

SECURITY ISSUES AND NEW TRANSNATIONAL PEACE-RELATED MOVEMENTS IN EAST ASIA, THE 1990s AND 2000s

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Abstract

With the possible exception of the nuclear disarmament movement in Japan, East Asia has historically not been a region known for high levels of citizen activism in the area of peace and security. This has started to change since the 1990s with more NGOs and other societal groups in the region now working on peace-related issues at the local, national, regional and international levels. NGOs and activists in these movements have played diverse roles, at times providing solutions to security problems and at other times stimulating regional conflict. This article examines the domestic and international factors that have led to these changes and provides a guided tour of three relatively new movements in Northeast Asia.

Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, scholars have debated over whether or not East Asia is “ripe for rivalry” and recurrent tensions and crises in the Taiwan Straits and the Korean Peninsula since the early 1990s have made this region of the world a closely watched one (Berger, 2000; Friedberg, 1993-94; Christenson, 1999). In addition to new opportunities and challenges for states, the end of the Cold War and political changes have also presented new opportunities for civil society activism which has in turn also affected the prospects for peace in the region. In the past two decades, new social movements dealing directly with security-related issues have emerged in Japan, China, Korea and Taiwan at not only the local and national level, but also at the regional and international level. This article looks at these new movements to analyze the ways in which non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social activists and forces “from below” have affected the security environment in Northeast Asia. As I shall show, these new peace-related movements play multifaceted roles, sometimes offering new solutions, while at other times adding to existing tensions or posing dilemmas to states.

Surveying the literature and the internet world of peace groups websites, there are three major security-related issue areas in Northeast Asia that have emerged as a focus of NGOs and transnational networks since the early 1990s: the North Korea crisis, the issue

of US military bases, and regional conflict over Japan's pre-war and wartime history in the region. In all of these areas, there has been a flourishing of new groups and/or reactivation of old groups in many countries, as well as new transnational and international linkages among groups. The emergence of these new networks has not been politically, socially or economically irrelevant – these movements have helped channel hundreds of millions of dollars of humanitarian aid to North Korea, have offered diplomatic policy alternatives to the nuclear crisis, and have placed new sensitive items that affect regional security on the agenda such as history and the placing of US military bases. In their transnational form, the movements have also offered new possibilities for promoting better relations among countries in the region.

After briefly outlining some of the factors that have supported the growth of new transnational networks in Northeast Asia, this article examines these three emerging peace-related networks. Each movement is described in separate sections that outline the national, regional and global aspects of each movement. As a first cut on the topic, my intention is to provide a “big picture” view that maps out these new movements and not a fine-tuned analysis of each movement's successes and failures. Since some of these movements are still expanding or on-going, such detailed analysis might be premature. The article ends with a conclusion that assesses the implications of the rise of the movements and returns to the question of why NGOs and transnational networks matter in Northeast Asia.

The Emergence of Transnational Networks in East Asia: An Overview

As has been documented in many recent books and studies, in the past 20-30 years there has been a worldwide proliferation of NGOs and new transnational movements (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Although international peace movements can trace their roots as far back as the mid-late 19th century, such movements have also undergone enormous diversification and expansion in recent decades and now include many coalitions and focal points ranging from nuclear war to landmine bans to regional hotspots such as the Israeli-Palestine conflict. Although activists from Northeast Asia have participated in some of these global networks – most notably, longtime Japanese participation in global campaigns to end nuclear armament – it is only in recent years that peace-related groups and movements operating regionally have emerged. Until the 1990s, in Northeast Asia there was both a dearth of NGOs in many countries as well as few transnational ties among groups in the region. Although peace and security issues have always loomed large in Northeast Asia, why is it that it took so long for these new groups and regional networks to form and what are some of the factors that account for their appearance?

Domestic Level Change: Democratization, Political Change and Economic Reform

Several interrelated domestic and international factors have helped bring about the current wave of new peace and security related movements. At the domestic level, political change has been a key factor. For much of the postwar period, authoritarian regimes in many Northeast Asian countries placed severe restrictions on political activities of citizens and this limited the possibilities for both national and transnational peace activism in the region. This started to change, however, in the late 1980s and 1990s, a period during which all countries in Northeast Asia underwent political and/or economic transitions that in turn allowed for the emergence of new forms of activism.

In both South Korea and Taiwan, democratization processes in the 1980s and early 1990s led to regime change and the opening of political space for new social movements. With the transition to democracy, both countries experienced a dramatic growth in the number of NGOs and citizen groups, and social and political issues that were repressed under authoritarian rule were now able to come to the surface (Yoshimi, 2003; Kim and Moon, 2003; Nakarmi 2000). As in other parts of the world, democratization provided the necessary political conditions for citizens in South Korea and Taiwan to publicly organize and champion causes independent of government control and pressure. This also provided a better political environment for the rise of groups interested in peace and security issues and their entrance onto the regional and global political stages.

Although Japan has had a functioning democracy since the early postwar years, it also experienced a period of political transition in the 1990s with the fall from power of the longtime ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in 1993, the rise of coalition politics, the decline of the “developmental state” and the resultant opening of politics to the greater influence of civil society and NGOs (Pekkanen, 2004). As new parties formed and the left-right cleavages of the past dissolved, politics became more fluid and this provided opportunities for new actors in civil society to organize and advocate their causes. Political scandals involving bureaucrats, politicians and big business and the prolonged economic recession of the 1990s led to growing cynicism among Japanese with the “iron triangle” of entrenched power and a rising interest in volunteerism and other forms of activism (Hirata, 2002). This was particularly pronounced in the aftermath of the earthquake disaster in Kobe in 1995, when the bureaucracy failed to respond quickly while more than a million volunteers from all over Japan appeared on the scene and mobilized relief efforts (Imada, 2003). In this context of political change, the number of Japanese NGOs active in a variety of global issues increased dramatically, leading to greater participation of Japanese in global movements and greater potential for regional networking.

Although China remains an authoritarian regime, it too underwent significant domestic economic and political changes in the late 1980s and 1990s that allowed for the appearance of new types of activism. In China, market reform has led over time to an increasingly larger political space for autonomous social action as the state has

concentrated its energy on economic goals and opened the borders to the outside world (He, 1997; Pei, 2000). Turning away from the inward-looking economic policies and political mass mobilizations under Mao, from the 1980s Deng Xiaoping and his successors have emphasized market reform and engagement with the global community as the path to enrich and defend China while also abandoning national ideological political campaigns of the past such as the Cultural Revolution. The net result has been more space for social expression than in the past and the appearance of many new associations and activists responding to the new social challenges brought about by market reform and decentralization (Ma, 2002). Although political space is still limited and groups and individuals who directly confront the state are often suppressed – as the famous incident in Tiananmen Square in 1989 sadly proved – there is now more room in China than there was in the past for the exchange of ideas and citizen-led social action. These changes have also allowed for the (albeit limited) participation of Chinese in transnational networks at the global level. Compared with other countries in Northeast Asia, however, Chinese participation in peace movements has been more restricted and this has continued to place limits on the degree to which regional movements can draw in Chinese civil society.

