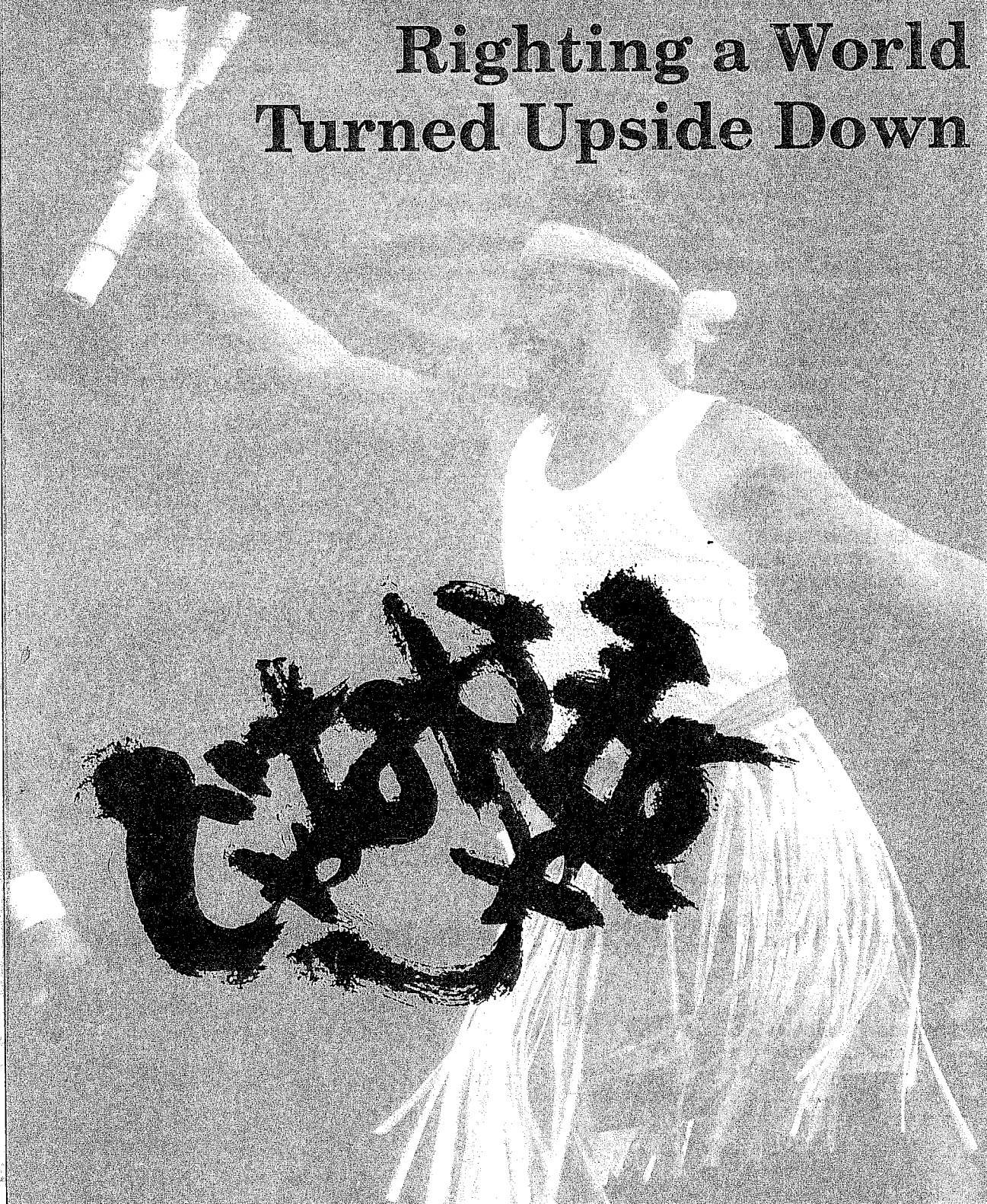


AMPO

JAPAN-ASIA
QUARTERLY REVIEW

Vol.21 Nos. 2-3

Righting a World Turned Upside Down



IN THIS ISSUE

AMPO: JAPAN-ASIA
QUARTERLY REVIEW

Vol.21 Nos.2-3
(Series No.80 81)

Published by
Pacific-Asia Resource Center
Mailing Address: P.O.Box
5250 Tokyo Int.
Japan

Copyright 1989 by AMPO

SUBSCRIPTION RATES PER YEAR

Overseas Price by Air Mail

U\$28.00(individuals)
U\$40.00(institutions)

Overseas Price by Sea Mail

U\$24.00(individuals)
U\$36.00(institutions)

Domestic Price:

¥4,000 (individuals)
¥6,000 (institutions)

MANAGEMENT OFFICES ABROAD:

for Australian readers:

ADF, 130 Little Collins St.,
Melbourne 3000

for New Zealand readers:

New Internationalist
P.O.Box 1905 Christchurch

for U.S. readers:

Asia Resource Center
P.O.Box 15275
Washington DC 20003
Tel. 202-547-1114

*In accordance with East Asian
practice, the surname is placed first
in all East Asian names.*

Righting a World Turned Upside Down

- 2** Steps into the People's Century
- 6** The Minamata Declaration
Action Program
- 12** <PP21 Farmers>
Sowing the Seed of International Solidarity
by Ohno Kazuoki
- 14** Country Reports
Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, Taiwan, the United
States, the Netherlands
- 23** Facing the Threat of Liberalization
by Ken Meter
- 27** Joint Appeal
Farmers' Appeal on the Philippines
- 30** <PP21 Indigenous People>
Spreading a Spirituality of Hope
by Ohshima Kaoru
- 32** Keynote Speech: A Call from the Land
by Lopeti Senituli
- 36** Keynote Speech: Finding Our Own Path — The
History of the Ainu
by Kayano Shigeru
- 40** Will Mankind Be a Hostage of Development?
by Ailton Krenak
- 42** Why do They Steal Our Land?
by Anja Light
- 46** "Where the Mountains are not Only Mountains, Where
the Rivers are Relatives" —Interview on Land
- 53** Ainu Moshiri Declarations, Set of Resolutions

- 61** <PP21 Okinawa>
Towards an Autonomous Asia-Pacific
Appeal, Solidarity Message to the People of Onna Village
- 64** <PP21 Women>
Asian Feminism — Confronting the Four Ps: Poverty,
Prostitution, Patriarchy and Pollution *by Kaji Etsuko*
- 68** Keynote Report: Women and Development
by Kamla Bhasin
- 74** Keynote Report: Asian Feminism as a Basis for Social Change
by PP21 Women's Forum Organizing Committee
- 80** <PP21 ODA>
Towards a Clear View of Japanese ODA
- 82** Philippine Assistance Plan: A Mockery of Aid
by Eduardo C. Tadem
- 93** People's Charter on ODA
- 94** <PP21 International Policies>
For Justice and Peace in Asia and the Pacific
by Kitazawa Yoko
- 103** The Kanagawa Declaration, the Kanagawa Appeal, Charter of
People to People Aid Movement
- 106** <PP21 Workers>
For an Alternative Labor Movement
Resolution of International Workers Conference
- 111** <PP21 Consumers>
Striking Back at the MNCs
- 112** The Ohmiya Declaration on "Creating Our Future Now"
Action Responsibility Agenda
- 118** <PP21 Synthesis>
Transborder Exchange — From Minamata to the 21st Century
- 119** Keynote Speech: For an Alliance of Hope
by Muto Ichiyo
- 128** The Road Ahead
by Douglas Lummis

EDITORIAL BOARD

Tom Gill
Inoue Reiko
Kan Takayuki
Kitazawa Yoko
Douglas Lummis
Muto Ichiyo
Nakajima Makoto
Ohashi Seiko
Tono Haruhi
Utsumi Aiko
Watanabe Ben
Yamaka Junko
Yoshioka Shinobu

EDITING STAFF

Jeffry Hester
Hikita Mitsuko
John Shuttleworth
Jim Stockton
Jens Wilkinson

DESIGN & LAYOUT

Margaret Ng

ON THE COVER

The Japanese word
reads *Janakashaba*
meaning "a world
standing not like this."



To Our Readers

The last decade of the 20th century has started, full with anticipation of drastic changes. The staggering events in Eastern Europe have given fresh inspiration to people struggling in grassroots movements throughout Japan and other "Western" countries, and new efforts are needed to create new possibilities, new encounters and exchanges of experiences with people in "Eastern" countries not to dissolve but to overcome the borders which have been laid across the world to separate people. Ampo would like to serve as a creative forum for such efforts.

This issue of AMPO is dedicated to reporting the unique international event that took place in August 1989, the People's Plan for the 21st Century. Attended by an unusually large and wide range of people from various movements from both Japan and overseas, it offered new rallying points for peoples' empowerment. We hope to present you with these new possibilities for the future in the following pages.

In addition, we would like to apologize to our patient readers for the repeated delays in our publishing schedule, and promise to put all our efforts into catching up again.

Erratum

In the last issue of AMPO (Vol.20 No.4-Vol.21 No1.), the last lines of the first paragraph of the introduction to the interview "Rebuilding a Rurallife,"(p.8) should have read, "...one is tempted to lament (as the two farmers in this interview come close to doing) on the idiocy of urban life." The word "urban" was mistakenly replaced by "rural," making nonsense of the paragraph. We apologize for this error. Editors

Steps into the People's Century



In the summer of 1989, 120,000 Japanese people and 280 activists and people's movement leaders from 33 countries gathered in the Japanese archipelago to form an alternative vision for a world that has been plagued by industrial disasters and an obsession with development and progress—a vision called the People's Plan for the 21st Century. Nineteen different programs were held, starting with the International Farmers' Exchange in the North of Japan in July and gradually moving southward with exchange programs, cultural events and joint actions organized by local and sectoral communities of farmers, indigenous people, women, workers, consumers and others. The programs culminated in the gathering in Minamata, held in this Kyushu city that became a worldwide symbol of the destructiveness of industry when it was stricken by a plague of murderous chemical pollution. The participants carried out heated discussions and informal interactions which led to the Minamata Declaration and Action Program (see pp.6-11), proposals that address the legitimacy and urgency of the people's struggle to create a new future of hope in this radically changing world.

The finale of PP21, the Asian Festival, drew 100,000 people to Fukuoka at the end of August. After performances of rhythmic Thai folk-tune based music by the Carawan Band and a play called Kapitan Popon (Captain People) by PETA, a Philippine theatrical group, parts of the Minamata Declaration were read to the audience that had come from local communities.

"..we declare that all people, especially the oppressed people, have a natural and universal right to criticize, oppose, or prevent the implementation of decisions affecting their lives, no matter where those decisions are made. We declare that this right, as a people's right, is more fundamental than any artificial law or institution established by the state. We declare that this right means the right of the people to cross all borders, national and social, to carry their struggle to the exact sources to dominate or destroy them."

Ed Burnstick, a indigenous Canadian, marked the ending of the Festival with a prayer that was more of a universal expression of thankfulness and hope than a

religious ceremony, providing an example of how the indigenous people inspired the whole process of PP21 with their spiritual bond between human beings, land and all other beings, a bond which seems essential to an alternative vision for the new century.

