



**Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
Northeast Asia Regional Action Agenda**

'TOKYO AGENDA'

Towards Creation of a Regional Mechanism for Peace

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Preamble

Northeast Asia has a comparatively heavy concentration of armaments and military forces. The danger being that there is an extremely high risk of the outbreak of armed conflict and yet very little in the way of preventive mechanisms within the region. The fragile security status is made more serious by the fact that numerous states have been relying on nuclear weapons in their security policies but yet there is no effective control system in place to monitor such weapons.

Northeast Asia is the only region in the world with Cold War remaining among states. The Korean Peninsula remains divided under serious military tension. Diplomatic relations between Japan and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) have not yet been established. Political stalemate across the Taiwan Strait casts serious concerns to the whole region. Also, territorial disputes such as the Kuril Islands/Northern Territory between Russia and Japan, as well as Senkaku/Diaoyu/Tiaoyutai islands dispute between China and Japan remain unresolved.

The US-led 'War on Terror' is deepening the complexity of security problems rooted in Northeast Asia's Cold War. The US has not denied the option of taking military action against the DPRK, thus endangering the security of people living on the Korean Peninsula and promoting distrust and suspicion within the region. The US military transformation – particularly the realignment of its bases, accompanied by integration of Japan and Republic of Korea (ROK), is serving as a seriously destabilizing force in Northeast Asia.

Given this context, particular attention must be paid to Japan, which has de facto, the second largest military expenditure in the world. The strengthening of Japan's Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and shift towards revision of its Constitution, especially regarding its commitments to the non-use of forces and to non-belligerency made in Article 9, suggests a growing threat to its Northeast Asian neighbors.

In Northeast Asia, legacies of Japan's past colonization and war of aggression continue to taint the relationship between neighbouring peoples, as do experiences from the Korean War and decades-long Cold War hostilities. Overcoming the past through realization of transitional justice would provide a firm basis for the prevention of conflict in the future.

The accelerating pace of economic globalization is creating new root causes for the outbreak of conflict in Northeast Asia. The resultant disparities in the region are most pronounced, with certain sub-regions experiencing grave environmental destruction and social problems while others are enjoying massive economic growth accompanied by newfound prosperity. This reality breeds competitive relationships

among nations and communities. An additional enabling factor for potential armed conflict is the increase in cross-border migratory flows which are linked to human rights violations. Conflict prevention efforts should therefore reflect these social and economic factors.

Cold War in the region should never escalate into actual armed conflict. Rather, we must strengthen our efforts to replace the Cold War by a cooperative mechanism for peace in the region. The recent fast-paced growth of civil society and democratization in numerous parts of the region provides strong momentum to pursue the goal of peaceful and cooperative relations in Northeast Asia. To this end, it is vital to continue creating synergies between civil society actors, including grassroots groups, community-based organizations, non-governmental organizations and think-tanks in the region, in order to take the necessary, proactive roles. Efforts by state actors to develop mutual trust are certainly appreciated, and we urge governments to continue supporting positive initiatives at the regional level.

We recognize Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution¹ as one of the key elements to promoting regional peace. It has been described as a norm to affirm the security of people in the region through the containment of Japanese militarism. Notably, the principles of Article 9 – the renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes and of maintaining forces for those purposes – should be recognized as having universal value and be therefore utilized as a foundation for peace in Northeast Asia.

Civil society should take the initiative to build peaceful relations, particularly when state armed forces are not able to uphold sustainable peace. In order to achieve this goal, civil society should also take initiative to shift from the “security paradigm” which is based on the balance of power and military alliances, to the “peace paradigm,” which is based on mutual interdependence and cooperation. We are working beyond borders in innovative and flexible ways to build relations of trust and cooperation, and are free from the kind of restrictions created by historical and political factors that state actors are more often held captive by.

This Regional Action Agenda aims to be a comprehensive vision to create a regional mechanism for peace through concrete actions of disarmament, demilitarization, and attaining justice, democracy, non-violence and sustainability in Northeast Asia.

Guiding Principles for the Prevention of Armed Conflict in Northeast Asiaⁱⁱ

1. Respect for the peaceful resolution of conflict

We reaffirm our commitment to bringing about peaceful resolutions to any kind of conflicts through dialogue and preventive diplomacy.

2. Creating a cooperative security system through denuclearization and demilitarization of the region

We should replace the existing Cold War in Northeast Asia with a cooperative security system through disarmament actions based on the principles of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

3. Ensuring local ownership and human security in creating a regional mechanism for peaceⁱⁱⁱ

We should adhere to the principle that any decisions on security policies should reflect local citizens' voices and reflect local realities.

4. Promoting peaceful engagement to areas of conflict and potential danger

We should develop non-violent ways of peaceful engagement to replace any colonialist or military intervention promoting conflicts.

5. Importance of gender justice in conflict prevention

We should pay particular focus to violence against women in armed conflict and integrate gender perspectives in creating conflict prevention mechanisms in the region.

6. Establishing institutions for conflict prevention based on recognition of justice, human rights and diversity

We should overcome the past with justice and build a society where various nationalities and cultures can coexist with their human rights secured, as a basis for conflict prevention.

7. Promoting a culture of peace and culture of prevention

We should overcome any militarism or narrow-minded nationalism within popular culture through developing peace education and peace media.

8. Building sustainable regional economies

We should transform the current economic systems which produce poverty and environmental destruction and launch new initiatives to create economies that would prevent conflicts.

9. Promoting new partnerships among civil society, governments, regional organizations and the UN for conflict prevention

We should strengthen our common efforts to ensure deeper dialogue over conflict prevention policies can be developed throughout the whole region.