International Factors: Political Globalization and the End of the Cold War

In addition to changes at the domestic level, political changes and developments at the international level have also encouraged greater citizen activism and the potential for regional interaction on conflict-related issues in several ways. First, processes of political globalization such as a rise in number of large UN conference, international regimes and global funding of NGOs have helped spur on new movements all over the world over the past several decades (Reimann, 2006). Since the 1980s, both the number of international conferences and the number of NGOs attending these conferences has increased dramatically. In the 1990s, for example, the UN held seven large international conferences that attracted tens of thousands of activists from all over the world (Friedman, Hochstetler and Clark, 2005). The holding of these global events not only provided inspiration to activists to form new NGOs and national networks in their home countries, they also were socializing events that introduced activists to their counterparts in other countries and led to the formation of new global and regional alliances and networks.

Asian activists attended these conferences and their preparatory meetings in the late 1980s and 1990s, and through them gained new opportunities to meet and organize at the regional level. For example, new Asian regional networks formed in the early 1990s in the area of the environment as part of preparations for Conference on the Environment and Development in 1992 and in the area of human rights in preparation for the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights; as this article will show, it was at the Fourth UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 that Asian women activists involved in peace

issues related to military bases in Japan and Korea forged new global and regional networks. Increasing globalization of politics and greater international opportunities for activism since the 1980s, thus, have also supported the emergence and growth of new regional movements in Northeast Asia.

Another important international factor that has affected political dynamics and encouraged greater citizen activism in conflict-related issues in Northeast Asia is the end of the Cold War. The end of bipolarity brought about changes in society's ability to question previous official justifications of security policy and contributed to the rise of new contentious regional issues such as historical animosities. Unlike in postwar Europe, where Germany was forced to face its wartime legacies more directly, Cold War alliances and dynamics in Northeast Asia had the effect of shutting down regional debates on Japan's wartime actions. With the end of the Cold War and the domestic political changes described above, these debates have been reopened.

In both China and Korea, the issue of history-related tensions with and resentment towards Japan, long suppressed for decades for strategic reasons, became harder for states to quietly brush away and state leaders no longer felt compelled to do so. In China, the state shifted its policy in this area since the late 1980s and allowed the citizen-led rise of history-based nationalism since it would provide a safety valve for bottom-up political expression that would not directly challenge the state and, in some cases, could help the state in its dealings with Japan. In South Korea, the end of the Cold War combined with democratization opened a new political space for citizen activism on unsettled wartime controversies leading to the politicization of this issue in South Korea.

Finally, in Japan, the death of Emperor Hirohito in 1989 and the end of the Cold War allowed for more open debate about Japan's wartime and colonial past in the early 1990s, which then led to divisions within Japanese civil society and the state on the correct way of interpreting history and dealing with its legacies. While, on the one hand, progressive groups in Japan started to call for public recognition of past wrongs vis-à-vis neighboring countries in order to promote reconciliation, on the other, patriotic groups have reacted defensively and supported nationalist Japanese state policies that have exacerbated the problem (Matthews, 2003). In all three countries, thus, the end of the Cold War has unleashed nationalisms that have posed challenges to peace as well as obstacles to the creation of a united front or peace coalition among NGOs communities in the region. In the face of such challenges, there have nonetheless been linkages among some of the activists in all three countries and this article identifies efforts by NGOs and academics at promoting conciliatory processes.

In a similar way, the end of the Cold War bipolarity and ideology has also supported societal challenges from below vis-à-vis the US military alliance and the stationing of U.S. military bases. In this respect, Japan and Korea are similar to anti-base movements found in other parts of the world and, through processes of political globalization described above, are now participating in wider global protest movements.

For all these reasons, new national, transnational and international groups and movements have emerged in a region that previously had fairly low levels of transnational societal activism. The rest of the article now examines three peace-related movements that have been operating since the 1990s, both quietly behind the scenes and loudly on the streets.

The North Korea Crisis

While tensions on the Korean peninsula have existed since the Korean War and the division of Korea, until the late 1980s and early 1990s North Korea was not the focus of many NGOs, citizen groups or regional networks except for student movements and groups in South Korea promoting unification which operated in isolation and/or in opposition to the state. With the end of the Cold War, new types of tensions emerged as South Korea opened diplomatic relations with both China and Russia, and North Korea became increasingly isolated. Two major security concerns came out of this shift. The first and major tension that emerged in this period was the question of North Korean nuclear capabilities, which became the main focus of a series of regional crises and diplomatic standoffs, first in the late 1980s, then again in the early 1990s, leading eventually to the standoff of the early-mid 2000s. A second major focal point of concern regarding North Korea from the early 1990s was humanitarian and involved severe food shortages and political repression. Reports of human rights abuses, mass starvation and growing numbers of North Korean refugees in China added a “human security” dimension to the crisis in North Korea. In response to these two sets of issues, a variety of new groups, networks and coalitions have emerged since the early 1990s at both the national level in Korea and Japan and at the regional level among groups and activists in Korea, Japan and China. Appendix 1 lists these new groups and this section presents an overview of their make-up and activities.

Nuclear Threat and Crisis

National Level Movements and NGOs. In both Korea and Japan, a wide variety of new and old NGOs and civil society organizations have become involved in promoting diplomacy and policy solutions to resolve the nuclear crisis and standoff.

In Korea, the movement is comprised of both older groups that have promoted peaceful Korean unification, as well as newer groups that emerged in Korea’s transition to democracy such as women’s groups, environmental groups, human rights NGOs, labor organization and religious groups. [See Appendix I.] The main positions of these groups have included: (1) a peaceful, diplomatic solution to the crisis that utilizes a variety of simultaneous bilateral, regional and multilateral processes and phased steps; (2) a policy of engagement with North Korea, including humanitarian, economic and energy-related

assistance; and (3) inclusion of the “voice” of the Korean people (Seoul Committee Activity Report 2005). In 2003, the movement gained additional momentum with the formation by NGOs of the National Council for a Peaceful Korean Peninsula, a civilian-led policy council supported by a variety of groups that aims to provide a “civilian” approach to conflict resolution.

To promote these positions, groups have been active at not only the national level but increasingly at the transnational and international level. In addition to lobbying their government and organizing mass campaigns in South Korea to protest lack of diplomatic progress, NGOs have worked jointly to lobby and/or target key players in the United States (e.g. Congress, Jimmy Carter, US peace groups), have organized international signature-collecting campaigns to call for resumption of diplomacy when stalemates emerged, and have both attended and organized international meetings with other NGOs that call attention to the crisis and need for a peaceful resolution. [See more below on these transnational activities.] In the early-mid 2000s during the period of a hard-line approach of the Bush Administration towards North Korea, much of the focus of these groups was focused on criticizing and pressuring the United States to take a more engaged approach. One of the major organizations that seeks to establish a network through Northeast Asia to build peace and resolve North Korean nuclear crisis is the Korea Peace Forum, which sponsors annual meetings of parliament members, diplomats, civil organization leaders, religious leaders and scholars from Korea, Japan, U.S., China and Russia to discuss and present policy recommendations on resolution of the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula. Finally, one of the newer groups that emerged in the 1990s and intensively works for a peaceful Korean Peninsula is Women Making Peace, a Korean organization that initially engaged in food donation to the North through the “Sharing Food, Sharing Love” campaign, and later in issues of reunification and peace. By organizing rallies and demonstrations, the group has called for other groups and the public in Korea to join in protesting the U.S.’s strong rhetoric against North Korea in 2002 and the buildup of missile defense system which has increased security tension on the Korean Peninsula.