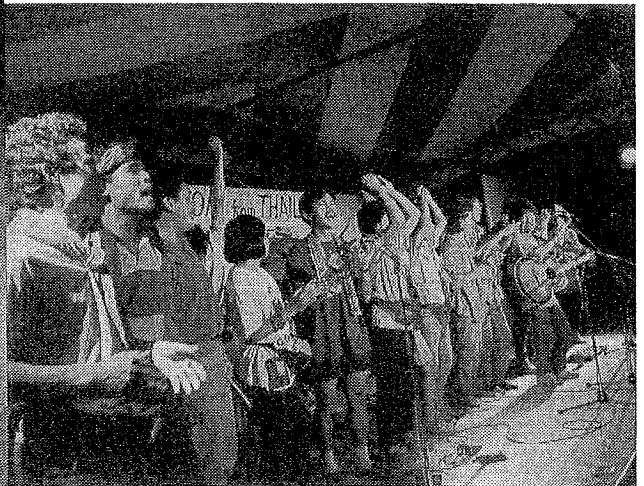
The current rapid political, social and economic transformations at the global level are bringing about new possibilities for peoples' initiatives. The changes in Eastern Europe are opening a new dimension for peoples' solidarity. The Minamata Declaration emphasized that alliance with sisters and brothers in the socialist countries is on the agenda of the peoples' 21st century.

The original proposal for the People's Plan for the 21st Century was made by the Pacific Asia Resource Center (PARC) in 1987 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of its periodical AMPO. PARC, as a action-oriented center seeking international solidarity, presented the proposal not as a single commemoration but as a joint program of people crossing national and social boundaries to bring together an alternative vision.

The greatest motivation was the urgent necessity of an alternative Japan because of its role as a dominating power in the world system, a

Local Mobilization

1. Int'l farmers' exchange, Yamagata Jul.29-Aug.13,	1000
2. Forum on Foods, Living & Agriculture, Niigata Aug.3-7,	1,150
3. Rice Farmers Exchange, Iwate Aug.9-12,	500
4. Asian Migrant Workers Consultation, Tottori	
5. Int'l Conference of Indigenous Peoples, Hokkaido Aug.7-14,	1,500
6. Meeting on Education and Human Rights, Nagoya, Aug.4-6,	150
7. Workers' Program: for an Alternative Labor Movement, Tokyo and Osaka, 7-14,	3,500
8. PP21 Yamanashi Workshop, Kofu Aug.13-15,	
9. Asian Women's Forum, Yokohama & Tokyo Aug.11-14,	1,800
10. Asian Research Team Workshop on Japanese ODA, Tokyo Aug.14-15,	150
11. Int'l Symposium for a Just and Peaceful Asia, Yokohama Aug.17-19,	800
12. Tokyo Action on War Responsibilites Aug.15,	1,000
13. Asia-Pacific-Ryukyu Archipelago People's Exchange, Okinawa Aug.15-19,	1,500
14. PP21 Cultural Caravan, nationwide,	5,000
15. Asia-Pacific Consumers Conference, Ohmiya Aug.18-21,	600
16. ACFOD Council Meeting, Minamata Aug.16-19,	200
17. Conference on Humankind and Nature, & PP21 Conference for Synthesis, Minamata Aug.19-20,	2,100
18. Trip to Trace Back the Koreans' Forced Labor Shimonoseki-Pusan-Taegu-Seoul-Kitakyushu-Chikuho Aug.22-30,	63
19. Asian Festival, Fukuoka Aug.25-27	100,000



necessity felt deeply by Japanese people in questions from struggling friends in other Asian countries pointing out unproductive attitudes in Japanese solidarity movements. "How will you change your country?" they ask. "What is your plan for an alternative Japan?"

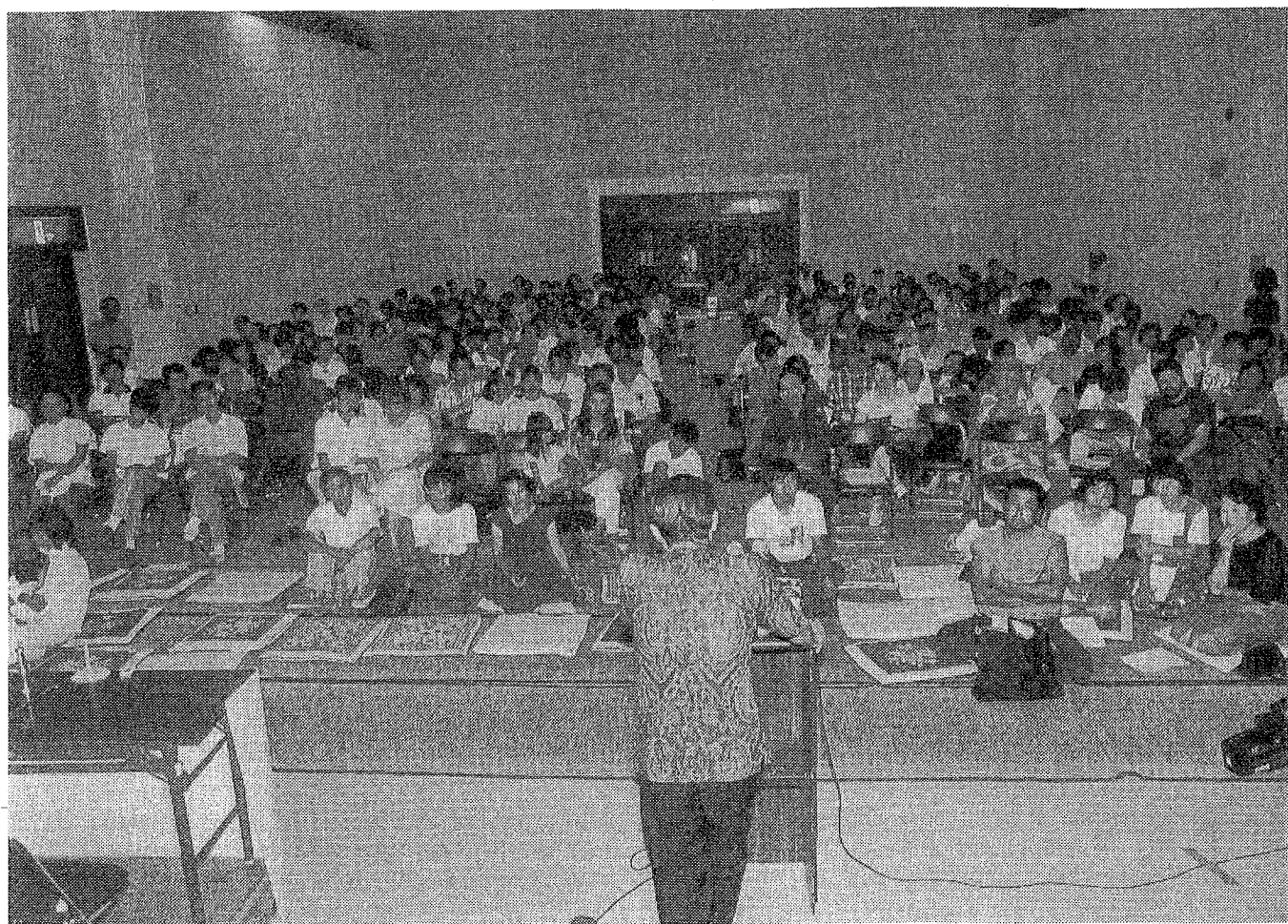
Changing Japan and changing the Asia Pacific region cannot be carried out independently. The task of creating an alternative Japan must inevitably be linked with efforts to create an alternative Asia Pacific. The program was thus planned as an interaction between peoples' movements in different fields and areas on "productive rallying points", a series of independent national programs and a synthesizing process to weave them into an alternative vision.

In May 1988, people in Japan who supported the proposal formed a working committee for the program. In September, a national working committee was established by a wider range of peoples' movements. At the same time, initiatives came from different sectoral and local communities to create local PP21 working committees. In January 1989, international regional co-convenors

(which later numbered 14 groups) who wanted to participate in the program met in Hong Kong.

Many of the international responses to the proposal emphasized that it was "timely". The process showed this to be true. The Farmers' Exchange Program in Yamagata, organized by young farmers and attended by an unexpected number of farmers not only from the region but from many different places, was greeted with surprise and admiration from local governments and established agricultural organizations such as Nokyo (agricultural cooperatives) who have lost the initiative in revitalizing marginalized agricultural industry and rural communities. The mobilization of other programs was also far more than expected. This success reflects the ongoing changes in the consciousness of people both locally and internationally.

However, PP21, being such a large and dynamic event with international participation and limited secretarial staff, failed to be an efficient and well-organized program. Participants were often surprised and frustrated to discover that no meals were available or that there were no return tickets.



But this chaos sometimes offered space for spontaneous participation from non-organizers, leading to a democratic relationship among participants and the realization of a "peoples' order."

The program was a process of exchange and interaction between people from different nationalities and social sectors, but is just the start of a far longer process of creating a people's alternative for the 21st century. Following up on this process will be a formidable task. At the Minamata gathering, an action program was adopted to serve as a guideline for the PP21 process. A suggestion was made to hold another international gathering in a different local context in 1992.

1992 is the quincentennial of Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of the American continent, and it was suggested that the alternative vision should be radical to break with that 500 year-old tradition. The point that needs to be emphasized is the creation of "productive rallying points" for peoples' movements with diverse issues and histories to take the leap toward an alliance of hope

to create an alternative future. "Transborder political actions" in the Minamata Declaration is the basic force to overcome divisions forced on people by the current dominating powers, the states and multinationals. People must identify these divisions in order to overcome them, a not always obvious task, and then rearrange them from negative conflicts to positive ones.

The fourth meeting of PP21's Japanese national working committee was held on the 20th and 21st of October for evaluation and follow-up. The committee agreed that the broadened horizons of peoples' movements was a success of the PP21 August event, but that there hadn't been enough time to devise a desirable mechanism for the PP21 process. They also suggested the necessity of creating alternatives for Japan at the local level. These issues will be discussed at a PP21 follow-up meeting scheduled for the middle of January 1990. On the regional level, co-conveners are planning to meet in March to discuss the possibilities and methods of further networking.

THE MINAMATA DECLARATION

The slogan at the beginning of the 20th century was progress. The cry at the end of the 20th century is survival. The call for the next century is hope. Impelled by that hope for the future and with a keen sense of urgency, we began our concluding gathering of the People's Plan for the 21st Century in Minamata.

It is significant that we met in Minamata, a place which symbolizes to all of us development at its most murderous. As it did to the people of Bhopal and Chernobyl, a giant organization with advanced science, technology and production techniques condemned the people of Minamata to fear, sickness and death, and their beautiful bay to irreparable damage. These three disasters — Minamata, Bhopal, and Chernobyl — can be taken as benchmarks of our time. At Minamata, the industry of a capitalist country poisoned its own citizens. At Bhopal, a U.S. multinational corporation poisoned people of the South. At Chernobyl, a socialist government spilled radiation out over its land and people and beyond its borders to the whole world. There is no need here to repeat the long and mounting list of eco-catastrophes. These three tell the story: there is no place to hide.

But these are not the only symbols of the disaster

that 'progress' has been. For the indigenous peoples, disaster came with confiscation and exploitation of their lands and resources, and destruction and disruption of their way of life.

For women, development has meant disempowerment of all kinds. They have been marginalized and subordinated by male religions, male science and knowledge, and male maldevelopment. The billion dollar pornography and sex industry has reduced them to mere commodities. At the same time, they continue to be subordinated within their own homes.