10. Capacity building of civil society for conflict prevention

We should accelerate the momentum that the region has gained in strengthening civil society and develop a social system where CSOs can continue meaningful activities.

Theme 1: Peaceful Coexistence

Building a regional system for peaceful coexistence through disarmament and demilitarization

1-1: Resolve nuclear crisis and achieve denuclearization of Northeast Asia

The nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula concerns more than the issue of nuclearization of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). It should also be understood as a symptom of the Cold War structures that prevail in Northeast Asia. It is essential to eliminate the roots causes of the nuclear crisis and to achieve denuclearization of the region in a peaceful and regionally cooperative manner. All those factors which pose nuclear and military threats in the region, including the United States' hostile policy towards the DPRK, and the nuclear weapon dependent security policies that numerous Northeast Asian states persistently employ, should be seriously addressed and replaced by coordinated disarmament and demilitarization actions throughout the region.

As 2005 marks the 60 year anniversary since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it is essential to remember the inherently inhumane nature of nuclear weapons. We must de-legitimize nuclear weapons, and recognize that any policies dependent on such weapons of non-discriminatory mass massacre are immoral, irresponsible, impractical and illegal.

Focused

- Strengthen regional efforts to resolve peacefully the current nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula through DPRK-US Talks and Six-Party Talks.
- Establish a Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (NWFZ). Organize regional civil society movement to help establish such a zone and create a regional network of CSOs for a NWFZ.
- Pursue innovative and flexible approaches to the creation of a NWFZ: Mongolian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status could provide an example of a political and realistic approach in addressing nuclear issues involving individual states.

UN Tasks

- Achieve universal compliance of the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty* (NPT). Nuclear-weapon States should undertake their obligation of nuclear disarmament under Article VI^{iv}. Progress should be made at the NPT Review Conference, May 2005, based on the "unequivocal undertaking to achieve the total elimination of nuclear arsenals" made by the nuclear-weapon States at the NPT Review

Conference 2000.

- Promote negotiation for a non-discriminatory and verifiable fissile material cut-off treaty (FMCT). Place uranium enrichment and extraction of plutonium under strict international control, regardless of military or civilian purposes.
- Commence negotiation for a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) which prohibits the development, production, testing, deployment, stockpiling, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons, and provides for their elimination.
- Support institutionalization of Mongolia's nuclear-weapon-free status^v as a positive example of creation of non-traditional NWFZs and thus un-tapping to the fullest the potential of NWFZs.

Governmental Tasks

- The United States should abandon its first-use policy of nuclear weapons and dramatically pursue nuclear disarmament. Russia and China should also pursue nuclear disarmament. The DPRK should express its willingness to return to and comply with the NPT.
- Establish agreements between states that call for a ban on the production and testing of nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia.
- Undertake the elimination of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, sign and ratify *Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty* (CTBT), and suspend developments of ballistic missiles. Pursue regional measures for the limitation and reduction of missile systems.
- Adopt non-discriminatory and universal non-proliferation policies based on international law, instead of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) which risks unilateral containment by the use of force.
- Ensure the full implementation of the *Joint Declaration for Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula* (1992).
- Japan should strictly abide by its *Non-Nuclear Three Principles*.
- Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) should shift away their policies of relying on the US "nuclear umbrella."
- End development of nuclear fuel cycle which increases the danger of nuclear proliferation.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Raise public awareness in support of denuclearization through regional peaceful efforts. Note the important role that *Hibakushas* (atomic bombing survivors) in Japan and the Korean Peninsula play in such efforts.
- Support *2020 Vision* (Emergency Campaign to Ban Nuclear Weapons) proposed by the Mayors for Peace network.
- Raise public awareness of the importance of a creative, non-traditional approach to the creation of NWFZs that would allow all states to contribute to practical non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

1-2: Ease political stalemates and build confidence in Northeast Asia

The cases of political stalemate in Northeast Asia, including that across the Taiwan Strait as well as numerous disputes over territories, pose grave dangers to the whole region. We should reaffirm our universal belief in and respect for the peaceful resolution of disputes. We should prevent the escalation of tension which could lead to armed conflict, and ease the political stalemates through the active promotion of peaceful resolution through regional cooperative efforts.

There have been repeated cases throughout history of military invasions that were triggered by claims of self-defense or territorial integrity. We should recognize that the building up military capability based on the claim to the right to self defense or national sovereignty could pose, regardless of intention, serious threats to both national and human security and thus undermine regional security. Confidence-building measures both at the governmental level – such as commitments not to apply the use of force, and/or the restriction of military capabilities; and at the civil society level – such as the promotion of economic and cultural exchange, should therefore be developed in the region.

It is also essential to recognize that, in addressing political stalemates including territorial disputes, human rights, human dignity and human security concerns should take precedence over national boundaries and jurisdiction. Any substantive decisions on political stalemates should be based on local realities and reflect the voices of local populations.

In particular, political stalemate remains in the Korean Peninsula under the Armistice Treaty system even though there has been significant progress through reconciliation and human exchange between North and South Korea since the June 2000 North and South Korean Summit.

Focused

- Governments and related authorities should not take steps to escalate military tension over the Cross-Strait issue and undertake steps to ease the tension.
- Recognizing the unresolved territorial issue between Russia and Japan, broaden the range of civil society exchange.
- Promote peaceful dialogue over the Diaoyu/Tiaoyutai/Senkaku Islands dispute.
- Promote peaceful dialogue over maritime exclusive economic zones (EEZs) and continental shelf boundary issues.
- Abandon saber-rattling and brinkmanship policies such as adopting pre-emptive military postures. Through regional negotiations, (governments should) reaffirm that exercising the right of self-defense should be limited by extremely strict conditions. Adopt the concept of *Non-Offensive Security* as an international norm on defense policies. Encourage innovative and creating thinking about ways out of political stalemates through confidence-building measures.