In addition to these groups and efforts, civil society groups in South Korea have also been active in promoting improved relations between South and North Korea through people-to-people exchanges. Although grassroots people-to-people interchanges between North and Korea started in the late 1980s, they were fairly small-scale and restricted until the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration of 2000 which included as one of its points of agreement increasing such exchanges (Seoul Committee Activity Report, 2005). South Korean conservative, liberal and religious groups have promoted their own separate channels of exchange, which have included interchanges of up to 650 people such as the Women’s Unification Rally for Peace in 2002 which brought together 250 South Koreans and 300 North Koreans from labor organizations, academia, women’s groups as well as financial, artistic, political and religious circles (Seoul Committee Activity Report, 2005).

In Japan, a similarly interesting mix of groups with activities focusing on the North Korean nuclear crisis issue has emerged since the 1990s. Building on Japan's long postwar peace and nuclear disarmament movement centered on peace groups in Hiroshima and Nakagasaki, the two cities which experienced the atomic bomb during World War II, a network of NGOs and civil society groups that include peace groups, international development NGOs, and youth groups have gotten more involved in promoting peaceful resolutions to the North Korean nuclear crisis. While these groups have taken similar position to their South Korean counterparts, the most active groups on this issue have focused more of their energy on proposals for a regional nuclear weapon free zone (NWFZ) (Umebayashi, 1999). Peace Depot, an NGO set up in 1997, has taken the lead on this and has been promoting various policy proposals for a Northeast Asian NWFZ first on its own in the late 1990s and more recently through active collaboration with NGOs and activists in Korea and China (see below). In addition to Peace Depot, the other NGO which has been actively promoting a NWFZ is Peace Boat.¹

In addition to the NWFZ, Peace Boat and Peace Depot have also promoted the normalization of relations between North Korea and Japan and have made trips to North Korea which have included people-to-people exchanges. Peace Boat has had several boat cruises that have stopped in North Korea and have brought Japanese and South Korean citizens together with North Korean ones to discuss peace and historical relations among the nations. It is one of the few channels available for these types of regional grassroots exchanges.

Peace Boat is also part of a coalition effort called Peace Now Korea Japan, which includes NGOs in Japan organized by Korean residents in Japan. Peace Now Korea Japan brings together youth organizations that promote peace and cooperation among Japanese nationals and Korean residents in Japan related to Korea. In addition to Peace Boat, it includes Asian Spark, Youth Forum Japan, Organization of United Korean Youth in Japan, Chance! pono2 and Body and Soul. One of the goals of the coalition is to promote peace on the Korean peninsula, including an end to the nuclear standoff. Its activities are broad, however, and also include grassroots efforts to improve relations between Japan and both Koreas [see more below in section on history conflicts] through building grassroots connections and collaboration (<www.pnkj.net> Accessed 9/23/2006).

Regional efforts and networks. In addition to groups and movements at the national level, there have also been regional activities, networks and projects that have brought citizens of South Korea, Japan and China together to work collectively at promoting solutions to the North Korea and regional nuclear crisis. There are also a few networks that also include participants from the United States and Southeast Asia.

One regional project that has linked groups and individuals from the separate national movements in South Korea, Japan and China on the issue of a NWFZ and other regional approaches to peace on the Korean peninsula is Peace Depot's "Civil Society Initiative for Northeast Asia Regional Security." Funded by the Toyota Foundation, this

3 year project (2003-2005) brought together NGOs, academics and scientists from the three countries to develop policy proposals for cooperative regional systems for conflict prevention and resolution.² The project explored the four concepts of a NWFZ, a zone for exclusively defensive defense, a regional missile control system and use of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) to promote multilateral diplomacy. In a series of seminars, workshops and conferences held in the three countries and at UN headquarters, participants worked together at proposals in these four areas and came up with an integrated proposal for promoting steps towards de-escalation on the Peninsula that combined elements of these four concepts (Peace Depot Report, 2005).

Another regional effort that disbanded recently but was active for two decades is the Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (PCDS), which included groups from Korea, Japan, Canada, the United States and Southeast Asia. Set up in 1985, PCDS was another strong promoter of the NWFZ in Northeast Asia, as well as the use of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) to promote greater citizen participation in regional security issues. PCDS targeted ARF as one multilateral organization to promote the NWFZ and regularly sent ARF ministers its policy proposals and recommendations for setting up such a zone (PCDS letters, 2005 and 2006). PCDS also closely followed ARF meetings to see if they could be used as a venue to engage North Korea, since ARF is one of the few international bodies which North Korea occasionally participates in (PCDS Information Update #63, 2004).

Finally, groups in Northeast Asia have also worked together over the past six years on North Korea and other regional security related issues through the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC). GPPAC began in 2002 as a project of the European Center for Conflict Prevention in response to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's 2001 Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict in which he urged "NGOs with an interest in conflict prevention to organize an international conference of local, national and international NGOs on their role in conflict prevention and future interaction with the United Nations in this field" (<www.peoplebuildingpeace.org/page.php?id=247> Accessed 9/15/2006). GPPAC has brought together more than 500 local, national and international NGOs active in peace and conflict issues and divided them into 15 regional groupings that met between 2002-2005 to formulate "Regional Action Agendas" on the role of civil society in conflict prevention and peacebuilding in their regions. The GPPAC process culminated in 2005 at an international conference at the UN that brought all the regional networks together to present a final "Global Action Agenda for the Prevention of Violent Conflict" comprised of the 15 regional reports. GPPAC initiatives continue today and it is a unique international project that brings peace and conflict NGOs and civil society groups together first regionally and then globally, thereby connecting them at these two supranational levels. It is also a good example of political globalization and international organizations promoting transnational NGO collaboration from above.

GPPAC provided a regional project for NGOs and civil society organizations in Northeast Asia that included not only the North Korean nuclear crisis but also other peace and security issues mentioned in this article and the GPPAC process was one that strengthened regional NGO networks that were already forming on all these issues. [See Appendix II for a list of NGOs that have participated in the GPPAC process.] In order to formulate the GPPAC Northeast Asia Regional Action Agenda, groups from China, Japan, South Korea, Far Eastern Russia, Mongolia, and Taiwan organized national committees and began regional meetings in 2004. These meetings and new networking led to new joint regional efforts by NGOs in several security areas of regional interest and included new regionally coordinated activism such as joint press conferences and, regarding North Korea in particular, coordinated lobbying by NGOs of participating governments in the Six Party Talks for peaceful and diplomatic resolutions of the crisis³ (<www.gppac.org/page.php?id=772> Accessed 9/15/2006). The North Korea issue was one of the main issues presented in the GPPAC Northeast Asia Regional Action Agenda, and the GPPAC process contributed to further coordination among South Korean and Japanese NGOs in this area.

