stimulate peace studies and share research outcomes. PRIME's research agenda is illustrated by one of its projects: Globalization and Peace. A brief synopsis of this project follows.

The world

has clearly entered a new era in North-South relations, in which the optimistic scenarios of the early 1990s for a peace dividend seem more unlikely than ever to come about. Globalization has been generally thought of as a remarkable phenomenon that modifies our everyday lives by compressing time and space.

We see increasing globalized socioeconomic disparities throughout the world, accompanied by uneven power relations. They have also been accompanied by hatred and the repeated refusal of dialogue. PRIME sees this situation as the most critical issue facing peace studies. The Globalization and Peace Project attempts to identify “innovative” approaches to peace. This does not mean that the conventional agenda of peace studies, which looks at war between nation-states, has become outdated, but



rather than the consideration of conflict needs to take contemporary events into consideration. This is particularly true in East Asia, where the legacy of the Cold War persists. The existing tools of analysis are inadequate to give us a real understanding of the structure and nature of ongoing wars and conflicts, and they are not helpful in comprehending the characteristics and

outreach activity that allows us to share the outcomes of our research, to raise important questions, and to stimulate reflection among citizens. In this regard, PRIME hopes to be a leading institution, helping members of the world community through peace education and awareness.



scale of globalized threats.

To invigorate peace studies, the specific threats and the focus of the peace movement should be clearly understood and discussed within a new context. For example, human security, food sovereignty, and global environmental issues are also indispensable parts of an agenda for peace studies.

Peace studies in the 21st century should not be confined to a single discipline such as political science, economics, or sociology. An interdisciplinary approach is desperately needed. Lastly, peace education is another mission of PRIME. Peace education is an important

PRIME's Activities

The following are the main areas of PRIME's activities.

(1) Interdisciplinary research projects

PRIME oversees the following research projects: Conversion of the Arms Industry in the Former Soviet Union; Globalization and Peace; Religion and Peace; Nuclear Disarmament in a Globalized Society; Non-Violent Solutions to Conflict; and Minority and Cultural Studies for Peace.

(2) Peace Education

PRIME holds regular series of lectures and shows films on the campuses of Meiji Gakuin

University at campus festivals. Student volunteers are involved. PRIME also sponsors other projects with student involvement. The institute hopes to create a space where students and others can learn together.

(3) Civil Society Activities

PRIME sponsors international symposia and open lectures. Our latest symposium was held in February 2004, under the theme of, "The Role of Global Civil Society for Recapturing Peace in Iraq."

(4) Publications and Information

PRIME publishes the institute's bulletin PRIME twice a year. The institute also issues a semiannual booklet called Thinking about the South. The institute maintains reference rooms on both Meiji Gakuin campuses with books and documents related to peace issues.

(5) Symposiums

The themes of symposiums and workshops organized by PRIME over the years have included: "Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region" (cosponsored by the Pugwash Conference, 1989), "Deepening and Globalizing Democracy"(cosponsored by Kanagawa Prefecture, 1990), "UN Reform and Japan" (1993), "The Future of the International Community and the Reform of the United Nation" (1994), "International Female Migration and Japan" (1995), "Human Rights of Female Migrants" (1995), "Present Situation of Indigenous Taiwanese" (1996), "Human Security and Civil Society" (1997), "Africa in the Face of Globalization" (1998), "Denuclearization of Asia and the Role of Japan" (1999), "Poverty and Conflict in West Africa" (2000), "Community Challenges for Creating a Peaceful and Self-governing Local

Society" (2001), "Human Security and Okinawa after 9/11"(2002), "The Importance of the Freedom of Information to East Asian Civil Society" (2003), and "The Role of Global Civil Society for Recapturing Peace in Iraq" (2004).

(6) The Pugwash Library

The Pugwash Library was established in 2003 inside PRIME's reference room, with the aim of collecting valuable materials regarding the Pugwash Conference and providing them not only to scholars and scientists but also to students and the general public. Pugwash is an organization that was formed based on the Russell-Einstein Manifesto announced in 1955. Since its founding, it has contributed to arms control and disarmament efforts, and it received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995.

(7) Others

A group of PRIME members has issued a statement calling for the early withdrawal of the Japanese Self Defense Forces from Iraq.

PRIME cosponsors a bi-monthly meeting with the Tokyo group of the Association des Amis du Monde Diplomatique to discuss contemporary issues related to alternative globalization.

PRIME cooperates with the Nautilus Institute in issuing the NAPSNet (Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network) Daily Report. The Daily Report covers issues of peace, security and nuclear non-proliferation in Northeast Asia. PRIME contributes reports on Japan.

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Solidarity of People beyond Boundaries

FUKAWA Yoko and ENDO Satoko (Pacific Asia Resource Center)

The Pacific Asia Resource Center (PARC), established in 1973, is a non-profit organization committed to international social and economic justice. Since its foundation, it has worked with a variety of people's movements in Japan to facilitate the development of links of solidarity with people involved in struggle in countries mainly in the Asia-Pacific region.

Voices Against the Vietnam War

PARC was established amidst a storm of citizens' movements in Japan opposing the Vietnam War. At the base of its establishment was an international solidarity movement to help U.S. deserters hoping to escape to third countries. People actively involved in that movement gathered and established PARC in 1973.