UN Tasks

- Strengthen the UN Register of Conventional Arms and set up strict restraints on the global arms trade. Commence the negotiation of an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)
- Initiate processes that will create conditions to ease tension in the Northeast Asian region.

Governmental Tasks

- End all military activities including maneuvers and exercises in hotspot areas in the region, especially close to disputed territories.
- Stop the enactment of domestic legislation (such as *Emergency Law*) that seeks to mobilize the nation in case of warfare or military hostilities that would be perceived with grave concern by neighbouring states.
- Reduce arms export and procurement in the whole region and initiate a region-wide control mechanism on arms trade.
- Carry out coordinated unilateral reductions in military budgets as a regional confidence-building measure.
- Increase transparency in armaments, ensure civilian control and improve operational transparencies in the armed forces and self-defense forces in the region.
- Governments should oppose any actions aimed at changing the status quo across the Taiwan Strait that might escalate military tension over the Strait.
- Regarding the peaceful solution of the Cross-Strait issue, the wishes of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait should be fully respected and personnel exchange as well as economic and cultural cooperation should be promoted.
- Establish confidence-building mechanisms across the Taiwan Strait, such as early resumption of dialogue and establishment of hotlines across the Strait, on the basis of the One China Principle^{*vi}.
- The US should remove the DPRK from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism.
- Governments in the region should refrain from any actions that might escalate tension between the DPRK and ROK.
- Develop confidence-building mechanisms and strengthen economic cooperation between the two Koreas.
- In order to prevent potential conflict, both Korean governments should make efforts to guarantee economic activities in the area around the border of the Yellow Sea, and guarantee its peaceful use.
- Establish visa-free exchanges between the residents of Russia and Japan in order to promote friendship and mutual understanding.
- The final territorial borderline between Russia and Japan needs to be included in the 'Special Borderline Agreement', which will be reached between the two states on a mutually acceptable and beneficial basis.

Civil Society's Tasks

- While urging early resumption of normalization talks between DPRK and Japan, promote exchange between civil society in the DPRK, ROK and Japan including Korean residents in Japan.
- Further promote exchanges between civil society in China and Japan including Chinese residents in Japan with various nationalities.
- Encourage inter-civil society organizational dialogue over the issue of peace across the Taiwan Strait.
- Encourage people-to-people dialogue and exchange over the issue of peace and reunification on the Korean Peninsula

1-3: Promote disarmament and demilitarization in Northeast Asia

We oppose all forms of organized violence and terrorism, whether committed by state or non-state actors. The concept of a “War on terror” is illogical and unjustifiable. Any belief that build-up and domination of military capability can prevent violence and bring about stability contradicts not only the concept of human security but also our own historical experiences: We, the people of Northeast Asia, have long witnessed serious human, social and economic damage and suffering that war, military bases and their activities have created, regardless of nationality or governmental-imposed divisions between allies and enemies. Among us, women, minorities and other vulnerable people experienced the greatest suffering.

It is the existence of armaments and military bases themselves that promote rather than deter conflict, and we should therefore recognize that disarmament and demilitarization are the genuine methods needed to prevent armed conflict and bring about sustainable peace.

We are determined to strengthen solidarity among global and regional citizens to demilitarize the concept of security, and pursue practical measures in a step-by-step manner towards the realization of general and complete disarmament as a long-term goal.

Focused

- The global transformation and build-up of US military forces poses a threat to the region. Japan and the ROK should not integrate into the US military transformation. Governments should stop any kind of new construction and installation of US military bases. The US forces should withdraw from Northeast Asia in a phased manner.
- Governments in Northeast Asia should reach an agreement to recognize each other’s concession regarding dissent against the expansion or establishment of foreign military bases within the region. Actively engage civil society, including residents affected by military bases, in regional negotiations on minimizing and dismantling existing military bases.
- Conclude an international agreement defining all disputed territories in Northeast Asia as Demilitarized Zones (DMZs).
- Stop the introduction and deployment of missile defense systems which would escalate military tension in the region. Corporations and the private sector in the region should not be engaged in research, development, sales and distribution of such a weapons system.
- Japan should strictly abide by and preserve Article 9 of its Constitution. Any revision of this provision would form a threat to peace and stability in the region.
- Bring about an end to the pursuit of a trilateral military alliance by the US, ROK and Japan. Promote discussion on ways to reform or abrogate ROK-US and Japan-US Security Treaties in order to diminish the military character of regional security and achieve regional disarmament.
- Strengthen Japan’s *Three Principles on Arms Export* and expand them as regional and international norms, thus making efforts towards the realization of an international ban on arms export.

UN Tasks

- Accelerate implementation of the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2001) and strengthen the programme with a view to expanding its scope to include all conventional arms.
- UN agencies, such as United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), should actively cooperate with international and local NGOs to investigate and publicly disclose environmental damage that may have been caused by military bases. This should encompass damage caused by depleted uranium munitions and suspected storage of nuclear weapons and other toxic weapons and materials.
- In order to prevent the militarization, nuclearization and weaponization of outer space, governments should negotiate and conclude a new Outer Space Treaty to prohibit any deployment of space weapons.
- Discontinue the UN Command in ROK which has already lost grounds for existence.
- Reaffirm and strengthen the non-use of force provision of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter. In this respect, strengthen the International Criminal Court (ICC) to broaden its jurisdiction to include prosecution of the crime of aggression.