Finally, in addition to these regional networks, NGOs in the region have also been part of international networks and groups that promote peace and nuclear disarmament such as Abolition 2000 and the International Ecumenical Consultation on Peace in East Asia. In these international networks and forum, NGOs from the Northeast region have emerged as important voices on the issue of North Korea.

The North Korean Humanitarian Crisis

In addition to the issue of North Korea's nuclear capability, NGOs in both South Korea and Japan have become active in humanitarian issues in North Korea in the areas of relief aid and refugee support.

In the mid-1990s, the number of South Korean NGOs involved in humanitarian relief in North Korea grew quickly as it became clear that many were starving due to food shortages and droughts. The first groups to get involved were religious NGOs that responded to the 1995 famine and channeled aid through the Red Cross (Chung, 2003: 83-84). From 1995 through mid-2004, an estimated \$375 million worth of humanitarian aid has been channeled through South Korean NGOs and new coalitions and networks formed such as the NGO Council for Cooperation with North Korea, an umbrella group of 35 NGOs that works in North Korea which coordinates information exchange and cooperation on their aid projects (Seoul Committee Activity Report, 2005). As was the case with international exchange efforts described in the previous section, the 2000 Summit and Joint Declaration between South and North Korea was a breakthrough that provided new opportunities for NGO activism in the North and it was from this point on that NGOs in South Korea began more actively working with both governments on not only emergency humanitarian aid but also projects on agriculture (e.g. super corn growth

project, contract growth of seed potatoes, sericulture assistance, greenhouse construction), healthcare (e.g. nutrition pills for children, medical supplies for pediatricians, TB eradication) and other areas of development (Seoul Committee Activity Report, 2005; Chung, 2003: 87-89). [See Appendix I.]

Two major groups active in this area are Korea Welfare Fund (KWF) and Join Together Society (JTS). One of the largest social welfare agencies in Korea, KWF helps the needy children in the North by sponsoring a children's hospital in Pyongyang and four nurseries in other North Korea cities, and by donating food, clothes and basic health care worth of \$200 per individual each year (Korea Welfare Foundation). It is worth noting that the aid programs by the civic groups in Korea are not always affected by tense episodes in North-South Korean relations. For example, after North Korea test-fired missiles into the East Sea in July 2006, the Korean government suspended all aid to the North, shortly after which the North experienced days of torrential rain and flash floods that left hundreds dead. While no governmental assistance was available, JTS, headed by well-known Buddhist monk Ven. Pomnyun, was the first Korean civic group to resume the donation of aid supplies to North Korea followed by others such as Good Friends and Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation.

Finally, there are groups that focus on the issue of North Korean refugees in China and Korea. Some of these groups help refugees by facilitating their travel to Korea from China and Southeast Asia, while others work with North Korean defectors in South Korea to help them cope with various resettlement and adjustment problems they encounter. One notable campaign in 1999 and 2001 was an international campaign organized by the Seoul-based Commission to Help North Korean Refugees, which called on China to grant refugee status to North Korean defectors hiding in China and collected and delivered 11.8 million international petition signatures to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (Gluck, 2001).

While much fewer in number, there have also been groups in Japan that have been active in providing humanitarian aid to North Korea. [See Appendix I.] Peace Boat and the Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC) are two Japanese NGOs that provided humanitarian relief in North Korea in the mid 1990s during the first food shortage crisis, and Peace Boat has continued similar efforts in the 2000s by working jointly with South Korean humanitarian NGOs in fundraising activities. In 2003, Peace Boat conducted a joint aid campaign with the South Korean group JTS to send relief supplies to children at the Chinese and North Korean border area; and in 2004 it worked with JTS again to help raise funds for victims of a major train explosion in Ryongchon, North Korea. JVC, a well known international development NGO, moved from emergency food aid efforts in the 1990s to development projects in North Korea that have included solar power projects and cooperative farm projects (Takahashi, 2005). Another very active group in both humanitarian aid and human rights for North Korean refugees is Life Funds for North Korean Refugees, a group that has both projects in North Korea as well as active links to

groups in Japan and abroad that have been working on many different issues related to human rights in North Korea.

The Anti-Base Movement

A second security-related area that has become a major focus of NGOs and social movement activism in the region is the issue of US military bases in Korea and Japan. While these movements emerged separately in each country in the 1990s, by the early 2000s, activists developed transnational links and are now also finding their place in a growing international movement. Over time, these national movements have come to include a greater variety of participants (peace groups, women's groups, environmental groups, farmers and labor organizations, human rights groups) and have been supported and linked to several global movements (peace movements against the war in Iraq, the anti-globalization movement, regional peace movements, international women's movements against violence).

National Level Movements and NGOs

While protests directed at US military bases in Japan have taken place in previous periods, a more visible and politically active movement emerged in the mid-1990s in Okinawa (the home to 75% of US troops in Japan). There have been two phases in this movement, the first involving many women's groups and local organizations in the area of Futenma and the second phase involving an expanding number and wider variety of groups focusing on a proposed base in Nago. Initially, the anti-base movement in Okinawa emerged in 1995 in response to the rape of a 12-year old girl by American military stationed at the US base in Futenma. Local groups and women's groups formed in response to the incident and the grassroots campaigns that followed were successful in organizing mass protest, petitions and a coherent voice of Okinawans who wanted an end to the US military presence (Kirk and Francis, 2000). After gaining the support of Okinawa Governor Ota Masahide, the movement against the US base in Futenma became a national-level problem involving talks between the Japanese and American governments on how best to handle such strong local opposition to how US soldiers are treated and to the existence of the base itself (Smith, 2000).

Although anti-base activists were elated when it was announced that the US base in Futenma would be closed and "returned" to Japan, the movement began to move into another phase when it was announced in 1997 that a new US military base would be opened in the Henoko district of Nago to replace the Futenma base (Spencer, 2003; Smith, 2006). In this current second phase of the movement, environmental aspects of the bases came to the fore with a variety of groups focusing on the environmental damage that the base and a proposed heliport would cause. From 1997, new environmental

groups, women's groups and local residents groups emerged and formed networks with preexisting anti-base groups in Okinawa and peace groups in Tokyo and other parts of Japan (Spencer, 2003; Yonetani, 2004). The movement, thus, has evolved into a more complex network over time that is driven not purely by "not-in-my-backyard" (NIMBY) activists, but a hodgepodge of local, regional and national groups that focus on the environment, women's issues, peace, and progressive causes (Spencer, 2003). [See Appendix III for a sample of groups.]

As in Japan, the anti-base movement in Korea gained momentum in the early 1990s with several incidents involving the murder and/or rape of Korean women by US servicemen. Although the movement focused in its early years on issues related to women and violence against women, by the mid to late 1990s the movement expanded to include not only women's groups and issues of sexual violence, but also a variety of causes championed by environmental groups, law professionals, human rights activists, student groups, labor organizers, consumer groups, local resident groups, religious activists, peace groups and, in recent years, farmers (Kirk and Francis, 2000: 262-263; Yeo, 2006; Moon, 2007). [See Appendix III for a sample of groups.] By the early 2000s, this movement has seen some success in terms of gaining more widespread support and political clout as NGOs have made breakthrough alliances with local government and local business in areas where US bases are located (Moon, 2008: 174-175), although in recent years violent clashes between protestors and the police have also damaged the movement's public image (Yeo, 2006: 49-50). Similar to Japan, the movement over the years has expanded from being locally-based NIMBY campaigns to being national campaigns with elaborate coalitions that include national and local groups from different sectors. After focusing its attention on the revision of the US-Republic of Korea Status of Armed Forces Agreements (SOFA) in the late 1990s and early 2000s, much of the movement is now devoted to prevent base expansion in Pyeongtaek and places affected by new plans by the United States to consolidate and relocate its base locations in Korea (Yeo, 2006: 41-51).