For the poor of the Third World, development has meant less and less control over their own resources and lives. Their struggle to survive has become more difficult, their existence has become precarious. There has indeed been progress and development, but only for the few. The rest are paying for this development by sacrificing their lives, cultures, values.

Development and progress have been disastrous because they are based on an obsession with materialistic acquisition. Profit and power have emerged as the gods of this development. The assumption behind this development has been that man is supreme, that he can use and misuse Nature as he wishes. Development has been a project to

conquer nature, rather than to live in harmony with it.

Development has meant increasing centralization of power. The more the word 'democracy' has been used, the less has been its practice. For indigenous people and for minorities, democracy has meant the tyranny of the majority. For the poor in the Third World, democracy has meant the rule of the powerful, a very small elite. Both development and democracy have become dirty words for the oppressed because, in reality, they have come to mean impoverishment and disempowerment.

Development has also meant destruction of the rich values of diversity. It has destroyed people's creativity and capacities.

Decisions are made by fewer and fewer. Economic decisions are made by big conglomerates, political decisions by the powerful in our national capitals, or in the capitals of the big powers; the film and television industry decide what entertainment is and who our heroes are. Governments decide what kind of education our children will have, how many children we will have. Some governments force us to have abortions, while others forbid it. Some even decide our religion.

Human beings become less powerful, less autonomous, less creative, less human. Small communities and even small and poor nations become less autonomous. They are subordinated by world markets, World Bank policies, the power games of world powers.

The gap between rich and poor, North and South, has been increasing. In the last two decades, more wealth and resources have been extracted from the Third World than in the entire previous century. The coming decades are likely to witness more rapid accumulation, concentration and centralization of power in the North. Debt payments, profits, royalties, capital flight, deterioration of the terms of trade are among the mechanisms of imperialist exploitation. This unjust, vulgar and ugly development has also created a South in the North, with the terrible living conditions of indigenous people, racial minorities, migrant workers, and the unemployed.

The 20th century has brought us more, and more murderous wars than at any other time in history. The technology of killing has advanced beyond the wildest imaginations of any previous era. The state, which was supposed to be our great protector, has turned out to be the greatest killer, killing not only

foreigners in wars, but also killing its own citizens in unprecedented numbers. The 20th century has perpetuated and intensified the practices of genocide, ethnocide, ecocide and femicide. These practices have occurred in the name of what we have called 'progress' and 'development.'

All these force us to ask, is here not something profoundly wrong with our understanding of historical progress? Is there not something profoundly wrong with our picture of what to fight for? Is there not something profoundly wrong with our image of where to place our hopes?

"Janakashaba," a word in the Minamata dialect, became familiar to all PP21 participants. Janakashaba means "a world standing not like this". It is a beautiful word. At Minamata rallies a new song, "Janakashaba ba hosikayo" (we want Janakashaba) was sung.

The Minamata Gathering has shown us that global conditions today have placed the people of the world on a common ground with a common fate for the first time in history. If we want to survive, live together in dignity and in mutual respect of our diversity without violating each other's autonomy and right to self-determination, we need Janakashaba wherever we are.

At this gathering, we talked about our aspirations for Janakashaba. Our hope is not an empty one. It is not a mirage. It is born in the midst of injustices, vices and corruption which make us cry and at times make us despair. We discussed the hope which inspires us to fight injustices as well as social, human and ecological decay. We asked ourselves whether there is a basis for such hope.

Life and nature itself is being defiled, not only human beings. Now, the sky, oceans, mountains, rivers, forests, plants, animals and all other living beings are in crisis, their very existence threatened.

We clearly hear the voices of those closest to nature. We have realized that we must fight not only to restore the sanctity of human life, but of all life.

We were born into a world divided into hostile groups. If we want to survive collectively, then these divisions must be overcome. We have met in Minamata and found in each other the will to overcome the structures that divide us.

Here, then is our assertion: the 21st Century must not be built by these forces of degraded

development, but by the forces resisting it. Only then is there hope, not otherwise.

This is precisely what is being acted out before our eyes today by millions of people in the Asia-Pacific region. They do not accept what has been foisted on them as their fate, they are ready to take the leap, and they are taking it. We witness wave after wave of people's movements, emerging, spreading, defying state boundaries, complementing one another, and sharing an increased sense of urgency fostered by new networks of communication. The major struggles of the Korean, Philippine, and Burmese people have shown explosive power. Recently, we have witnessed the rise of a new democratization movement of the Chinese people.

The recent experience of glasnost has reaffirmed the continuing universal relevance of participatory democracy, undermined the basis for traditional anti-communism and delegitimized the ideology of the Cold War, thus creating new conditions conducive to people's struggles. However, perestroika may well prioritize economic competitiveness at the expense of support for people's struggles for justice and democracy.

Be that as it may, the changes in the socialist countries provide the opportunity for new alliances with our brothers and sisters in the socialist countries for overcoming the East-West division and for working to establish genuine democratic power worldwide.

In these big countries and in smaller ones, in every region, town, and village, the people are on the move. And they are aware of each other as never before, looking after each other, communicating, joining in unprecedented ways. All of this is new. It is the main force defining our situation and the main reason for this gathering. Janakashaba is the spirit of the people in our time. This is why we do not hesitate, despite everything this century has brought us, to declare that the 21st century will be the century of hope.

There is another reason for hope. The present system has begun to undermine itself by creating its own contradictions: growth against nature, militarism against the need for collective security, uniformity against cultural diversity, alienation against human dignity, mindless consumerism against humankind aspiring to regain lost values, meaning and spirituality.

The economy has pushed itself to such absurd

limits that more and more people are feeling alienated and lost. All over the world, simultaneously, more and more people are searching for different ways of living in harmony with one another and nature.

These contradictions are pushing forward new historical subjects from amongst the victims of the global catastrophe, i.e. indigenous peoples, women, the unemployed and the self-employed in the so-called informal sector. Alienated youth without much future and the concerned intelligentsia are also joining the historical struggles of the masses — peasants, workers, the urban poor. The mushrooming of people's movements is giving rise to the hope that we can create a society where everyone can live with dignity.

New conditions support these aspirations. We have the knowledge and the technology. We also have the grassroots organizations, people's spirituality and values, reaffirmed, rediscovered and newly created in the struggle for survival in the face of the collective suicide imposed by the present pattern of development.

The simultaneous emergence of this global phenomenon has its own commonalities: common interests, common values and common threats organically linking all oppressed people and exploited groups in the world. A new logic is emerging against the logic of growth, transnational companies and elitist power. This is the true 'logic of the majority.' The 'majority' here does not mean the majority as measured in polls and elections, but the global majority, the most oppressed. It means that they must have the prerogative, and this requires a new set of priorities based on human values and in harmony with nature, culture, gender, indigenous people and other ethnic groups.

A new internationalism is being born out of these local, national, regional popular struggles confronting common enemies. These new movements are growing up within the context of a peculiar contradiction involving the role of the state. Our region is being organized by transnational capital, which is bringing together far-flung and heterogeneous areas and peoples into an integrated, hierarchical division of labor, in which peasants, workers, indigenous peoples and women are subordinated. States are vigorously promoting this, as the agencies which mediate the entry of transnational capital within their national boundaries. At the same time, transnationalization of the economy undermines the basis of the state. This places its claim to sovereignty and its pretense

as protector into question, thus weakening its legitimacy, and creating new opportunities for the people to intervene. The state seeks to protect itself through intensification of repression and violence, as we see today in many countries, or, as in the case of Japan, intensification of the attempt to implant statist ideology into the minds of the people.

In this same process, the engine of development has overheated in Japan and is running wildly out of control, producing a saturation economy. Japanese work intensely in heavily managed situations in which they are virtually powerless. The Japanese economy does not empower its citizens, but rather seeks to make them powerless and fragmented. And it has also reproduced within its boundaries a 'North' and a 'South.' The 'South' includes millions of poorly paid women part-timers, contract workers, day laborers, and increasingly guest workers from South and Southeast Asia as well as farmers who are rapidly being marginalized.

One of the words which has been stolen from the people and corrupted is the word "democracy." Originally, democracy meant the autonomy, the self-determination, the empowerment of the people. To many people in the Third World, however, it has come to be the label for a facade of "civilian government," disguising state terror and repression in a ploy to claim legitimacy for the state to serve the interests of the powerful. For indigenous peoples and other minorities, democracy has been the ideology of "majority rule" that has defined them as "minorities" who could be legitimately ignored.

On the other hand, democracy is something millions of people in the Asia-Pacific region are fighting and dying for. We need to retrieve it to serve the people's struggle. We must begin with the premise that the state, and the institutions that it pretends constitute 'democracy,' cannot be relied upon to bring us peace, justice, a secure and dignified life, or an end to ecological destruction. Only the people's movements themselves, independent and autonomous, can do this. And here we emphasize that we are talking about a democracy that honors the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples and other minorities.

At the same time, democracy can no longer be achieved within the limits of the state. Today, the lives of millions of people are being controlled, shattered, deformed and destroyed by decisions

made outside their communities, even outside their countries. These decisions are made by foreign governments, by transnational corporations, by agencies such as the IMF, the World Bank and big power summits.

Hence, we declare that all people, especially the oppressed people, have a natural and universal right to criticize, oppose, or prevent the implementation of decisions affecting their lives, no matter where those decisions are made. We declare that this right, as a people's right, is more fundamental than any artificial law or institution established by the state. We declare that this right means the right of the people to cross all borders, national and social, to carry their struggle to the exact sources of power seeking to dominate or destroy them.

We need to make clear that this right must never be interpreted as justifying the actions of the powerful crossing borders to oppress, exploit and dispossess the people. On the contrary, we are asserting that the people have a right to counter these interventions which are going on all the time.

We recognize that the struggles of subjugated peoples for self-determination, independence, and to establish their own governments, or of people to change or improve their governments, are crucial. At the same time, we believe that, in the long-term, it is the transborder political actions of the people, marginalizing states and countering the power of international capital, that will produce the 21st century that we hope for.

We have no illusions about the present condition of the peoples of the Asia-Pacific region. The ruling powers maintain themselves by dividing the people and encouraging hostility among them. The rulers not only seek to rule us, but also to manage our mutual relations, depriving us of our right to do this for ourselves. This we must reject and overcome. Transborder political action, support and solidarity campaigns across borders will gradually develop a new "people," that transcends existing divisions, especially between people living in the North and South.

This is not utopian: the actions we describe are actually going on all over the Asia-Pacific region, and all over the world. What we assert is that these transborder actions are not merely the proper responses of the people to desperate situations. Taken together, they amount to the people collectively making their own 21st century.