Governmental Tasks

- Undertake thorough disarmament of armed forces and self-defense forces and refrain from introducing offensive weapons systems, particularly those that enable pre-emptive attacks.
- Japan and the ROK should reduce their Host Nation Support for US forces with a view to eliminating the corresponding budgetary provisions.
- Japan should stop the new construction of US bases offshore of Henoko, Okinawa.
- End the current inequality in military alliances. Reform and/or repeal of unequal military treaties, agreements of Status of Forces (SOFA) and agreements of defense budget sharing between the US and Northeast Asian countries.
- The Governments that have not yet done so should immediately sign and ratify the *Chemical Weapons Convention*, *Biological Weapons Convention* and *Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Treaty*. Phase out inhumane weapons such as cluster bombs and depleted uranium munitions in their arsenal and negotiate for their prohibition.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Monitor defense policy, military expenditure and purchase of weapons.
- Promote disarmament education. Strengthen social education to make sure civilians, including scientists, are not engaged in military activities.
- Monitor corporations engaged in arms production and weapons developments. Make sure those corporations are not involved in political decision making. Promote consumer trends based on the corporations' participation in the military sector.

1-4: Strengthen regional cooperation towards peace in Northeast Asia

In Northeast Asia, there is an urgent and increasing need to establish a multilateral regional security system based on the principles of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation. Also, due to its historical background, Northeast Asia is characterized by a variety of diverse systems and cultures existing within a nation state or an administrative unit. Regional cooperation in Northeast Asia towards peace, namely, efforts to establish a Northeast Asia Common House, should be established upon such principles and realities. We should keep paying careful attention to and engaging in the process of ongoing Six-party Talks regarding the Korean Peninsula from the viewpoint of building a multilateral regional security system.

Respect for international law, especially international humanitarian law, by all the governments concerned should be preconditions for building a regional security system. The issue of “terrorism” poses a serious and imminent challenge in this region as there are various threats of organized violence by both state and non-state actors. It is essential to establish a regional system to prevent such violence based on international humanitarian and human rights laws.

Active participation of civil society organizations in such regional efforts is central to achieving a regional security system based on local ownership and reflecting local realities.

Focused

- Promote democratic reform of the UN, including measures to strengthen the General Assembly and expand NGOs’ participation in the Security Council.
- Strengthen humanitarian assistance to the DPRK as it is experiencing a humanitarian crisis. Governments and civil society actors should play differentiated yet complementary roles and work cooperatively on regional coordination. Promote wider support for the humanitarian crisis in the DPRK by raising awareness internationally of the need for ongoing international assistance.
- Work towards formulation of a Northeast Asia Regional Peace Charter and creation of a Northeast Asia Regional Organization, based on common efforts for demilitarization, cooperative multilateralism and respect for the diversity of regional realities. Pending official commencement of such efforts, civil society organizations should take initiatives in a proactive and practical manner. The GPPAC Northeast Asia Regional Process has already created a basis for such a potential forum.

UN Tasks

- All permanent members of the Security Council should recognize the jurisdiction of International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC).
- Recognize the Six Party Talks as an important framework for creating cooperation on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, and support its process.

Governmental Tasks

- Negotiate and conclude a peaceful agreement to convert the current, unstable armistice regime into a peaceful system on the Korean Peninsula.
- Seek to institutionalize the Six Party Talks.
- Strengthen regional forums for dialogue such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM); and promote civil society participation in them.
- Commit not to impose economic sanctions that threaten the lives of people in the regional community.
- Reaffirm peaceful coexistence and reunification of the Korean Peninsula based on the principles agreed to at the North-South Summit in June 2000.
- Work towards early realization of normalization of diplomatic relations between the DPRK and Japan and between DPRK and the US.
- Japan and Russia should work towards conclusion of a Friendship and Cooperation Treaty aimed at deepening mutually beneficial economic, political, social and cultural relations.
- Promote early ratification and adherence of international treaties and relevant protocols on international human rights law, including the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, and establish related domestic legislation. Educate civil servants to understand and respect international human rights law.
- Reduce military budgets and reallocate budget towards the conversion of military-related industries into peace and environment industries; the creation of a Northeast Asia Disaster Prevention and Relief Corps; and/or a Northeast Asia Police Team, which could serve as regional civilian bodies to address insecurity of peoples affected by trans-border disasters and crimes.
- Establish a regional nuclear information data gathering and dissemination center with independent research capacity with UN consultative status that would have close ties with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Civil Society's Tasks

- Civil society organizations should take central roles in promoting the normalization of diplomatic relations through cultural exchanges and economic and environmental cooperation.
- Conduct CSO Talks that are parallel to the Six Party Talks.
- Strengthen municipalities' capacity to engage in diplomacy for peace, such as those of nuclear-free local authorities, municipal level nuclear-free and peace laws and regulations; utilization of friendship cities and creation of 'open cities' based on international laws regarding the protection of civilians in armed conflict.
- Actively cooperate with other regions and learn from the achievements and lessons that other regions have experienced in terms of regional security systems.

Theme 2: Peaceful Engagement

Promotion of humanitarian assistance and development assistance to areas of conflict and potential danger

2-1: Prevent foreign interventions that promote conflict

Preventing armed conflict and building peace are matters of regional and global concern. While we should advocate the kind of engagement that promotes peace, we must denounce the kinds of intervention that applies the use of force; is carried out in colonialist forms, and promotes conflict.