One contrast between the Korean and Japanese anti-base movement is the strong anti-American rhetoric and flavor among the Korean groups, who view resistance to US bases as part of an ongoing larger nationalist struggle for democracy and a unified Korea (Yeo, 2006; Moon, 2007 and 2008). Anti-Americanism first emerged in the 1980s in the context of the democracy movement, when pro-democracy activists came to associate the US military presence with authoritarian rule by Korean military leaders. The transformational event in this regard was the Kwangju uprising and massacre of 1980, the harshest case of military suppression of a democratic civilian movement in Korean postwar history (Yeo, 2006: 41). Since the United States did nothing to stop the massacre and since it later supported the rise in power of General Chun Do Hwan (the military leader responsible for the massacre), many Korean activists lost faith in the United States as a supporter of the democracy movement (Yoshimi, 2003: 444-45). From the 1980s, thus, the democracy movement in Korea took an anti-American stance and this

stance has filtered into various movements like the anti-base movement that emerged in the 1990s once Korea transitioned into democracy.

Regional Networks

In addition to movements at the local and national level in Japan and Korea, groups in each country have also formed transnational links to groups in North America and regional networks in East Asia to promote movement goals beyond their own borders.

In terms of regional networking on the issue of US bases, women's groups have been important initiators due to the fairly dense world of global women conferencing and its new focus on women and violence starting in the 1990s (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Berkovitch, 1999). Women activists and groups concerned about the US bases in East Asia came into contact with one another at parallel NGO Forum for the 1995 Fourth International Women's Conference, a major UN conference held in Beijing. In addition to spurring on the formation of the Japanese coalition group Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (Spencer, 2003: 134-135), this conference established links between women's groups in Japan and North America, leading to numerous "American Peace Caravan" tours since 1996 bringing Okinawan women activists to the United States to meet with US Congresswomen, UN officers at UN Headquarters in New York and the general public in multi-city speaking tours.

Links between Okinawa and Korean women groups have also existed since as early as the late 1980s and these links became even more active in the mid-1990s as women's groups started participating in each others' anti-base events (Moon, 2008: 179). These connections became more formalized in 1997 with the formation of the East Asia-US Women's Network Against Militarism, which later morphed into the East Asia-US-Puerto Rico Women's Network and then more recently became the International Women's Network Against Militarism (which includes women's groups in the Philippines, Taiwan and other parts of the world). These new networks have led to joint and transnational lobbying, protest and campaign efforts that have targeted national governments while also supporting groups in their efforts to lobby and pressure the US government. Although women form the heart of this network, their annual regional conferences have included teachers, local government officials, youth and community organizers and other types of civil society organizations. Farmer organizations in Korea have also collaborated with Japanese peace activists on land-related issues and the bases.

Another regional effort has been supported by Peace Depot and PCDS. When Peace Depot was first set up in 1997, it hosted an international forum jointly with PCDS entitled "Dialogue, Not Forces! Roles of NGOs in Asia Pacific Regional Security" which examined the question of US bases in the region and NGO positions on them. [Peace Depot has also conducted research on US forces in Japan and has monitored Japan-US military cooperation and bills in the Diet.]

International Movements

In addition to these national and regional efforts, in the past five years a budding international network against foreign military bases has formed and was formally launched at a conference in Ecuador in 2007 as the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases. This network builds on a revived global peace movement since the start of the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, as well as the sprawling anti-globalization movement now partially institutionalized in the annual civil society-organized World Social Forum (Muto, 2003). Efforts to start some sort of international coalition or movement against foreign military bases began in 2003 at a quickly organized international anti-war conference in Jakarta called by peace movement leaders to respond to the invasion of Iraq by the United States. At this meeting the goal of unifying and bringing together the various anti-base movements was brought up as one response to rising concerns about US military hegemony, and an international working group was formed to plan a first meeting of anti-base activists at the World Social Forum in 2004 in Mumbai, India. At this meeting, the first International Anti-US Bases Conference was held, leading to the setting up of an informal network and future strategy meetings at the next World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2005, and then culminating in 2007 with the launching of the formal network.

Since then, the network has set up a website and served as a communication point for various anti-base movements and activists worldwide. Although the movement is still in its early stages, it has linked hundreds of activists in countries all over the world who are involved in anti-base movements. The email list service now has over 300 members in 48 countries, and has been used by activists to share information about their campaign and cooperate on possible joint strategies. Groups from Japan and Korea have participated actively in these meetings and have given presentations on their own experiences and campaigns. The international movement's perspective on US bases as the "coercive arm of corporate-led globalization" and a force that has repressed democracy and imposed environmental, health and social costs to local populations matches the mixed make-up and general perspectives of groups involved in the anti-base and peace movements in both Korea and Japan (<www.abolishbases.org/foreign_military_bases.htm> Accessed 9/28/06; <<http://www.no-bases.org/>> Accessed 6/29/08).

In addition to participating in these new international networks, groups in both Japan and Korea have actively used international venues and allies to advance their particular campaigns. Groups in Okinawa, in addition to their links to international women's networks and UN bodies related to women's rights, have also appealed to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the G-8 Summit when it was held in Okinawa in 2000 (Yonetani, 2004). The farmers and other Korea anti-base protest groups in Pyeongtaek have also turned to the international arena for support and have appealed to international groups via the internet and the international networks they

have participated in. For example, American peace activists such as Cindy Sheehan have joined protests in Korea and progressive intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky have signed petitions and statements on their behalf (Weaver, 2006; “Pyeongtaek Solidarity Statement”, 2007).

Historical Legacies and Confronting the Past in Northeast Asia

The third security-related area of rising national and transnational social movement activity since the 1990s is the issue of Japan’s historical record in pre-war and wartime Asia and resolving differences in how the past is treated publicly and officially between Japan and its neighbors of Korea and China. As many have noted, one source of instability in the region is feelings of mistrust in the region toward Japan due to its past as a colonizer and wartime aggressor in the region (Kristof, 1998; Christenson, 1999; Berger, 2000). Civil society groups and NGOs have played interesting roles by both encouraging the activation of these tensions in the 1990s and 2000s as well as stimulating transnational networks that aim to resolve these tensions. Two areas that became prominent in the 1990s are the continuing controversies over history textbooks in Japan and the so-called comfort women issue.