August 24, 1989, Minamata, Japan

MINAMATA DECLARATION

ACTION PROGRAMME

I. At the Minamata Gathering: The Synthesis (Aug 21-24), the final meeting of the People's Plan for the 21st Century, we reaffirmed the resolutions and recommendations for the concrete action programme, that had been agreed upon in the following People's Plan for the 21st Century conferences, meetings and interactions, held through a whole month on the Japanese archipelago:

1. World Farmer's exchange, Yamagata, July 29-Aug 2,
2. Forum on Foods, Living and Agriculture, Niigata, Aug 3-7,
3. Rice Farmers Exchange, Iwate, Aug 9-12,
4. International Conference on Indigenous Peoples, Hokkaido, Aug 7-14,
5. Meeting on 'Education and Human Rights for Opposing Control', Nagoya, Aug 4-6,
6. Symposium on Asian Migrant Workers, Tottori, July 29,
7. Workers' Program: for an Alternative Labor Movement,
 - a) International Workers' Exchange, Tokyo, Aug 7-9,
 - b) Asian Worker's Solidarity Links, Osaka, Aug 12-14,
8. Asian Women's Forum, Yokohama, Aug 11-15,
9. Asian Students Exchange, Tokyo, Aug 14-16,
10. Tokyo Actions (Aug 15) on:
 - a) Peace: Militarism, Environment and Development,
 - b) Yasukuni Shrine and Japanese War Responsibility,
11. Asian Research Team Workshop on Japanese Official Development Assistance, Tokyo, Aug 14-15,
12. International Symposium for a Just and Peaceful Asia, Kanagawa, Aug 17-19,
13. Asia-Pacific-Ryukyu Archipelago People's Exchange, Okinawa, Aug 15-19,
14. 6th ACFOD Council — People's Movements: Hopes, Alliances and Alternatives, Minamata, Aug 16-19,
15. Asia-Pacific Consumers Conference, Ohmiya, Aug 18-21,
16. Conference on Humankind and Nature, Minamata, Aug 19-20,

II. The entire PP21 process and the Minamata Final Synthesis Gathering have shown the value of

cross-networking across sectors and issues. We recommend to further continue and strengthen such a process, and initiate mechanisms for effective follow-up.

III. We immediately propose actions in relation to:

1. Tropical Rainforests,
2. Japanese Official Development Assistance,
3. General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT),
4. Demilitarisation of the Asia-Pacific Region,
5. Trafficking in Women,
6. Ainu Indigenous People of Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido),
7. Land Rights for the Indigenous People,
8. Hazards of Industry, in Particular Nuclear Industry and the Export of Toxic Wastes.

1. Tropical Rain Forests

We demand an immediate ban on the export of timber from the world's tropical rain forests. To secure this ban, we support the blockading of logging sites and propose the following actions:

- a). Take joint actions, with the support of labor unions and other progressive forces, to stop the export and import of timber from tropical rain forests;
- b). Exert pressure on the corporations and governments of countries exporting and importing such timber;
- c). Raise the issue among grassroots organizations; and
- d). Organize media campaigns to publicize joint actions and broaden understanding of the issue by initiating transborder educational programs.

2. Official Development Assistance (ODA)

The purpose of Japan's ODA program is not to assist recipient peoples. Peoples of the recipient countries and the people of Japan need to take joint action to stem current ODA, which is a tool for supporting Japan-U.S. political and military strategy and Japanese big business. Concretely, we need to conduct joint surveys of ODA programs, monitor their implementation, take action to stop destructive aid projects and help secure compensation for people victimized by ODA.

3. General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)
The free-trade system promoted by GATT has

been creating numerous economic imbalances and hardships. The worldwide liberalization of farm commodities being promoted by GATT is in fact a program for subjecting agricultural and livestock products to the domination of the transnational corporations. GATT-sponsored liberalization of agriculture is also destroying small-scale family farms and rural society and is linked to the destruction of the tropical rainforests.

Such a free-trade system based on the theories of powerful nations should be transformed immediately. All farmers in the world including family farmers and farm workers should organize counter-GATT joint actions in cooperation with consumers and environmentalists throughout the world.

4. Demilitarization of the Asia-Pacific Region

We recognized that during the Second World War the countries in the Asia-Pacific region were the scenes of some of history's most violent battles. We also recognize the pivotal role that the government of Japan is now playing in U.S. military strategy in the region.

In this recognition, we demand that the Japanese government unambiguously accept Japan's past war responsibilities, terminate its commitment to the U.S. global strategy, and drastically reduce its military budget. The three non-nuclear weapons principles of not producing, possessing or introducing nuclear weapons into the country should be strictly implemented. U.S. warships not verified nuclear weapons-free through inspections and checks, shall not be allowed to enter any Japanese ports. The Japanese government also should immediately terminate its complicity with low intensity conflicts in different regions, abetted through provision of official development aid or by other means.

We also agree to work immediately and actively towards making the Asia-Pacific region nuclear-free and ridding it of foreign military installations and military domination both by great powers and by smaller regional powers.

We also agree to actively support the struggles for independence in the Asia-Pacific region especially those in East Timor, West Papua, Kanaky (New Caledonia) and Tahiti-Polynesia (French-Polynesia).

5. Trafficking in Women

Trafficking in women in Asia is increasing at an alarming rate. Filipino, Thai, Taiwanese and other women are sent to Japan and other countries to be exploited in the sex industry.

We resolved to take immediate joint actions in both the sending and receiving countries to protect

women from abuse and from other human rights violations.

6. Recognition of Ainu as Indigenous People of Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido)

We endorse the Ainu people's demand that the government and people of Japan recognize them as the indigenous people of Ainu-Moshiri ("Hokkaido"), repeal the Hokkaido Former Native Protection Act and enact the new Ainu law being proposed by the Ainu people. This proposed new law recognizes the indigenous rights of the Ainu people, respects their dignity as an ethnic entity and guarantees the development of their own culture and life based on their traditional culture and values.

We resolved to take all actions necessary towards the realization of this demand.

7. Land Rights for Indigenous Peoples

In recognition of the special affinity that indigenous peoples have with their land, which they believe was given to them directly by the Creator, we agreed that this is what distinguishes indigenous populations from other racially oppressed minority groups in society. In this regard, we endorse the demand of indigenous peoples throughout the world for the immediate recognition and legislative guarantee of their inalienable right to their lands, waters and fisheries. We resolved to work immediately and actively towards the realization of this demand.

8. Hazards of Industry, in Particular the Nuclear industry and the Export of Industrial Toxic Waste.

We demand the immediate termination of all facilities in the nuclear fuel cycle, and all hazardous industrial activities which create an unsafe environment and generate toxic wastes.

We demand that all nuclear wastes should remain in the country where the waste is generated and that such nuclear waste should neither be exported to other countries nor dumped into the oceans.

We oppose the export of toxic industrial waste to Third World countries and support transborder joint action to oppose such activity.

We advocate the strengthening and expansion of the people's network of solidarity against nuclear power and industrial processes which create the toxic wastes. We especially support the strengthening and expansion of solidarity networks among victims of industrial hazards, as the most concrete expression of people learning from each other and acting against the processes of victimisation intrinsic to such technological processes.

Sowing the Seed of International Solidarity

by Ohno Kazuoki



The richest fruit born through exchanges of views and spirits by farmers during the 17-day PP21 International Farmers' Program was an awareness of internationalism in farmers' movements, especially in Japan. This is what the Japanese farmers' movements lacked since farmers had previously been able to deal with their problems of agricultural prices and other policies of protecting farmers' interests within the framework of national agricultural policies.

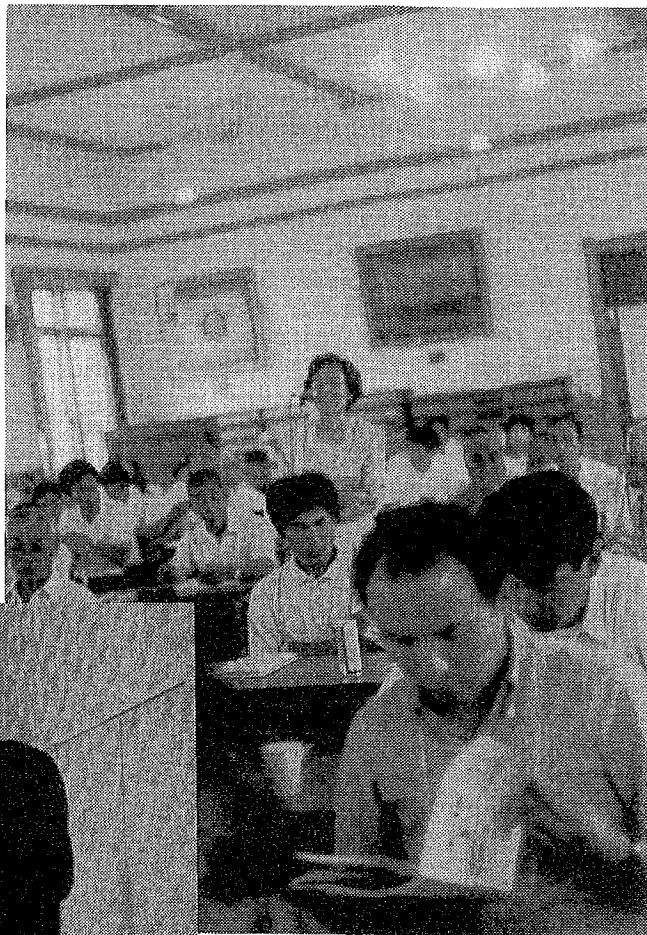
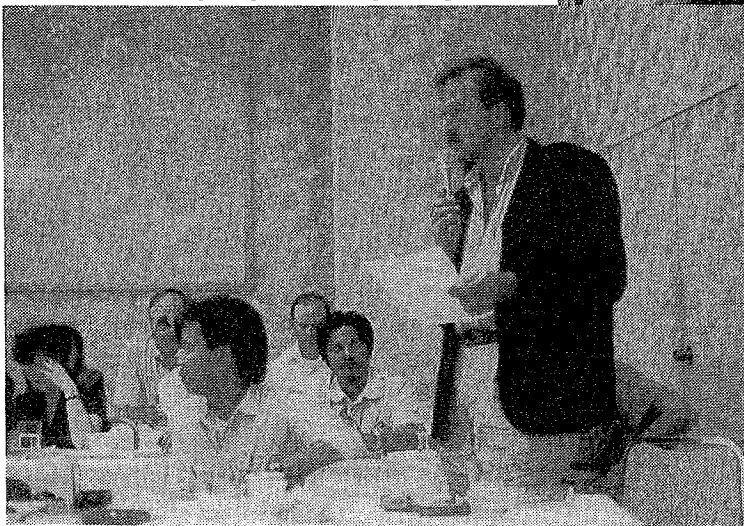
But times have changed. No governmental policy-making processes including agricultural ones can stay outside a global economic system controlled by multinational capital, much of which

is now Japanese. The on-going agricultural talks at the Uruguay Round of GATT reflects that. The present GATT negotiations differ from those of the past in that they override the internal agricultural policies of member countries. National sovereignty is being threatened by the interests of multinational corporations.

Governments, economic circles and big agricultural organizations call the present situation the "internationalization of agriculture" and their discussions are concerned with how to cope with this "internationalization of agriculture."

It is time for farmers' movements to counterpose internationalism to "internationalization." If the issue of "internationalization" is tackled from the isolationist point of view, it will end in endless nationalist conflicts.

Forum on Food, Living & Agriculture, Niigata, Aug.3-7



Five Farmers' Exchange, Iwate, Aug.9-12

The farmers' program this summer impressed the participants with the importance of grassroots internationalism. Their discussions started with sharing the realities of agriculture in each country (see the country reports in the following pages) and exchanging experiences in farmers' struggles to overcome their problems. It became clear that whether in a developed country or a Third World country, the conditions for small-scale farmers have become catastrophic. Phrases such as 'the increasing indebtedness of farmers,' 'the depopulation of rural areas,' 'the aging of the rural population,' and 'the collapse of the rural community' came up again and again in the discussions. The causes of these phenomena lie in trade liberalization led by GATT, development pushed by the World Bank and exploitation of resources brought in by

corporate investment operating within the global economic system as a whole. The collapse of small-scale farms occurs as this system develops. The program clearly showed that the contradictions do not lie between countries but between multinational capital and small-scale farmers. To counter this MNC-led system, farmers need to build an international network. The participants agreed to build a network of information and action to counter GATT.