Unilateral intervention by the use of force should never be justified regardless of the alleged seriousness of the humanitarian crisis or human rights violations. We should work on early warning systems before situations transform into violent conflicts, and adopt the principle of non-violent engagement. Since humanitarian assistance and development assistance are normally directed from industrialized countries to developing countries, both in terms of finance and personnel, we have to be cautious about the possible effect of dominance and control over the 'Global South'. Assistance should never be implemented as part of a colonialist policy. Humanitarian assistance and development assistance must be carried out with conflict sensitive approaches.

Focused

- Japan and the ROK should stop participation in the illegal occupation of Iraq in the name of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. They must withdraw their troops immediately. Reconstruction of Iraq should be pursued by Iraqi people with the cooperation of the UN.
- Ensure that any interventions that threaten the human security of the local population should not be justified in the framework of peacekeeping operations and peace building activities under the UN. Strengthen international guidelines to obligate any military assets engaged in humanitarian activities to obtain full consent by all the governments and parties concerned. Increase transparency in UN peace keeping operations.

UN Tasks

- Monitor activities of the UN Security Council in order to ensure its timely and impartial response to prevent armed conflict.
- Strengthen adherence to the principles of UN Charter and oppose any attempts to bring about regime changes in the name of human rights protection or democratization. Punitive mechanisms to address Member States found in breach of these principles should be developed.
- Conduct thorough investigations on the series of sexual abuses by personnel of UN peacekeeping operations and administer justice to those responsible.

Governmental Tasks

- Do not adopt any legislation or policy that redefines one of the primary roles of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) as being to engage in operations overseas.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Strengthen activities to pressure for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Iraq, especially those from Japan and the ROK.
- Regional civil society organizations, engaged with interested governments, should initiate a network that collects and disseminates information regarding foreign interventions that promote conflict. This could help raise public awareness and stimulate a region-wide protest movement.

2-2: Develop non-military and non-violent engagement to prevent conflict

Any kind of engagement or third party initiative in conflicts or humanitarian crises should be carried out strictly in a non-military and non-violent manner. We need to develop forms of non-violent engagements.

Many of the root causes of conflict relate to under-development and the lack of democracy and education, so overcoming these problems would help prevent conflict. Initiatives such as humanitarian assistance, development assistance and support for democratization should be closely linked with peace promotion activities, however, such engagement should be carried out at the request of local communities and with as maximum respect and consultation as possible of local communities' initiatives.

Focused

- Experiences in disaster relief and disaster prevention – such as earthquakes, floods, typhoons and tsunamis, should be shared at the regional level and utilized to establish early warning systems and promote emergency relief activities. Work towards creation of a Northeast Asia Disaster Prevention and Relief Corps.
- Work towards the creation of a Northeast Asia CSO-initiated Conflict Prevention Center that would closely monitor local situations of potential conflict and respond in a timely manner to local demands.

UN Tasks

- Work towards creation of non-military and non-violent UN bodies, such as a Center for Non-violent Conflict Resolution, UN Civilian Humanitarian Aid Corps, and UN Police Forces, with close consultation with and active participation by Northeast Asian CSOs with expertise in the field of non-violent conflict prevention and resolution.

Governmental Tasks

- Governments should strengthen financial, institutional and technical support for CSOs involved in peace building and conflict prevention activities.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Develop activities of peaceful engagement to areas of conflict and potential danger in the following ways:
 - Send unarmed civilian peacekeeping missions for monitoring and mediation
 - Carry out programmes for poverty reduction and social development
 - Carry out peace education at the community level
 - Carry out activities that promote reconciliation between opposing communities.
 - Carry out economic assistance that creates plus-sum relationship (win-win relationship) between opposing communities.
 - Work on human rights education activities for administrative and public authorities; provide law reform support for democratization processes, and monitor good governance and elections.
 - Support development of democratic political parties and NGOs
- Build stronger conflict analysis capacity of supporting NGOs to resolve and prevent conflict.

2-3: Promote human-oriented development assistance

Official Development Assistance (ODA) is not free from the danger of political interference even if it is designed for humanitarian purposes. ODA has the capacity to change the fundamental economic structure of recipient countries. We should therefore reaffirm the fundamental principle and objective of ODA, that is, to protect the most vulnerable people and support them in capacity building projects so that they are able to live in security on their own.

Focused

- Stop ODA that could lead to environmental destruction, obstacles to democracy, human rights violations, and the promotion of conflict, including weapons proliferation and arms races. ODA must be designed and carried out based on the requests of recipient communities. Reaffirm and strengthen the principles of prioritizing the poorest and ensuring local ownership.
- Promote democratization of ODA through ensuring full participation of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the decision-making processes.

Governmental Tasks

- All developed countries should commit at least 0.7 percent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to ODA.
- Carry out ODA to reduce and eradicate poverty, to ensure human security, and to prevent natural disasters in Northeast Asia, with the active cooperation with CSOs.
- Ensure transparency and accountability in the whole ODA process, in order to prevent unfairness, corruption and mistrust.
- Establish an ODA complaints mechanism in order to facilitate the local consultation and ownership of recipient communities.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Submit a request and proposal to the UN to cancel, suspend, or postpone ODA in the case that there is no available participation of CSO and/or allegations of environmental destruction, obstacles to democracy, human rights violation and the promotion of conflict, including weapons proliferation and arms races.