National Level Movements and Divisions

The controversy over history textbooks in Japan has centered on efforts by conservatives both within government and civil society in Japan to airbrush or remove passages in Japanese history textbooks that present Japan as an aggressive and/or violent colonizer in East Asia. Within Japan, civil society has been divided between progressive groups that want a more full view of history that recognizes Japan’s aggressive past and conservative and nationalist groups that want to promote a more patriotic version of history (Jeans, 2005; Rose, 2005). While these divisions began to get increasing public attention in the 1980s, it was in the mid-1990s and 2000s that they became a full blown battle when a nationalist backlash emerged in response to Japan’s official apologies to Korea and China and the more open debate on Japan’s war past. This nationalist backlash has been comprised of new revisionist groups and a political movement supported by some LDP and government officials to write a new, more patriotic textbook. The rise of this new movement, in turn, also reactivated old and inspired new progressive groups and networks that have become very politically active (Jeans, 2005; Rose, 2005).

In Korea and China, civil society reacted to these battles over textbooks taking place in Japan in the 1990s and 2000s with their own nationalist responses based on a long, pent-up desire to voice their own resentment, anger and pain vis-à-vis Japan concerning horrible wartime and colonial experiences. In Korea, civil society groups

quickly formed in reaction to the revisionist textbooks proposed by Japanese patriotic groups and politicians, and through their persistent lobbying, protesting and internet activism made the textbooks an area of bilateral contention between Japan and South Korea in both the mid-1990s and the early 2000s resulting in withdrawal of Korea's ambassador to Japan on more than one occasion and official protests to the Japanese government (Soh, 2003a). In China, the emergence of the "history activists" in the late 1980s and 1990s, a group of historians and scholars dedicated to retrieving history and creating monuments for the past, contributed to a growing movement within China to face a painful past that the Chinese government had suppressed or downplayed for most of the postwar period (Qiu, 2006; Reilly, 2004). In this context of greater political space on the issue of history, the Chinese government itself began to use history as diplomatic leverage vis-à-vis Japan as well as a way to build up nationalist sentiment to shore up support for the regime. When the textbook controversies in Japan broke out in the mid 1990s and early 2000s, thus, they unleashed a wave of nationalism in Chinese society that led to street protests and rising anti-Japanese sentiment (Qiu, 2006; Wasserstrom, 2005).

Regional Networks

Although civil society movements in Korea and China have contributed to regional tensions by reinforcing nationalism in their countries and by putting pressure on their leaders to confront Japan, they have also offered a possible channel for resolving these same tensions. Through transnational efforts, Korean and Chinese groups and historians have started to work with Japanese groups and activists to bridge differences and work towards a more common view of history. Around the same time that the textbook battles broke out in the mid-1990s, progressive groups and academic institutions in Japan extended invitations to groups in both Korea and China to visit Japan to talk about history and hear accounts from wartime survivors. Since 1994, the Nanjing Museum and its affiliated scholars – many of them among the core group of "history activists" in China – have gotten funding from Japanese sources and have visited Japan annually on speaking tours and as part of joint exhibits (Reilly, 2004). In the course of the 1990s, joint history workshops and conferences were hosted by academic institutions in China, Japan and Korea; and there was a steady increase in the number of exchanges between history teachers in these countries, joint publications, and cooperation in collecting oral histories (Rose, 2005: 66).

Building on these earlier contacts and exchanges, a more activist transnational network involving NGOs in the region has also emerged in recent years. In the early 2000s, the controversy over new revisionist textbooks in Japan proposed by the conservative Society for the Creation of New History Textbooks led to the mobilization of a transnational network among activists and historians to protest and organize a campaign against the approval and adoption of the textbooks. The first "Asian Emergency Solidarity Meeting" took place in 2001, bringing together 50 history activists

from 9 East Asian countries outside Japan and 400 Japanese activists and leading to the formation of the Asia Network for History Education. In addition to the creation of this new regional network, the conference has led to an on-going dialogue among civil society actors in the region who now meet annually for “solidarity” conferences in different Asian cities on the issue of history and textbooks. In 2003, this led to the completion of a joint history textbook (“History Opening the Future”) written by participants from different countries that attempts to deal with history in a way that, by including multiple voices, might help the countries overcome differences and work towards a resolution of some of the tensions caused by history.

Activists involved in this transnational network have also been involved in numerous regional and transnational processes to promote better relations and historical understandings between Japan and other countries. Several of the NGOs in the network were part of the GPPAC process (see previous section above on North Korean nuclear crisis) and, due to their participation, “overcoming the past” and promoting historical understanding to overcome high levels of mistrust in the region became an action item in GPPAC’s Northeast Asian Regional Action Agenda (GPPAC Northeast Asia Regional Action Agenda, 2005: 19-20). Individual NGOs and separate NGO coalitions have also organized regional exchanges, public events and projects that engage citizens in history and expose them to other perspectives. Peace Boat’s regional “peace” tours in Asia have brought thousands of Japanese, Koreans, Chinese and other East Asians together to openly discuss the legacies of war both on the boat itself as well as in port of call visits in Korea, North Korea, China, Japan and other Asian countries. Peace Boat also has an Asian History Project Team which is compiling booklets for Japanese youth that provide viewpoints on historical issues from different parts of the region. The coalition group Peace Now Korea Japan also has a Korea-Japan history project, and conducts regular youth study tours and peace walks that bring together Japanese youth, young Korean residents in Japan and Korean youths together. Finally, the Korean group, Korea Peace Forum, has held annual Korea-Japan Workshops that bring together activists and citizens from both sides to improve dialogue on difficult historical and contemporary issues.

The Issue of Comfort Woman

Similar to the textbook movement, the other history-related social movement that has generated controversy, tension and yet also interesting civil society-level collaboration between Japan, Korea and China is the movement to recognize and compensate “comfort women,” i.e, women who served as forced sexual workers for Japanese soldiers during the war. Although this article cannot describe this movement in detail, it is one that has similarly involved the activation and mobilization of NGOs and activists at the national and regional level in Japan, Korea, China and other East Asian countries (Soh, 2003b; Piper, 2001; Nozaki, 2002; Hayashi, 2001). The comfort woman

network includes groups that are also involved in the textbook controversy and these groups are listed together in Appendix IV.

Although this transnational network has operated similarly to the network on history textbooks by having regular conferences and meetings of activists in the region – in the case of the comfort woman issue, these solidarity conferences started earlier in 1992 and have been going on for more than 15 years – it also has included an additional international dimension since many of the NGOs involved in this particular network are women's groups that have also been involved in international meetings and processes. A very active and conscious strategy of using UN conferences, bodies and processes in the 1990s proved to be a quite successful one in terms of getting the issue of comfort women on the political agenda in a way that has made it hard for the Japanese government to ignore. In addition to introducing the issue of comfort women as a human rights issue of violence against women at both the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights and the 1995 Fourth World Women's Conference in Beijing (Chou, 2003), Korean groups have also appealed to the UN Commission on Human Rights and its relevant subcommittees, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to press Japan to take concrete action (Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan website, <www.womenandwar.net/english/menu_012.php> Accessed 10/1/06). The availability of international opportunities, thus, has led to a more international dimension to the issue of comfort women which has found a place in the larger international women's movement. When the regional network organized the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo in 2000, this event included not only regional activists from East Asia but also the participation and support of women's groups from all over the world. [See this website for organizers and supporters: <<http://home.att.ne.jp/star/tribunal/about%20tribunalE.htm>> Accessed 9/15/06].