Farmers in Japan are supposed to play a key role in this network since Japan is the keystone of the MNC-led global economic system. The awareness of this role is the result of the PP21 farmers' program and the starting point for the future.

Country Report

Thailand

Building a Grass-Roots Farmers' Organization by *Bamrung Kayotha*

I am a farmer from the northeast of Thailand. I remember when I was a child there was a big forest around my village. My parents only grew rice for family consumption and they found some food from the forest. They hunted animals and caught fish in the river. In 1961 my father started to grow jute and there was a road cut through the village. The government started to introduce fertilizer into our area. Later on, tapioca was introduced in our area. To grow tapioca we have to clear the forest and the trees must be cut down. Since that time the fish in the river have died because of the fertilizer and insecticide being used. The rich forest has disappeared and some of the animals have gone. People are getting poorer because they have to buy food from the town and they have to spend money to invest in their farms.

In response to these difficulties and problems, the government organized cooperatives in all the districts of the country but unfortunately they do not serve the interests of the people. We have to start another process for ourselves by organizing a small group in our village and then try to participate and influence the cooperatives. I hope that my participation in this conference will help me to further strengthen my organizational work as well as to find a way for a better future.

Women Organized in Rural Thailand by *Tongpun Hamajum*

I am Tongpun Hamajum from the northeast of Thailand. In my village there are 75 families. There are five people in my family. Our main crop is rice and I also raise silkworms. In the rice fields we raise fish in a pond. I have five hens, four ducks and a pig in my farm. I am a member of the village committee, acting as a health volunteer. I am also a member of the silkworm production group which is organized by women in the village. Men organize an integrated farming group and the young people work together in our own community. Our community shares rice storage because of the shortage of rice. We do not have machines in the fields. Nowadays women have more responsibility in their village than before and men and women have to help each other in every task.

Regaining a Community-Based Agriculture by *Bamrung Bumpanya*

You see that Tongpun is the only female farmer giving a presentation in this conference and she has reflected quite clearly that in her family she is self-sufficient. This gives an idea of how a family in a Thai unit is running its farm and how they participate in community affairs. I would like to present a few observations and emphasize a few points.

First, Tongpun's community is a community which is less affected by external force or by the penetration of capital and this means the village can continue to be self-reliant to a large extent.

Secondly, in this village and in her home as well, they must continue eating rice. They must continue producing rice for the family. However because of the pressure of the cash economy, she has to produce silk cocoons to sell in the market. That's for her cash income.

The third point she made was in the old days women had very little role in community affairs but that these days women often get together and are accepted by men who admit that women also have a role in the community. I think this is true maybe in Japan and other Asian societies.

She also emphasized that they do not use much machinery but depend instead on animal and human labor. When American and Japanese friends hear about this they may think that this is very primitive but it is still there today. That is how she is surviving.

Bamrung Kayota explained about the organization of the farmers to react against the situation they are facing. Most farmers' organizations in Thailand are dominated by the government. They become the machinery of the government. In response to this he is trying a different process, a new generation of farmers' organization. This is very important because in our country we have had a limited political space for a long time. We have military rule and cannot speak out. So it is very important for the future of the farmers to have their own autonomous organization within the community, at the district and the provincial levels and hopefully nationwide.

The above presentations about two places reflect the situation in Thailand from the point of view of the community. Firstly, they need to select their own future. That is very clear. And secondly they want to build up a new community life as well as a new family life.

Many foreign people know Bangkok. They

know the area of Patpong. But I must emphasize that Thailand is a country with 60,000 villages which are the hard core of the nation. Bangkok is the commercial center. Some big cities are industrial centers and other cities are just recreation areas for tourists from Japan. There are many Japanese who like to go on sex tours in Thailand. So then we have the rural community on the one hand and on the other the urban societies, the industrial centers, commercial and service centers and the prostitution areas.

Our development sacrifices the rural community. We have a long history but how did this process of destruction, this weakening of the rural community come about? It came during the time when the British were colonizers and came to Thailand, not directly but they became economically dominant. In 1855 they pushed the central part of Thailand to become a rice exporting area linked to the world market. That was the first wave. They introduced monocropping agriculture and they made Thailand one of the biggest rice exporting countries in the world but that weakened the rural community in the central plain. The British also promoted the monocropping of what we call rubber plantations in the south and they also made money from the tea in the north of our country. They also took minerals from our land. The British position in Thailand has been replaced by the United States since World War Two. The U.S. power has been very obvious since 1961 when the United States and the World Bank introduced financial support and their master plan for the country. The United States pushed some cash crops and a monocropping system. They are more clever in that in order to promote the modernization of our agriculture, they have also been absorbing institutions in our country, the research institutes and the government bureaucracy. The United States introduced sugar cane, maize and tobacco and other cash crops. They promoted upland crops and accelerated the destruction and clearing of forest land in our country.

In addition to this, around 1967, we have a new friend coming to help destroy our forests. That is the European Community who introduced tapioca for export. Europe is happy because they can feed their cows with tapioca from Thailand and export the milk in cans back to Thailand to feed Thai children.

I should also talk about Japanese activities in Thailand. The Japanese are now investing on a large scale in an area in the eastern region. It is

called the Export Economic Zone. We received the very good news that the Japanese are coming to help us give jobs to young people from the rural areas. These Thai people from the villages will go to live in urban slums and will work in these new industries. They may get around 1,800 baht per month on which they can not survive. So their families have to support them. They go back home and take some rice back with them to the town. Japanese investment helps them get a salary but their family has to help them continue with their jobs. When these people, living in an urban area, get married and have children, they cannot take care of their children and have to bring them back home. Their parents have to take care of them. The rural family sacrifices their work force and the Japanese firm gives them children to take care of in

Our development sacrifices the rural communities...The rural family sacrifices their work force and the Japanese firm gives them children to take care of in return.

return. When the couple gets old and cannot work in the urban area any longer, they come back to the rural area. This is the cycle of destruction of family potential and strength.

With respect to agribusiness, in the place where Tongpun comes from we have large-scale investment from a Japanese silkworm company. Since our labor costs are very low, the product is very competitive with that produced by silk farmers in Japan. The Japanese company brings silkworm eggs from Japan to be hatched and sold in Thailand. This controls the breeds and we can not reproduce any more. We lose our self-reliance.

Big business has also invested in a paper industry which will affect around 1.2 million farmers in the northeast.

Investment in shrimp production in the south of Thailand is also driving away 600,000 families. All these products come to Japan to compete in the Japanese market and make enemies of the producers at each end. Agribusiness stands back and does not take any responsibility.

In this process in Thailand in 1972, we had an anti-Japanese campaign because we labored under the misunderstanding that Japanese people in general were bad, dumping their goods in Thailand. Japanese farmers may have anti-US feelings right now because Americans are now dumping in their market and maybe in a decade I will not be here because they may be anti-Thai. (laughter)

So I fully support your efforts to attain self-

reliance. If we exchange more views and reach an understanding, I hope we can find a correct way for collaboration and friendship. The foundation of friendship is necessary to protect family-based and community-based agriculture against industrial-based agriculture.

the Philippines

Landless Farmers Fight Against the Fake Land Reform

by Eugene Lopez

The Philippines is a beautiful country rich in natural resources including our vast ocean wealth. In contrast, the majority of our people suffer from hunger and poverty. This is brought about by what I call a backward plantation economy run by landlords and foreign big business corporations, particularly those of Japan and the United States. Under this type of economy, we are export-oriented and import-dependent. We remain as exporters of raw materials and importers of

*Seven out of ten peasants in
the Philippines do not have land to till.
Even if one has land, it is very little usually
for the family to survive
on that land.*

finished products. This is a very imbalanced trade and we always lose out. This continues because we have a government which is maintaining this exploitative relationship. What we have in our country is a complete domination of Japanese and U.S. big interests over our economic, political and cultural life in collaboration with the rich landed class of our country. Those who suffer most from this situation are the vast majority of Filipino people: about 70 percent are peasants.

I came here to Japan and saw that at least farmers here have land to till, though they have their own problems. Seven out of ten peasants in the Philippines do not have land to till. Even if one has land, it is very little usually for the family to survive on that land.

These peasants without land or with little land have to pay a high land rent. We call them tenants and leaseholders and they pay 25 to 75 percent of their gross harvest to the landlord, depending on the crops or where they live in the Philippines. We lack the capital, and the credit system is not geared

for the farmers' use but is a tool of big business. The farmers and peasants are the victims of usurers who charge high interests rates on loans. It is very common that farmers in debt pay 20 percent of the value of the harvest after three months. In some other parts, we must pay an unbelievable 2000 percent interest. We sell our products at very low prices while we pay a very high price for farm inputs. After harvest poor farmers are left with only debt to pay. Their only motivation to work again is to pay his debt and keep this cycle going. This kind of situation creates social unrest and this is best illustrated in the Philippines now by the internal war going on at home. The government responds to this by more militarization, military repression and violations of people's basic human rights. It is called by my government 'the total war policy' in response to insurgency.

In Negros alone 20,000 peasants were evacuated from their land to the town center to escape the aerial and artillery bombings of the military. In the evacuation centers children die because of hunger and sickness: 118 children died within three months.

Peasant leaders and people's organizations are suspected to be subversives. Activists in the Philippines disappear and are tortured.

It is not only brute force they use but the carrot, or a program to deceive people. The government initiated the so-called

'Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program' which after only one year was exposed as a deceptive program being anti-people, anti-farmers and pro-landlords and pro-big business interests.

We are also dominated by foreign interests. The reality of Japanese Official Development Aid to the Philippines is that the Japanese government collects money from common Japanese people and farmers and gives it to the repressive regime to maintain an exploitative system.

Unfair treaties entered into by our government also exploit poor people in the Philippines. We have the Philippine-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation which allows the Japanese to send big fishing boats and exploit our ocean resources. In return it says that Filipino fishermen with their small boats powered by oars can also go to Japan to fish.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency does research work in agriculture in the Philippines. But what it recommends is unsuitable technology and tries to propagate the same

fertilizers and the same pesticides that poison the Japanese soil, environment and people. We have to pay for it.

Since we can no longer rely on foreign aid and our own government, we are working on our own through peasants' initiatives. We try to implement our own agrarian reform through land occupation, confrontation with land lords to reduce their land rent and usurers to reduce their high interest rates. We wage economic and political campaigns against governmental policies which damage peasants. At the same time, we promote ecological farming and cooperative building.

We try to tell our government to review and suspend the Japanese ODA and rechannel it to people's organizations and NGOs.

Secondly, let's initiate more direct people-to-people linkages.

And third, as you see, in this way to create a better community or society and solve your problems, please think of the Filipinos, Thais and others in the underdeveloped countries and consider the implications of your solutions for these peoples.

Japan

Towards the Recovery of a Sustainable Agriculture

by Sugawara Shoichi

I would like to talk about Japanese agriculture, particularly in terms of how the agricultural policies of the government have affected the life of my family for three generations. My family is engaged in small-scale farming in Shirataka Town located at the northern tip of Okitama Basin in Yamagata Prefecture. The Mogami River runs through the center of the town from south to north and terraced farms go up from the river bank towards the mountains on both sides. It is a typical Japanese mountain village.