Theme 3: Culture of Peace

Building a society that recognizes justice, human rights and diversity

3-1: Efforts towards overcoming the past

In order to bring about solutions to the problems caused by products of historically rooted conflict we need to strengthen regional cooperative efforts by civil society to help overcoming the past. In Northeast Asia, many problems caused by Japan's past colonization and war of aggression still continue to exist. The Japanese government must properly recognize its responsibility for past acts and demonstrate its remorse for them seriously by making formal apologies that can be accepted by those who were oppressed. Japanese civil society bears the responsibility to make sure its government does so. There must be no doubt that these are the first tasks in overcoming the past in Northeast Asia.

Based on this need, we should establish a multidimensional system for reconciliation and trust-building by various actors in Northeast Asia. Concrete actions for overcoming the past would include: investigating past crimes; admitting the facts; disclosing the facts; assuring the right of access to documents and materials; make clear the responsibility for damages; ensure equitable remedies including reparations and compensation for victims; and inheriting and passing on the facts and memories to future generations in order to prevent a repeat of past crimes.

This principle can be similarly applied to the crimes committed not only during Japan's period of colonization and aggressive war but also during the Korean War and decades of Cold War hostilities. Overcoming the past through realization of transitional justice would provide a firm basis for the prevention of conflict in the future.

Focused

- Accelerate and strengthen the movements to pass down the experiences of wars, including those who suffered atomic bombing and colonization. Support activities to promote historical understanding including investigation of historical facts, and the collection of testimonial records of all parties involved including perpetrators, victims and witnesses.
- Formalize the responsibility of aggressor states of armed conflicts and organized violent crimes to provide reparations to victims.
- Strengthen regional cooperatives both at governmental and civil society levels towards achieving a common recognition of history education in Northeast Asia.
- Ensure the participation of young people in the peace and reconciliation process.

UN Tasks

- UN should initiate and finance projects with the joint participation of governments and CSOs to investigate and analyze the impact of World War II and to raise public awareness.
- Establish a UN specialized agency for conflict prevention.

Governmental Tasks

- The Japanese government should sincerely deal with court cases concerning post-war compensation, administer justice to those who are responsible, and provide equitable remedies to victims.
- The Japanese government should accelerate the investigation and settlement of chemical weapons left in China.
- The Japanese government should accelerate the investigation and settlement of cases including, but not limited to, victims of forced labor and “comfort women”.
- Eliminate any discriminatory treatment in the provision of post-war compensation attributing to nationality or place of residence.
- Regarding the issue of the DPRK abduction of Japanese nationals, both governments should pursue peaceful dialogue in good faith and work towards a full resolution at the earliest stage.

Civil Society’s Tasks

- Establish a Northeast Asia Historical Reconciliation Fund and Network to support the process of solving the ongoing conflict regarding history textbooks and education in Northeast Asia, and to exchange resources at the civil society level.
- Strengthen activities of peace museums in Northeast Asia.
- Support the development of common history textbooks by CSOs in China, ROK and Japan, and further develop regional cooperative history education. Note the importance of 2005 as the year that adoption of official text books will be made in Japan. Both governments and CSOs in each country in the region should participate actively in preparing materials to be included in regional common history textbooks.

3-2: Establish institutions for conflict prevention

The strengthening of internal security policy in the name of “fighting terrorism” or “preventing terrorism” is causing serious human rights violations by attaching excessive administrative powers over civilians, and thus increasing social tension. Such reforms can also cause political stalemates and tension between states, as well as bring about unjust treatment or even expulsion of minorities including citizens with certain foreign nationalities, migrants and those of certain religious faiths. This phenomenon of xenophobia and intolerance which creates “enemies within”, escalated dramatically in post-9/11 United States, and has spread to the Northeast Asian region.

We should make the necessary changes to anti-terrorism policies and legislation to ensure that the diverse values and dignity of individuals are respected. As the economies in the region are rapidly becoming more inter-dependent, we need to strengthen our efforts to protect the right to freedom of movement and to secure the basic human rights of migrants against violations due to unfair administrative powers and/or political stalemates in the region. In addition, there is an acute need to improve policies to protect refugees and accept asylum seekers. Citizens in the region are encouraged to deepen their understanding of international law and utilize it.

Focused

- Strengthen the constructive roles that transnational actors such as citizens with foreign nationalities or migrants play in conflict prevention and peace building in the region. Social support structures should be institutionalized for such actors to take initiatives in regional peace activities, in addition to the urgent tasks of securing their basic human rights as minorities.
- Strengthen regional network of human rights activities with a view to establishing an independent Northeast Asia Human Rights Organization.

UN Tasks

- Pay special attention to the movement of people caused by economic and political instability, and analyze the impact of such movement on regional security and any potential conflict.
- Strengthen recommendations by UN and its agencies on human rights violations committed by state actors, including institutionalizing follow-up investigations.

Governmental Tasks

- Governments should eliminate discrimination against migrants and secure their basic human rights, with special attention to providing legal aid. States that have not done so should immediately sign and ratify the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*.
- Improve laws and policies to accept refugees and asylum seekers, including supporting basic human needs.
- Adopt a cooperative approach to protect the human rights protection of exiles from the DPRK.
- Strengthen humanitarian assistance and development assistance to the DPRK in order to protect the right to life of the DPRK people.
- Russia and China should make an agreement regulating the stay of migrant workers in their territories.
- Fully implement the recommendations issued by UN Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR), including that of Japanese military sexual slavery issue.
- Repeal laws that restrict the freedom of thought and expression, such as the *National Security Law* in ROK
- The Japanese government should establish a policy to guarantee full suffrage to permanent residents based on close consultation with such residents.
- Establish a committee to activate exchange between government and civil society organizations in the decision-making process in order to build peace-oriented policies.
- Governments should implement recommendations of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Regarding the situation of the growing population of migrants between China and Far East Russia, CSOs should make efforts to reduce inter-ethnic tension.
- Work on educational activities to promote understanding of the experiences and situations of domestic migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees.
- Strengthen capacity building of Korean CSOs, including women's groups, in developing Korean peoples' exchanges and activities for peace and reunification of Korea.