Conclusion and Implications

Although in its early phases, a set of transnational movements related to security issues appears to be emerging in Northeast Asia. Starting out as national movements in the 1990s, civil society groups in Japan, Korea and China are now part of several overlapping regional networks concerned with the North Korean crisis, U.S. military bases, and regional historical legacies. To conclude, I now examine some of the implications of these new movements. The movements offer both challenges and opportunities for states and regional security which should be considered by decision makers when analyzing policy options.

In terms of challenges, two issues stand out as particularly pressing. First, the question of history in Northeast Asia is one that continues to be a source of conflict and mistrust between Japan and its neighbors. This issue is one that civil society groups have

forced leaders to grapple with that presents a clear dilemma – on the one hand, states rely on nationalism for legitimacy and political leaders benefit domestically from supporting it, but on the other hand, such nationalism makes compromise in regional diplomacy very difficult (Rozman and Lee, 2006). Although most NGOs and civil society groups desire peace in the region, their movements for historical accountability also pose a potential challenge if divisive nationalism continues to grow, especially in Korea and China.

The second pressing issue facing states is U.S. military bases in the region and the dilemma of providing regional security while also adequately responding to domestic social and political problems caused by U.S. alliance arrangements in both Japan and Korea. While U.S. military bases are a crucial component of regional security, they have also become contentious battlegrounds involving many issues that relate to democracy such as women's rights, environmental degradation, local land rights, and accountability of U.S. servicemen. Although the U.S. is a self-claimed champion of democracy, civil society movements protesting against the bases challenge this portrayal. The movements also force host governments to deal with the non-democratic aspects of their security alliance with the U.S. This is a tension that has increased overtime in all countries with U.S. bases and is an issue that needs to be dealt with in Northeast Asia as well.

In addition to challenges, the movements described in this article also offer opportunities for states to solve some of the pressing problems in the region. Regarding the nuclear and humanitarian crises in North Korea, NGOs and regional networks have provided policy alternatives and a separate channel for diplomacy. In terms of policy alternatives, the nuclear weapon free zone is a concept that has been championed by groups since the late 1990s which offers an innovative approach to ending the current standoff in the region. Although states would probably not adopt the specific NWFZ proposed by NGOs, the idea nonetheless provides a good starting point for thinking of alternative diplomatic and institutional solutions to nuclear buildup in the region. In terms of providing a separate channel for diplomacy, NGOs now have their own set of contacts with North Korea through their work in humanitarian aid and general exchange activities. Given the various difficulties in establishing smooth official relations with North Korea, NGOs provide a possible non-official channel for communication that would allow a face-saving option for all parties. Exchange activities through NGOs also establish trans-border ties that lessen tensions and may in the future provide a grassroots component to a diplomatic breakthrough.

Finally, although civil society movements have been a cause of history-related tension in the region, they also offer a counter-movement to nationalism through their regional networks. As this article has shown, activists in Korea, Japan and China now meet regularly and are involved in several joint history projects. Such projects are an important step towards finding a middle ground between encouraging reactionary nationalism and ignoring history in order to smooth over bilateral relations. In addition to diplomatic initiatives, these sort of civil society-based projects and processes should be

encouraged. In the long run, they may produce versions of history that would be more acceptable to citizens in all countries.

Notes

1. Peace Depot and Peace Boat are both interesting examples of a new type of NGO in peace movement circles in Japan since the 1980s and 1990s: pragmatic research- and action-based NGOs which are less ideological when compared to the older “traditional” peace movement groups based in Nagasaki and Hiroshima that have often been affiliated with a party of the left. Peace Boat was set up in the early 1980s as a social consciousness raising boat cruise around the world and over the years it has taken on many additional advocacy and aid activities that involve youth in peace issues. Peace Depot was set up to be a nonpartisan research-oriented NGO that would bring together activists from academia, journalism and the media, the celebrity world, foundations, and science to produce a more professionalized advocacy group that would use research, media, national lobbying and international networks to promote peace.
2. Groups and institutions that participated in this initiative include: Peace Depot, Disarmament Network Catch Peace, Peace Link *Kure Hiroshima Iwakuni*, Tokyo International University, Meijigakuin, Tsukuba University, Tokyo Gakugei University, Rikkyo University, Hallym University (Korea), Civil Network for a Peaceful Korea (Korea), Fudan University (China), China Institute of International Studies (China), National Defense University (China), International Network of Engineers and Scientists against Proliferation (Germany) and the Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (regional network).
3. A recent example of a joint statement by NGOs in the region is the July 2006 “Northeast Asian Citizens’ Call for a Peaceful Solution to the Missile Crisis” which urges the resumption of the 6 Party Talks and bilateral talks between the United States and North Korea, advocates a more “nonprovocative” coverage by the media of North Korea issues, and calls for the halting of missile development and deployment. NGOs from Hong Kong, China, Russia, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand signed this statement. [See <www.peaceboat.org/english/nwps/sm/arc/060711/index.html> Accessed 9/23/2006.] Many of the groups involved in this joint statement were also part of the GPPAC process and the networks started then.

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Appendix I: NGOs and Networks Active on North Korea Issues

KOREA

Nuclear Issue with North Korea

Civic Network for a Peaceful Korea (CNPK)
 Center for Peace and Disarmament
 Forum of the National Reunification of Korea
 Green Korea United
 Korean Confederation of Trade Unions
 Korean Federation for Environmental Movement
 Korea Peace Forum
 Korea Women's Associations United
 Korea Youth Corps
 National Alliance for Democracy and Reunification of Korea
 National Council for a Peaceful Korean Peninsula
 Nonviolent Peaceforce Corea
 People's Solidarity for Participatory Development
 Solidarity for Peace and Human Rights
 Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea (SPARK)
 Women Making Peace

Humanitarian Aid and Human Rights / Refugee Groups

Commission to Help North Korean Refugees
 Database Center for North Korean Human Rights
 Eugene Bell Centennial Foundation
 Good Friends
 Good Neighbors Korea
 Good People
 Join Together Society
 International Corn Foundation
 Korean Sharing Movement
 Korea Welfare Foundation
 Medical Aid for Children of the DPRK
 National Coalition of NGOs for Inter-Korea Agricultural Development and Cooperation
 North Korean Human Rights
 Okkedongmu Children in Korea (Friends Standing Shoulder to Shoulder)
 South Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation

Women's Committee of Reunification Coalition
 Women Making Peace
 Women 21
 World Vision Korea

Religious Groups

National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK)
 Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea

JAPAN

North Korea Nuclear Issue and Peace

Gensuikin/Peace Forum
 Hiroshima Alliance for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (HANWA)
 Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament Japan
 Peace Boat
 Peace Depot
 Peace Now Korea Japan
 PRIME (Daily Report of the NE Asia Peace and Security Network)

North Korea Humanitarian Aid and Human Rights

Humanitarian Aid to North Korea, Network in Japan (HANK-NET Japan)
 Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC)
 Life Funds for North Korean Refugees
 NGOs network on Humanitarian Assistance to DPRKorea
 Peace Boat
 Peace Now Korea Japan
 Rescue the North Korean People! Urgent Action Network (RENK)