Before its formal establishment, PARC began publishing *AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* in 1969. This journal questioned Ampo, the Japanese terms for the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. At that time, most information from the Japanese government and industry sector to the world was merely propaganda reporting on Japan's "miraculous economical development." The environmental

destruction, and what individuals had to bear behind that development, were never told. Also, Japan turned a blind eye to its war responsibility. AMPO acted as a media reporting on "another

Japan" and "Japan as seen from the eyes of ordinary citizens" to the people of the Pacific Asian region.

Research towards Fairness in Living

The 1970s were a decade when Japanese businesses began to move overseas on a full scale. Intense anti-Japanese movements were seen during those years in Asian countries such as Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia. There was concern over the advance of Japanese industries, which merely seemed to have changed from military uniforms to business suits.

In this environment, PARC launched research projects with Asian grassroots activists on the issues of free trade areas, export processing areas, and Japanese multinational companies. These researches aimed to find ways to eliminate the Japanese-dominated



superior-inferior relationship of dependency and to show how the two sides could live in a fair environment. PARC today still aims to achieve this goal. Through such researches, the

relationship between Japan and other Asian countries has been elucidated from the perspective of various problems such as the banana trade, shrimp trade, and 100 yen shops (discount shops where all goods are sold for 100yen).

Recognition of the Need to Change

In 1983, PARC celebrated its 10th anniversary and held an international symposium titled "Opening Up Our Future in Asian-Pacific

Solidarity: Rethinking
Japan's Overseas
Economic

Cooperation." In this symposium, the need for Japanese citizens to change Japan was recognized anew. Japan is a major country that oppresses other Asian countries, and in order to change the situation in the other countries of Asia, Japanese society

itself must be changed. This is, because changes in Japan and changes in Asia (and throughout the world) are linked like two sides of a coin.

In 1989, PARC held a large international citizens' alliance activity called "People's Plan for the 21st Century" (PP21). Approximately 10,000 people from all over Japan and about 400 people from more than 10 countries around the world assembled for this activity. They were from various backgrounds, including NGO workers, farmers, and indigenous people, and they discussed various issues. In conclusion, they issued "the Minamata Declaration," which states that:

The 20th century has brought us more, and more murderous wars than at any other time in history. The technology of killing has

advanced beyond the wildest imaginations of any previous era. The state, which was supposed to be our great protector, has turned out to be the greatest killer, killing not only foreigners in wars, but also killing its own citizens in unprecedented numbers. The 20th century has perpetuated and intensified the practice of genocide, ethnocide, ecocide and femicide. These practices have occurred in the name of what we have called 'progress' and 'development'.

This declaration also calls for



participatory democracy and people's self-governance. The declaration and the movement took place at the level of the "people" and in fact took a lead in the globalization that would accelerate later in the 90s. The coalition involved people who could adapt to the new situation like the end of the Cold War.

Activities in the Late 1990s

In the late 1990s, with the aim of sharing and learning about the reality of the Third World, and to enact mutual change, PARC decided to begin concrete activities in the area of international solidarity activities and to become involved in local projects.

In Thailand, in cooperation with the Thai Volunteer Service (TVS), PARC conducted research on the environment along the Mae Klong River, and has been involved with local



residents in this endeavor. In East Timor, while opposing the dispatch of the Self Defense Forces from Japan, PARC has carried out urgent support activities at the citizen's level, and at present (2004), is conducting activities to support fair trade and to help coffee farmers organize cooperatives. PARC is earnestly searching for what citizens can do when facing disputes. It is also searching for what can be done in places such as Aceh, Mindanao, and Sri Lanka.

In addition, on the issue of the debt problem of poor countries, PARC has taken a leading role in Japan in organizing "Jubilee 2000," a campaign for the cancellation of debts, and has greatly contributed to the formation of public opinion on ODA problem.

Toward a Peaceful and Just World

It is true that corporate-led economic globalization and militarization on a world scale have progressed in the 1990s. On the other hand, it is also true that the base of the worldwide people's alliance/solidarity has been strengthened, and that the space for people has expanded. Activities towards the main actors of globalization, such as IMF, World Bank, and WTO, by the citizens' alliance have achieved great success. However, the events of 9/11, the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, and the further expansion of "anti-terrorism" war have withered many people. What stands in front of

us is states, empires, and national armies. Neo-nationalism and xenophobia are rising.

While opposing the dispatch of the Self Defense Force from Japan and joining various anti-war demonstration on the streets as concrete activities, PARC is sending medical supplies to Iraq, where people still live in an environment where not only their rights and livelihoods but even their lives are threatened. With the

cooperation of members of International Iraq Occupation Watch Center, an international NGO network working against the war, PARC has sent medical supplies to hospitals in Najaf and Karbala. NGOs should expand such activities, since they cannot be conducted by the Self Defense Forces, which is becoming part and parcel of the U.S.-led troops.

Global issues such as war and poverty can no longer be expressed using the unit of the state. In such a situation, solutions to such problems should not be formed on a state basis, but should rather be formed from bonds between people going beyond boundaries. PARC has conducted its activities over the past 30 years from the perspective of "with people who struggle to bring changes by their own hands, let us work together to make a fair and peaceful society." PARC wishes to maintain the perspective that peace and fairness are not givens but have to be created by people from below, and wishes to continue its work based on the solidarity of people beyond boundaries.

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