3-3: Promote a culture of prevention through peace education

Peace education is an effective method for preventing armed conflict. It is especially necessary in societies where military participation and violence have become the dominant culture. Civil society actors therefore need to work cooperatively to find effective ways to implement peace education in order to overcome the prevailing culture of violence and militarism. Peace education should focus on various peace issues including, but not limited to, gender justice, historical education for restoration and reconciliation, and the democratic decision-making process. It is necessary to use peace education to shape understandings of peace in order to create a culture of peace. Effective cooperation between formal and non-formal educators in peace education should be pursued.

CSOs in Northeast Asia should work to overcome narrow-minded nationalism which only promotes conflicts, and make efforts to realize a society where diverse cultures can coexist harmoniously, with comprehensive education programmes. It is also important to focus on the media's role in conflict prevention in this regard.

In Northeast Asia, fostering NGOs and developing civil society are the very key issues to effectively promote a culture of prevention, and governments in the region should admit their people the freedoms of association and communication to engender such positive activity.

Focused

- Strengthen network among peace educators with a view to establishing educational institutions that promote peace education in Northeast Asia. Work on participatory education that focuses on history, economics and politics in the region through peace education practitioners' exchange programmes. Create and encourage academic seminars and study groups to share historical understandings of injustice among the peoples of Northeast Asia. Create databases with the goal of regional sharing of peace education resources online.
- Foster the development and networking of CSOs throughout the Northeast Asia region and other regions guarantee them the necessary freedoms to pursue meaningful activities.
- Focus on the media's responsibility in promoting conflict prevention by promoting peace journalism. Encourage civil society's innovative and creative initiatives in the region such the development of alternative and independent media centers for building culture of peace
- Northeast Asian youth organizations should participate more actively in international cultural exchange programmes in order to improve mutual understanding and communication.
- We expect with appreciation for the United Nations University in Tokyo to assume a new function as a focal point in building a peace education network in Northeast Asia. Governmental and civil society support should be strengthened in order to realize this goal.

UN Tasks

- Create a support system for peace education activities in areas of conflict or in the process of reconciliation.
- Designate the Kuril Islands/Northern Territories as a UNESCO World Heritage site which would promote public awareness about natural beauty, cultural significance and importance of peace in the region.

Governmental Tasks

- Encourage gender mainstreaming into all social institutions.
- Incorporate peace education as a compulsory subject in the formal education system and help develop peace education at the local community level.
- Establish alternatives to military service.
- Incorporate CSOs' opinions into the public decision making process and encourage democracy education.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Start peace education networks and institutes, develop build online systems to make these resources easily available to peace educators.
- Conduct thorough investigation of, and promote education on the inherently violent nature of armed forces, as apparent in Northeast Asia.
- Develop educational resources to promote understanding of violence against women in wars.
- Review and reform policies that encourage discrimination and bias based on gender, age, sexuality, religion, ethnicity and race. CSOs should be given full access to such information by national, local and foreign governments as well as UN and other international organizations.
- Expose gender injustice and address domestic violence.
- Strengthen peace, development, multicultural and minority education. These together will help to create a consciousness of multicultural coexistence.
- Organize social movements against any violent actions, policies, laws and discourse based on racism and xenophobia.
- Strengthen support for conscientious objectors.
- Promote skills for non-violent conflict resolution in civil society. Develop non-violent avenues of expressing dissent.
- Focus on the important role of students and youth in peace promotion, and encourage the cross-border exchange of students among institutes, universities, schools and NGOs.
- Control labor hours and promote the participation of laborers in civil society activities.

Theme 4: Economy for Peace

Realization of sustainable economy and economic justice

4-1: Transform current economic systems which produce poverty and cause environmental destruction

Cross-border exchanges, whether for commercial, cultural or diplomatic reasons, provide the basic grounds for the promotion of peace. The forces of globalization have indeed brought positive benefits for cross-border peacebuilding by providing increased opportunities for exchange and exposure.

At the same time, the neo-liberal economic model which characterizes the current face of globalization is resulting in increasing economic disparity on a worldwide scale and producing potential risks of conflict. Corporations, as non-state actors, are often the sources of the outbreak of armed conflict. To illustrate, the growth of the military industrial complex is triggering a chain reaction of conflict and terrorism, particularly through its pursuit of limited natural resources and economic hegemony. We should make efforts to impose restrictions on the opportunities that corporations have for adversely influencing economic policy-making, and continue monitoring harmful corporate activities. We should work towards building a sustainable and human-oriented economic system to replace the current neo-liberal system. Principles of human security, environmental justice and distributional justice must be adhered to. Global protection of the natural environment and addressing climate change are common regional matters of importance both for governments and civil society.

In the effort to build human-oriented economies, CSOs' roles should be emphasized at the national, regional and international levels. Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is an urgent and integral task, and national roles and responsibilities need to be more clearly defined.

Focused

- Conduct equal redistribution of resources and take measures to redress national and regional economic disparity with a view to achieving the MDGs.
- Promote institutionalization of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in Northeast Asia. Establish a regional institution to monitor and coordinate information-sharing about corporate activities.
- Stakeholders should work towards establishment of a regional mechanism for energy cooperation.