For hundreds of years up until the time when my grandfather was farming some 40 years ago, there had been little change in the agricultural methods of the village or in its social structure. My grandfather had 30 a. of his own rice fields, 34 a. of rented rice fields, 40 a. of mulberry fields and a small portion of land for vegetables for domestic use with a cow for tilling and 10 hens for laying eggs.

He cultivated his rice fields by hand and then tilled them using his cow. The planting of rice seedlings was done by hand. Animal and human waste was tramped by a cow and mixed with grass cut from the mountain nearby. It was then

fermented to be used as manure for the next year. Weeding in the rice fields was done by hand three times every summer, after which soy beans waste and fish waste were spread over the field as fertilizer. Bunches of rice straw were stacked around the field and burnt to exterminate insect pests. Grass around the field was used to feed the cow.

Prayer and worship to obtain a good harvest were important parts of the farmers' agricultural activities. To make the most of the small area of land, Grandfather sowed beans on ridges between the rice fields and buckwheat on portions of the fields between the lines of mulberry trees. From spring to the rice harvesting time in autumn, he reared silkworms in four cycles. Agriculture in those days was labor-intensive and nature-conserving.

In winter, house-bound due to the snow, men made agricultural materials such as straw mats, straw ropes and straw raincoats. Women spun yarn out of silk waste and wove it into fabric for sale. When spring came, manure was brought to the field by sleigh many times. Manure for the fields was often made from human waste bucketed up from privies of a school and a town office nearby. The bucketed waste was collected in a pond in an open space in the field where it was laid out to be fermented. My grandfather checked the degree of fermentation of the manure by tasting it with his finger.

These nature-conserving agricultural practices, which utilize to the full such natural resources as the sun and the rain and the plants, lasted for hundreds of years.

However throughout this time, farmers lived in poverty under the oppression of their landlords. My grandfather gave 180 kg of rice out of 280-360 kg of rice to his landlord as farm rent. He also had to pay back the rent he owed to his landlord to obtain fertilizers such as soy bean waste and fish waste. As a result, my grandfather was left with 120 kg of rice to sell. When damage from the cold weather was severe, the tenant farmer was thrown into even greater poverty. Some had to sell their daughters into prostitution.

A number of struggles by tenants against landlords took place between 1920 and 1940 as they tried to overcome their poverty. The government found a solution by creating an outlet for the peasants' frustration through the colonization of Manchuria which led to the 15-year war of invasion in China and other Asian countries.

My father succeeded my grandfather on the farm in 1946. In December 1947, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, Douglas MacArthur, ordered the land reform which enabled

the peasants to buy up to 3 ha. of land for a reasonable price. With mountainous and forest land excluded, one could own 1 ha. of land for tenancy. Through such a purchase, my father became a small landowner. The food crisis after the war encouraged him to work hard to produce food. He must have been proud to be a farmer then.

As the land reform created more and more small-scale farmers, agricultural technology also progressed. Father began buying chemical fertilizers, which were promoted by General Headquarters. A new method of rice transplantation, through the use of nurseries in the fields, was adopted. Weeding machines were brought into use. The policies encouraging small-

*It can be clearly seen through
three generations of the farming family
that the Japanese government, in
collaboration with the Liberal Democratic
Party and big business has, in effect, been
pursuing a policy to put Japanese
farmers out of business.*

scale farm owners succeeded in raising the self-sufficiency rate for food, which had fallen greatly during the war. At this time, my father owned 80 a. of rice fields, 40 a. of mulberry fields, and a small vegetable field as well as 10 hens and a cow.

In the early 1950s (I was born in 1955), high economic growth in Japan was triggered by munitions requisitions for the Korean War. Due to a gap in income between workers in urban areas and farmers, the children of farming families, except for first sons, began migrating to the cities to work in companies. My uncles and aunts went to the cities after graduating from junior high or senior high school.

In 1961, the Fundamentals of Agriculture Act, a selective products expansion policy, was passed by the Diet. This policy encouraged crop specialization in accordance with the international agricultural economy. This was the beginning of cutbacks in agriculture and created the present situation where, for most crops except for rice, Japan depends on imports.

My father followed this policy, buying more land for rice, agricultural chemicals, fertilizers and a cultivator. To adjust to the policy, he sold his cow and bought pigs instead.

As a result, however, his income fell due to the new expenses for agricultural machinery, inputs

such as fertilizers and seeds and a rising cost of living. In order to make a living, he went to the city to work as a construction worker or in factories when there was no work in the rural areas. At such times only women, children and the elderly are left in the village.

As the level of industrialization increased and the economy grew, Japan's dependency on food imports deepened, prices dropped, and farmers were no longer able to produce such crops as soy beans, which had been supplied locally. Rice production, however, is still protected because it is the basic crop of Japan. Many farmers in my village as well as in other parts of Japan became rice producers, and then they had to face the problem of over-production in rice.

In 1970, the government initiated its set-aside policy for rice. Ten years after the adoption of the Fundamentals of Agriculture Act, the rural areas of Japan became exhausted from adapting themselves to economically competi-

g¹⁴
tive agriculture. The reduction policy came as a

shock to those farmers who had tried to survive by depending on rice production. It was something like seducing them into a cave and then sealing off the entrance with a boulder. The shock turned into a sense of crisis.

My father started to suffer from a slipped disk due to heavy work in the fields in summer and in the city in winter. He could never enjoy deep sleep because he could not stay in the same position for longer than half an hour. He finally gave up being a farmer, losing hope in the future of agriculture because of the government's set-aside policy. He started to work in a factory and rent out all his fields except for 40 a. for domestic consumption. The new government policy forced much of the remaining population to leave the rural areas.

Two years after my father left his fields I graduated from senior high school. I was one of two out of 33 students in the agricultural course in the school who decided to become farmers after graduation. I decided to work in the fields since I wanted to be free from the kind of supervision from other people I would have to put up with in a company. In my school, environmentally sound, small-scale, composite crop agricultural methods were taught. This was very different from what was taught in the major agricultural school in my area, where students learned how to run large-scale

agriculture to be competitive in the international agricultural environment. The agriculture I learned was helpful when I began to practice small-scale sustainable agriculture.

At present, I have 170 a. of rice fields, 40 a. of mulberry fields, 25 a. of orchards and 10 a. of land for growing vegetables for domestic use. I raise silkworms and chickens. In winter I join a group of 10 small-scale farmers in the neighborhood who run an agricultural processing company for producing such things as pickles and rice cakes.

More than ten years have passed since I started farming. During this period farmers in Japan have been horrified by the prospect of the importation of American rice. The government also intends to open wider the domestic agricultural market for other foreign agricultural products. Farmers in my village who make a living by producing rice and some additional crops such as hops, tobacco and silkworm raising will be put out of business if this policy is pursued.

Last year, more than ten farming families who were producing tobacco quit farming. Now only two are left. In my village of about 90 families, there are only 5 full-time farmers under the age of 40 and all are male. More and more land is left uncultivated and our rate of food self-sufficiency is falling.

It can be clearly seen through three generations of the farming family that the Japanese government, in collaboration with the Liberal Democratic Party and big business has, in effect, been pursuing a policy to put Japanese farmers out of business. They welcome imports of agricultural products in exchange for their growing exports of industrial products. Agricultural products to be imported are sometimes those from the Third World where farmers or peasants have to work in an export-oriented monoculture agriculture and can barely produce crops for their own mouth. Japanese industrial goods for export are said to be preventing those Third World countries from developing their own industries. At this end, Japanese farmers try to compete with the monoculture farming of other countries using more pesticides and chemical fertilizers which pollute water resources and damage the soil.

I think the social value of farmers is being measured solely on the basis of economic efficiency. This way of thinking is a bit old now. As we witness the vast destruction of the global environment and the environment of our own communities, the poverty and hunger of the Third World and the destruction of farming families, we need a new scale by which to measure our own values. In the midst of a sense of crisis people have already initiated various activities such as organic

farming, environmental protection movements and building links between farmers and consumers. Our task is to build a network among these activities domestically and internationally and make effective policies for the future to be measured with our new scale.

Taiwan

Farmers' Enemies are not Farmers

by Huang Wen-yuan

Let me tell you first about myself to give you a picture of the Taiwanese agricultural situation. I left primary school at the age of twelve and went to high school 8 km away from my house. At the age of 15 I graduated from high school and went to town where I worked in a factory during the day and studied at a night school. I finished senior high school at 18 and worked in the same factory for two years. At 20 I was drafted to the military and returned to my home village after three years of service.

I worked on a farm by day and in a factory at night. This way of life continued for several years but I decided to enter a junior college at the age of 30, and I got married.

There was an unfortunate incident near my house when I was 31 years old. A farmer who ran an orchard went bankrupt because of growing imports of American fruits and he committed suicide. I and other farmers went to the government to protest against its policy of market liberalization of agricultural products. I had already been involved in a labor movement from the year before, and I could hardly work on my farm due to involvement in the farmers' movement and my farm was left without care.

In the 1960s the Taiwan government tried to develop industries by keeping down agricultural prices. This policy has succeeded in creating an industrialized Taiwan which is now able to export cheap finished products, due to cheap labor, to the United States which in return tries hard to sell its agricultural products to us to "improve the imbalanced trade." As a result farmers can no longer survive and sell their farm land and start to work in the city to keep labor cheap and allow Taiwan industrial products to remain competitive. In this cycle it is always the capitalists who gain profits and 4 million farmers in Taiwan remain victims.

It is clear that we can no longer cope with agricultural problems within the narrow borders of countries. If we consider farmers' problems in the international context we find that farmers in the

United States, in Japan, in Taiwan and other places share basic common interests.

I learned here that Japanese farmers do not welcome imports of Taiwan pork. But strangely, in Taiwan we do not have enough feedstuff for pigs. The Kuomintang government started to import lots of food from the United States to sell its favors and processed it into feedstuff for pigs to consume. Thus more farmers came to raise pigs for survival. It is not farmers but the capitalists who created this situation.

We need a clear knowledge about our problems. Farmers in the world need to join hands to protest against the liberalization of agricultural products and to build self-sufficient and self-reliant agriculture.

The United States

From Agriculture of Bigness to Agriculture of Integrity

by Isao Fujimoto

The United States is a very big country. It's not as big as the Soviet Union where there are eleven time zones. We have at least four time zones and the three Americans attending this program represent three of the four. Each represents a different part of the country, a different kind of people and a different kind of agriculture. Regardless of the broad differences, however, there are a number of things which are common to the country and the most important thing to understand about American agriculture is to understand what is the American society. The way to understand that is to ask what it is that all the people in America believe in, what are the main values and beliefs that drive this country to be what it is and make American agricultural policy what it is. Here I want to limit my discussion to two basic values that seem to define what America is.

One important value to define America is the right to get started. This kind of right means there is an opportunity that anybody, no matter where they came from, how poor or how rich they were, who their family was, could get started and this is what makes America so attractive and why so many different people go there.

There is another value that also defines America and this is the right to get as big as you can. These two values, the right to get started and the right to

get big, have been very important in terms of America as a society. If you have only one of the values, you don't get too much joy. If you only have the right to get started, what you have is everybody at the starting gate and lots of people get kicked off into the race and very few people can reach the end.

If you believe only the second value what happens is that those people who get really big will take advantage of what they have and the small become defenseless and they will start getting destroyed.