REGIONAL COALITIONS/MOVEMENTS

Christian Conference of Asia
 Civil Society Initiative for Northeast Asia Regional Security (2003-2005)
 Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC),
 Northeast Asia Region
 Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (PCDS) (1985)

Appendix II: NGO Supporters and Participants in the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), Northeast Asia Region

CHINA

Archive Museum of Jiangsu Province
 Center for Shanghai Cooperation Organization Studies, Fudan University
 China Association for NGO Cooperation
 Chinese Association for International Understanding
 Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament
 History Branch of Nanjing Teachers' University
 History Department, Society Science Institute, Jiangsu Province
 Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS)
 Memorial to Victims of Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders
 Nanking Massacre Museum
 NGO Research Center, Tsinghua University
 Oriental Morning Post
 Second Historical Museum of China
 Society Science Department, University of Nanjing Medical Science

HONG KONG

Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (ARENA) (Hong Kong)
 Hong Kong Coalition for Preserving the History of WWII in Asia
 Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union

JAPAN

Acacia Lawyers Office
 Arms Export Ban Campaign Center
 Article 9 Society-Nagoya
 Asia Pacific Peace Forum
 Association of Chinese Residents in Japan
 Chance! Pono 2
 Global Campaign for Peace Education Japan, Seisen University
 Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University
 Greens Japan
 Interband
 International Peace Research Association, Mie University
 International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR)
 Japan Center for Conflict Prevention
 Japan International Volunteer Center
 Japan Lawyers Association Solidarity Association
 Japan Young Lawyers Association
 Lawyers Supporting War Reparations for Chinese
 National Council of Churches
 Nonviolent Peaceforce Japan
 Organization of United Korean Youth in Japan
 Peace Boat
 Peace Chain Reaction
 Peace Depot
 PEACE ON
 Peace-building Study Group
 Rainbow and Greens
 Seisen University/Global Campaign for Peace Education
 Civil Service International Japan
 Shimin Gaiko Center
 The Goi Peace Foundation

The Organization of Succeeding the Miracle of Fushun
 Transcend-Japan
 White Ribbon of Peace

KOREA

Asia Peace and History Network
 Center for Peace Museum
 Council of Unification Education (Korea)
 Citizen's Coalition for Economic Justice
 Korea Anabaptist Center
 Korea Christian Environmental Solidarity
 Korea Peace Forum
 Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation
 Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan
 Korean Federation for Environmental Movement
 Korean Sharing Movement
 National Council for Peace on the Korean Peninsula (Korea)
 Nonviolent Peaceforce Korea
 People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy
 Peace Women
 Women Making Peace (Korea)
 World Christian Frontiers

MONGOLIA

Academy of Political Education
 Development and Environment Center
 Environmental Education and Research Institute
 Institute for the Future
 Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia
 Ulaanbaatar Focal Point

RUSSIA

Center of Regional Legal Problems and Questions of National Security
 International Research Center, Maritime State University (Russia)
 Far Eastern Fund Economical Security Assistance
 Future of the Pacific
 Institute of Sociopolitical Problems of Management, Maritime State University
 NGO Center of the Public Information of the Far East Public Academy of Sciences
 NGO Club Plot
 NGO Future of the Pacific
 NGO Sigma
 North East Asia Peace Movement
 Pacific Wave
 Regional Center for Social and Economic Research, Sakhalin University

TAIWAN

Alliance for Peace Homeland
 Awakening Foundation
 Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University
 Peace Time Foundation
 Taiwan Security Research Center, National Taiwan University

Appendix III: Anti-base NGOs and Networks

JAPAN

Association to Protect Life
 Campaign to Oppose US Heliport – Nago – Okinawa Peace
 Cyber Circle
 Council for Opposing Offshore Base Construction
 Gensuikyo
 Gensuikin/Peace Forum
 Hantaikyo
 Japan Coalition on the US Military Bases
 Juku no kai
 Meeting of the Kamados
 No to Heliport!
 Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence
 Okinawa Peace and Ecology Network
 Peace Depot
 Peace Forum
 Reach to Hearts – Women’s Voice Network
 Save the Dugong Foundation
 World Peace Now

KOREA

Citizens’ Coalition for Economic Justice
 Civil Network for a Peaceful Korea
 Confederation of Korean Student Assembly
 Du Rae Bang (My Sister’s Place)

Korean Federation for Environmental Movement
 Korea Green United
 Korean Committee for US Military Bases Return
 Korean Confederated Trade Unions (KCTU)
 Korean Woman Organization Against US Occupation
 Lawyers for a Democratic Society
 Magdalena House
 National Alliance for Democracy and the Reunification of Korea
 National Campaign for Eradication of Crime by US Troops in
 Korea
 Peace Wind
 Pan-South Korean Committee Against US Base Extension in
 Pyeongtaek (KCPT)
 People’s Action for Reform of the Unjust SOFA (PAR-SOFA)
 Sam Woom Tuh (Little Sprout)
 Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea (SPARK)
 Voice of People
 Women Making Peace

REGIONAL NETWORKS

Futenma-Henoko Action Network
 East Asia-US Women’s Network Against Militarism

INTERNATIONAL COALITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

No Bases (International Network Against Foreign Military Bases)

Appendix IV: NGOs and Networks Working on Regional Historical Legacies

JAPAN

Advisory Committee for Discussing Social Studies Textbook
 Problems
 Asian Human Rights Commission Japan: No! to the Distorted
 History Textbook
 Asia Network for History Education, Japan
 Asia-Japan Women’s Resource Center
 Association to Clarify the Post War Responsibility of Japan
 Center for Research and Documentation on Japan’s War
 Responsibility (JWRC)
 Children and Textbooks Japan Network21
 Committee for Truth and Freedom in Textbooks
 Committee to Support Chinese “Comfort Women” Court Cases
 Gensuikin/Peace Forum
 Japan Democratic Lawyer’s Association
 Japanese Society for Democratic Education
 Joint Study of the Sino-Japanese War
 Korea Youth in Japan, Peace Boat, Body and Soul)
 National Network of Concerned Citizens on Textbooks & Children
 Peace Boat
 Peace Now Korea Japan
 Society to Support the Demands of Chinese War Victims (Suopei)
 Taiwan Comfort Women Legal Support Group
 Violence Against Women in War and Conflict Situations Network
 (VAWW-NET Japan)

KOREA

Asia Peace and History Education Network
 Civilian Movement for Correcting Japan-Distorted Textbooks
 Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by
 Japan
 Korean Council of University Women
 Korean Labor Union
 Korea Peace Forum
 Korea Women’s Associations United
 National Labor Union of School Teachers and Staff
 Peace Project Network
 Research Institute of Historical Issues
 War and Women’s Human Rights Center

CHINA

Central Lawyers’ Office
 Nanking Memorial Museum
 Shanghai Research Center on Comfort Woman (Shanghai
 Normal University)

REGIONAL COALITIONS, NETWORKS AND MOVEMENTS

Asia Network for History Education
 Asian Solidarity Network on the Forced Military Comfort Women
 Problem
 International Forum for Post-war Compensation in the Asia Pacific