UN Tasks

- Guide and support the Northeast Asian region in achieving the MDGs to reduce poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women.
- Bring about openness and introduce binding provisions of the Global Compact.

- Promote transparency and democratization of decision-making processes in the World Trade Organization (WTO).
- Develop a control system over international financial trade. Strengthen restrictions on speculative hedge funds to protect the regional financial market.
- Ensure compliance with legally binding provisions of the *Kyoto Protocol* to reduce greenhouse gases.
- Develop a system to tax the cross-border transportation of fuel in order to channel funds to poverty alleviation programmes that involves CSO consultation.

Governmental Tasks

- Develop domestic legislation to ensure companies planning investment in, and execution of, development projects internationally carry out advance environmental impact assessments and disclose related information and results to the public; take adequate steps to prevent pollution and take responsibility based on the principle of polluter-pays. Share the lessons learnt from experiences of pollution which have caused ecological and social disasters in Japan.
- Apply a conflict-sensitive approach to government-led development projects.
- Secure labor rights throughout the region, especially those in companies operating internationally.
- Strengthen the social safety net to include social security and medical services be provided throughout the whole of the region.
- Promote sustainable and natural energy. Support the phased conversion of energy policies away from dependence on nuclear energy, while encouraging higher safety standards of existing nuclear energy technology.

Civil Society's Tasks

- Initiate community and corporate efforts to reduce greenhouse gases.
- Monitor governmental financing, focusing on whether or not governmental funds are used for the promotion of war and militarization. Promote election decision-making based on political candidates' economic and energy policies.
- Support local efforts to create economies that are independent of military bases through cooperative actions to disallow the continuation of environmental pollution, prostitution and sexual abuse. Create employment opportunities and incentives for non-military industries.
- Promotion of civil society consultation, especially expert opinions, in regional development projects, for example, yellow sand.
- Promote anti-corruption measures by calling for a culture of transparency and accountability, especially within governing bodies and companies and that disclosure of corruption allegations will not be met with sanctions. Support civil society's important role to promote good governance.
- Support the global campaign for the cancellation of heavy debt carried by developing countries.

4-2: Launch new initiatives to build human-oriented economies

Civil society needs to take initiatives to build new economic system that focus on human security rather than national security. It would be essential to build “reasonable-sized” economies that involve consultation with communities. Our ideal sustainable society would be based on principles of self determination of citizens, development with local ownership, and solidarity which would require the authorizing and decision-making powers to rest with local communities rather than corporations. In other words, there exists a strong need for civil society to take the lead in creating human-oriented economies.

While UN and governments are encouraged to support civil society activities, it is more essential that they seek to diminish obstacles to the achievement of self determination.

Focused

- Promote measures for sustainability in the natural environment, including water, food and agriculture.
- Promote fair trade in the region.

Governmental Tasks

- Assist local capacity building that promotes independence from transnational corporations and large companies.
- Create incentives for corporations to support peace activities.
- Ensure legislation supportive of complementary, alternative and people-initiated, economic processes.
- Establish and develop democratic systems of control and safeguarding over biotechnology to ensure the prevention of human rights abuses and unethical practices.

Civil Society's Role

- Build new industrial and financial systems, at the initiatives of civil society, to ensure money flows are not directed towards war and conflict but towards projects for peace, environment and human rights.
- Disseminate proposal for the state budget via E-governance and Open Society Forum and collect the comments and suggestions of CSOs and the business sector for consideration prior to the approval of the state budget by Parliament.
- Promote a solidarity economy.
- Promote alternative and regional currencies.
- Support and strengthen community based movements to achieve 100 percent self-sufficient energy supplies.
- Establish databases on existing programmes and projects relating to human-oriented economies and make evaluations based on those.

Annex 1

Korean Activity Report

This Report has been prepared by the committee members of the Seoul Focal Point for the GPPAC Northeast Asia process. It serves multiple purposes: to introduce, review and evaluate Korean CSO-initiated activities in the fields of conflict prevention and peace building; as well as to make recommendations to civil society, government and the United Nations. It acts as a complementary supplement to the Northeast Asian Regional Action Agenda and contributes to network building, and better understanding in this region and around the world.

ⁱ Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution:

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

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

ⁱⁱ The following ten principles were agreed to as basic guiding principles among the Northeast Asian CSOs based on their experiences in conflict prevention efforts. However, we firmly believe that the same principles could apply for other regions in the world to make conflict prevention mechanisms more effective. We therefore propose that these principles should be integrated, as explicitly as possible, into the GPPAC Global Action Agenda which is to be adopted at UN Headquarter in New York in July 2005.

ⁱⁱⁱ With regret, we note that CSOs from the DPRK have been consulted, but have not yet made any responses to the Northeast Asian Action Agenda, despite there being numerous references to the DPRK.

^{iv} Article VI: Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

^v A55/C.1/L.40Rev.1: 'Mongolia's international security and nuclear-weapon-free-status,' adopted on December 4, 1998. The third paragraph of this resolution reads as follows: "Invite Member States, including the five nuclear-weapon States, to cooperate with Mongolia in taking the necessary measures to consolidate and strengthen Mongolia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of its frontiers, its economic security, ecological balance and its nuclear-weapon status as its independent foreign policy . . ."

^{vi} The Regional Secretariat of the GPPAC Northeast Asia Regional Process is committed to organizing the process consistent with the One China Principle, and all the participants in the Tokyo Conference have expressed their respect for the Regional Secretariat regarding this issue.

Participants from the Taipei Focal Point have made reservations on the clause asterisked.