If you have both values, you have a very vital, active society. These two values seem to come in cycles. Sometimes, depending on which political party is in power one value seems to dominate. For the last ten years, the second value, the right to get bigger, has been the dominant value, and has shaped many things that Americans do and has certainly shaped America.

Part of the right to get big is also reflected in some other beliefs: You might even call them myths, and one of these is the notion that "Big is better." Now I hear "Big is better," as regards to agriculture and this is also expressed in the idea that bigness is more efficient. This also affects the kinds of policies that we have and once you get bigness you use all the dominant tools and technology to get bigger in size.

Import quotas with the intention of lowering farm prices have been threatening domestic agriculture and there has not been a new sensitivity internationally that would prevent dumping commodities into the world's market place.

Another belief is the idea that technology will solve all our problems, even at the cost of displacing or at the cost of creating other problems. These notions about "Big is better" have been very important with regards to American agriculture. What you have as a result is industrial agriculture. Industrial agriculture has the same kind of values as industry which stresses values such as size, power, material output, and quantity.

This is very different from the kind of values as associated with the first one. When people who are working on the right to get started, especially in terms of agriculture, in terms of a small family farm, the main values are such as self-reliance, of stewardship—of taking care of what you have, of the whole idea of community, of entrepreneurship, of ingenuity. These sorts of values are important.

Now today when you think back on it, we seem to have gone through some very interesting phases about changes in the way we look at the world. You might say originally people thought "Think locally and act locally," which means you act and interact with people around you in the place where you live. But in the industrial age people started thinking in terms of "Think locally and act globally" which means to take advantage of laws you have, to take advantage of what part of the country you are in and start looking at the world as your market, whether to sell or dump goods. This is definitely part of the policy affecting us today.

However, we are in a new kind of age now and I think this conference reflects it when you see that the sign here and the idea here is that the farmers of the post-industrial age are thinking along the line of "Think globally and act locally." Namely we become much more conscious of what we do, what other peoples all over the world will affect us. In other words we are all citizens of the world now and the best we can do is to have this kind of consciousness and develop our own community in the best way possible so that we take care of the land, we don't pollute and we make the place where we live a paradise. This is a kind of value, changes, that are needed in terms of what's going on and how to understand American agriculture.

Free Trade Policy Threatens U.S. Farmers *by Cary Smith*

The deadline is 1990 for new a program to create farm-centered or grass-roots centered support for farmer-controlled supply management assistance. I think the Carter government reduced government costs and at the same time maintained our production. But unfortunately the Bush administration is following the free trade initiatives started by former President Reagan. This free trade plan was largely developed by a former executive of the Cargil Corporation, the world's largest grain trader.

The proposal at the GATT talks is to reduce the difference between the world and the domestic prices on products imported into a country and tariffs would gradually be reduced over a 5 year period. The proposal would also internationalize health and safety regulations for consumers and it would in effect commit international and state proposals and programs to protect the environment.

I think the basis of the proposal is a political struggle between the Republican and Democratic Parties, the two strong political parties of our country.

The Republicans at the moment hold the Presidency and they think they will for some time

to come. The Democrats have control of the Congress. The GATT talks offer an opportunity for the Republicans to avoid dealing directly with the Democrats in Congress and in effect usurp the Democrat's power or ability to make our national policies. The Republicans are supported by large trading companies who no doubt benefit most from the free trade transactions that are taking place around the globe. It certainly is not going to be of benefit to the grass-roots farmers here in Japan or the United States or anywhere as far as I can tell.

I believe that a stable U.S. agriculture needs a supply management program to control production instead of the technological development and expansion in production that costs supply potential and goes beyond consumption potential. It seems to me import quotas with the intention of lowering farm prices have been threatening domestic agriculture and there has not been a new sensitivity internationally that would prevent dumping commodities into the world's market place.

The present policies of our government are misleading U.S. farmers. They do not lead the world as the lowest cost producers. Our farm input costs are defined by our dependency on petrochemicals. The short run gains in wheat and rice markets do not pay off in the long run for anyone.

Getting back to the GATT talks, one of my greatest fears is that because agriculture is only a small part of this whole picture, the deal between Japanese and American industrialists may set world agricultural policy for some time. I do not think they will have the best interests of American farmers or Japanese farmers in their minds.

the Netherlands

A Counter GATT Network for a World Sustainable Agriculture

by Arie van den Brand

Dutch agricultural policies after World War Two were aimed at increasing the production and the productivity of the farmers to become self-sufficient in basic agricultural products.

In order to rebuild industries, they decided to have a cheap food policy which would lower the wages for the industrial workers so that consumers could spend more money on industrial products and less on food.

In those days the farmers' unions were strongly demanding income security. So post-war agricultural policies were a compromise between the demands of farmers and the demands of the industries.

The EEC, founded in 1957, set the prices of basic agricultural products as milk, sugar, meat, and wheat on a level higher than the low and unstable world market prices. But also it set the prices low enough to stimulate farmers to increase their productivity. They did that by mechanization, specialization, intensification and enlarging the scale of the farms.

It is clear the history of the EEC shows you that you need state intervention to reach a reasonable and stable farmers' income. You need independence from the wild way of the world market. Farmers do not have the possibility, as big industry has, to count the increasing cost of the inputs such as machines, fertilizers, and so on into the prices for their products. They are dependent on what the market will pay. So the free market approach may be good for the grain traders and supermarkets, but not for the farmers. It will only lead to surpluses and lower prices.

Already in the GATT meetings in the 1960s, especially the Tokyo Round, the United States presented itself as the world grain supplier. When the EEC passed their 100 percent rate of self-sufficiency for wheat in 1981, the United States got angry and started a trade war with the EEC. It was time to trade tough. The United States was forcing the EEC to lower grain prices by giving more subsidies to dump their own surpluses on the world market and taking over traditional European grain markets. The United States needed a black sheep faraway for their own bet, the low price farmers policy. It was easy to blame the EEC with the slogan of "European farmers are heavily subsidized." Now the United States is forcing the liberalization of the world market although the GATT decision has yet to be made. You have to know also that in 1880 and in the 1930s the U.S. grain traders were exporting their surplus of wheat to Europe. They were exporting the farmers' crisis to Europe. Fifty years later the same thing is happening again. With the EEC budget running our, it lowered the farmers' wheat price by 30 percent over the last 6 years.

Inside Europe, free market forces were and are supporting this foolish policy. European wheat farmers are today in serious trouble. A wind of free market thinking is blowing over the world.

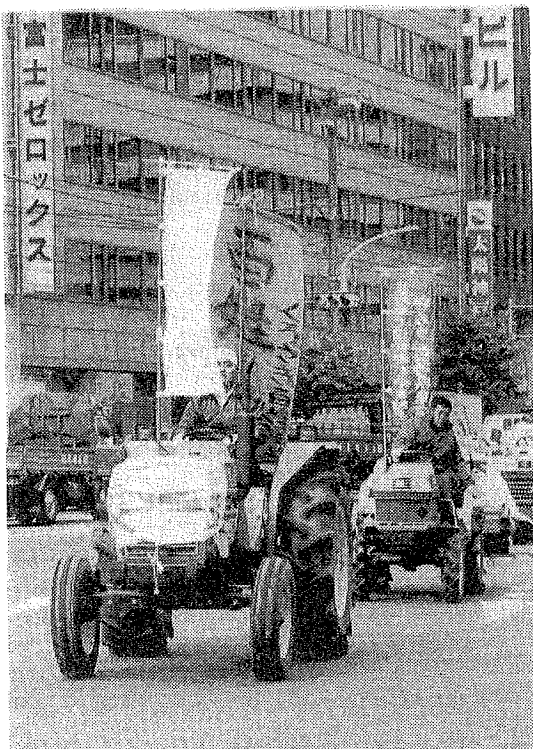
Dutch, Danish, and German farmers protested this spring by blocking the streets of big cities with thousands of tractors and handing out at the same time agricultural products to the consumers for free.

Forced by consumers' organizations in Europe, the EEC stopped the import of beef from the United States because it is not hormone-free.

Farmers are demanding higher prices and

supply management. The Young Farmers' Union in my country wants to stay as farmers on the land and as a full-timer with a reasonable income to compare with that of an industrial worker. At the same time they want a sustainable agriculture. They are saying, "We are no longer only food producers but also producers of landscape and environment. This should be reflected in the price and structure policies of the EEC."

We have to think and to talk as farmers about an alternative GATT, a counter GATT to achieve a policy which takes care of people and the earth because we have to realize that we are renting this fertile earth only from our children.



800 people joined a march on 15 November with 37 tractors and some tens of trucks on the streets of Tokyo to protest against liberalization drives under GATT which was holding its unofficial meeting on November 15-17 in Tokyo. In the following symposium, views were exchanged between farmers, consumers and workers on the liberalization of agricultural products and the participants confirmed the importance of self-sufficiency in food to protect a sustainable and nature-circular agriculture in each part of the world which can provide safe food.

Facing the Threat of Liberalization

by Ken Meter

The following article was written by an American farm journalist who participated in the PP21 agricultural program and also conducted separate interviews with Japanese officials. His report on the farm exposure tour focuses on three locales and the issues each faces in the rice trade dispute and in their plans for food self-sufficiency.

Esashi city, Iwate, Japan—Oikawa Yoichi, manager of the local agricultural cooperative in this northern Japanese town, sweeps his arm toward three new grain bins the co-op is adding to its elevator. The rust-brown cylinders reflect Esashi's hopes its farmers can boost rice output 15 percent, producing 3000 tonnes of additional rice each year.

This expansion was a curious sight in the midst of intense pressure from U.S. trade

officials, who call upon Japan to import rice. To Oikawa, however, imports are a minor concern. "Our main goal is to lower our input costs to hold the price of our rice lower."

Japanese farmers feel they cannot hope to compete with mechanized rice producers in the U.S., though statistics show Japan's productivity per acre is as high as that in the United States. But Esashi officials see a strong niche for high quality rice, especially in light of recent government price cuts that whittled the rice producer's price thirty percent, to 90 cents/lb.(35.24liter).

Trying to keep the region competitive, local officials search for cost-cutting measures. The single best step they have discovered is to consolidate rice paddies into larger units, so farmers can use larger machinery and reduce labor costs. Drainage systems are also being improved. Already, 90 percent of the town's land has been consolidated, so average paddy size doubled to over 0.2 ha.

"Consolidation is the major factor" in cutting costs, Oikawa says. "But it is still not a very drastic reduction."

And, he added, consolidation will do nothing to directly increase the region's rice output. To produce more, the region needs to reclaim use of paddies taken out of production by the national set-aside program. That, the hopes, will happen when the internal rice market is liberalized.

Oikawa says Esashi will then be in a strong position. Farmers here grow Sasanishiki rice, widely regarded as the tastiest Japanese variety. The local climate favors rice production, so yields are generally high. Consumers already pay more than the government price to buy this quality rice.

In fact, nine of every ten bushels produced in Esashi town is sold outside of government distribution channels—far more than the national average

of 60 percent. "Consumers want rice from this area," Oikawa adds.

Still, larger rice paddies may also create new problems for the area. One farmer in Niigata reports that as paddy size increased in his area, there were more floods, since water run-off was not as closely controlled. Other Japanese farmers are concerned that consolidation will create divisions between large landowners and small, between part-time and full-time farmers. Others wonder what older people will do once they are no longer needed for tending rice paddies. They ask who will absorb the costs of housing senior citizens who are no longer a productive part of the farm family. Increased purchases of fertilizer and machinery may also drain financial resources away from rural communities.

When tour members asked Oikawa if these social and economic costs of paddy consolidation had been compared with the proposed benefits, he answered, "We have done no calculation of the

"Superficially, it's a trade dispute, but the roots are deeper than that." Issues that have to do with the distribution of wealth arise as economic surpluses decline.

costs of consolidation yet." He added that he expected to find little at this point in time.

Leaders of the Rice Managers Association, which represents larger, more prosperous producers, support consolidation wholeheartedly. They are convinced it is proper for full-time farmers to have a bigger voice than part-time producers in setting farm policy. At their annual meeting in Morioka, the RMA did not consider whether such imbalances would divide rural communities. Rather, they echoed the fascist cries of nationalist rural leaders in the past, finishing their evening reception with a chilling, heartfelt "Bansai!"

Nanyo city, Yamagata—Farmers in less privileged areas, however, are deeply concerned about the prospect of rice imports.

Standing in the City Hall overlooking the massive greenhouses that slant down steep, distant hillsides, mayor Otake Toshihide of Nanyo city said the U.S.'s strong pressure on Japan to open its rice market "makes it hard to tend to other problems in agriculture. The future of Japanese agriculture is a critical question."

Shiokawa Yoshinobu, agricultural economist at the University of Tokyo, echoed Otake's statement. "Superficially, it's a trade dispute, but the roots are deeper than that." Issues that have to do with the

distribution of wealth, he explained, arise as economic surpluses decline.

Consumers are demanding food raised with less chemicals. Rural women seek more voice in social policy. Japanese business groups want trade liberalized. The Japanese government, which traditionally appeased such competing interests, is finding it difficult to draw a good balance.

In its local economic policy, Nanyo city is already diversified to production of grapes, dairy, chrysanthemums, electronics, tourism, and textiles. but Otake says the region's financial health still depends on rice.

"Even here in Nanyo, with our diversity, over 50 percent of our agricultural income comes from rice," Otake said. "Without rice, all of our agriculture would go bankrupt. Besides, rice is a kind of sacred product. We cannot let foreigners take over. Perhaps we could make a compromise with other crops, but we will not allow any opening of the rice market in Japan."

Matsumoto Takuo, education director for the grain trading cooperative Zenchu, concurred. "We are not able to make further trade concessions," he said. Moreover, he adds, the LDP's hands are tied by the results of July's parliamentary elections. The party cannot make any major changes in farm



Farmer in Maesawa, Iwate who raises flowers for Bon Season. Photo by Ken Meter

policy, he said, since it no longer has the confidence of rural voters.

However, Matsumoto nevertheless speaks as if some accommodation with the U.S. is likely in the long term. He speaks of the possibility of a "total resolution of all GATT issues including rice" in which the US would also agree to do away with its protective trade policies.

Otake also understands that as a local official he may have to respond to national policies he might not agree with: "If we were to try to take countermeasures against the importation of rice, it would take a very long-time for preparation."

Keidanren, the powerful association of Japanese businessmen, sides with the United States on the trade issue, and calls for Japan to import rice. "Japan should be preparing for an open door policy," Keidanren said in a March 1987 statement, adding that "Imports of rice for industrial processing should now be permitted."

Sado Island, Niigata—A third local course is set by the Nokyo (Agricultural Cooperative) of Sado island, a three hour ferry ride from Niigata City.

Acting with some independence from Tokyo, co-op officials hope to increase food self sufficiency on the island. Co-op chairman Honma Kazuo described how the island has responded to lower rice prices by shifting to additional vegetable production. This Nokyo is helping farmers boost the quality of their beef production and has launched a creamery to make butter, cheese and milk for use on the island. Yet in doing so, the Nokyo gets very little support from national political structures.

"There is a big gap between the local government and the central government," Honma said. "Local government only has ten percent autonomy. The national government sucks up all the tax payments. The Nokyo's projects are funded with a 70-80 percent subsidy from the central government."

No subsidies are yet devoted to protecting the



Worker at the Sado coop creamery packages yogurt. Photo by Ken Meter

environment or nature, he added. And, he fears that should rice be imported, "We will destroy the natural environment of Japan." He echoes the call: "We shall never allow the importation of rice."

In the meantime, Honma encourages farmers to participate in planning for a more self-sufficient Sado. We found an unusually high level of give and take between planners and farmers here. In the early 1980s, for example, the co-operated that the island was producing more milk than it could afford. "In order to keep the price high enough, we had to ask certain farmers to abandon milk production. They told us it would be very painful to do so. So we decided to expand production instead and launch the creamery."

Today, fifty dairy farms produce eight tonnes of milk each day. Local milk is packaged for sale on

the island, where it nourishes Sado's schoolchildren and tourists. High quality butter, churned inside an oak barrel, is sold in Tokyo and Osaka as a premium Niigata export.

Still, Mayor Nakasoto of Hatano town is aware that the island "can only diversify. We cannot become fully self-sufficient. We need to develop some other crop as a staple, along with rice. If we rely only upon rice, it will cost more than rice from other regions."

Honma adds that "many farmers would like to grow wheat but they cannot since we import so much from the United States and the European Community." Nationally, Y200 billion of income from wheat imports, in fact, helps to pay the expenses of the Y380 billion Japanese rice support program.

One of the island's other hopes for the future rests on the beef industry, which has also been affected by U.S. trade policy. Although it is widely believed in the United States that Japan does not have enough land to support much of a beef industry. We found that in fact Japan once supported far more beef production than it now has.

Thirty years ago on Sado island, explained Tsuchiya Masayuki, the Nokyo education director, there were 6,000 cattle. Now there are only 1,386. Much of this represents a shift away from the use of oxen as work animals to the use of machinery.

Now, cattle are raised for their beef.

The 1988 decision to import beef caught farmers by surprise. "Up to the last minute, the government told us they should never liberalize the beef market," Tsuchiya said. Since those imports are devoted mostly to western-style fast food outlets and not to quality beef, he added, "We try to make a better quality beef. Once beef starts coming in, there is no way we can make money unless we have higher quality."

The Japanese black cattle produce a very tender meat that is highly marbled with fat, unlike beef available from other countries. One more advantage, is that Japanese growers have agreed not to use hormones.

Sado itself now imports "a little" beef to Hong Kong, he said, but Tsuchiya thinks their market is primarily major Japanese cities. The Ministry of Agriculture reports, however, that three Japanese regions already export beef to the United States, and hope to find additional markets there. Maesawa(Iwate) farmers also predict they can sell beef to the United States. But only 122 tonnes of beef and veal was shipped to the United States in 1987, compared to the 155,000 tonnes imported from the United States.

Sado officials also acknowledge that beef production can foster only a limited self-sufficiency since most cattle feed is imported.



Gerald Wieffer from the Netherlands meets the Women's Association of Iide town, Yamagata. Photo by Ken Meter

Joint Appeal

We, participants from India, Japan, the Netherlands, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and the United States attended the International Farmers' Exchange Program of the People's Plan for the 21st Century held in Yamagata, Niigata and Iwate Prefectures in Japan from July 29 to August 14, 1989.

During the program, over 2500 farmers, consumers, workers and those involved in agricultural education, actively exchanged views and spirits of hope.

Through these exchanges we clarified the problems faced by farmers in each country and shared the realities of farmers and agriculture in the world.

In Japan, South Korea and Taiwan agriculture has been abandoned. Food self-sufficiency has deteriorated through a rapid industrialization that gives priority to the interests of the monopolistic industrial complexes and increasing imports of cheap agricultural products.

In the Philippines and Thailand, farmers are forced to produce crops for export to meet the demand of the developed countries such as the United States, Japan and the countries of Europe. As a result, they have had to curb their own food production and have been unable to avoid damaging the rural environments in these countries. Also landless peasants and farmers have been deprived of their right to have food and other things necessary to sustain an adequate livelihood.

Agriculture in the Netherlands, often regarded as among the most advanced among EC countries, is faced with deepening agricultural pollution and increasing depopulation. Trade friction with the United States has worsened this.

In the United States, the so-called bread basket of the world, the economic policies of the government emphasize commercial efficiency. By dumping surplus crops on the world market, giant agribusiness is benefitted, but this has brought family farms and rural communities to the verge of

collapse. Agricultural methods that use up nature's resources have resulted in soil erosion.

Farmers' movements in various parts of the world, trying to liberate farmers from these chains, have met with political repression and human rights violations by their own governments who collaborate with the interests of big business.

One of the major factors destroying agriculture and local economies in the so-called developing countries is Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) and corporate investment. These are creating destructive situations in which workers and women are made into export commodities.

With these perceptions we have also confirmed that various efforts have been made by concerned

people in the world to find alternative ways of agriculture and food supply and have reached the following consensus.

Producers, consumers and workers should join together to exert their influence on the agricultural, economic and educational policies of the respective countries and international organizations such as GATT.

1. Agriculture is the most vital industry for society, sustaining living things and the environment and is the basis for the self-reliance of the community.
2. The existing agricultural methods that plunder the natural environment should be urgently reviewed and replaced by alternative methods which allow nature to regenerate.
3. Agriculture cannot survive under conditions of unrestrained economic competition (the principle of the powerful). The cultural and social role of agriculture should be reassessed and advanced.
4. The talent and energy of women involved in agriculture must be encouraged to surface beyond the boundaries of each individual farm. They should be involved in the leadership and policy-making discussions of each organization and they should be encouraged to attend and participate in gatherings at all levels.
5. Food sufficiency is a fundamental right of the people that cannot be established in the absence of equal and fair relationships in the international arena. Exploitative social relations

should be eliminated and violent repression must be stopped so that our right to produce food for ourselves and the society may be guaranteed.

6. As the basis for this self-sufficiency, self-reliance of a society based on family farms and rural communities should be established to replace corporate-controlled agriculture and agriculture based narrowly on economic efficiency.
7. It is necessary to review various distorted social relations such as seen in food distribution, which have been brought about by the commercialized food industry, especially over-consumption (waste) in highly industrialized societies on the one hand, and no access to food in underdeveloped countries, on the other hand.
8. The ownership of land by farmers is threatened by the attacks of various forces such as those who control the price of land in order to increase their own profits.
9. Agricultural organizations such as cooperatives should work toward their original objectives to protect farmers and their rights and to promote farmers' well-being.

Based on the above consensus, we appeal to all the farmers, consumers and workers of the world to promote the following actions.

Producers, consumers and workers should join

together to exert their influence on the agricultural, economic and educational policies of the respective countries and international organizations and institutions such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). They should take a position against the liberalization of the world market in agricultural products, which will lead to lower prices for the farmers around the world. Stopping the dumping of subsidized surpluses on the world market should be the first step towards more fair trade instead of the so-called "free-trade," which means developing a counter-GATT.

Exchanges on all levels should also encourage farmers to take back the control of knowledge and methods to create a more sustainable agriculture and to share experiences on basic community organizing so as to strengthen the democratic process at the grassroots level.

We should further develop people-to-people exchanges beyond national boundaries to protect the human rights of farmers, consumers and workers who fight against their anti-people governments.

Our urgent task is to create a network to check and fight against the unlimited profit-making activities of giant agribusiness.

August 15, 1989

by the participants of the PP21

International Farmers' Exchange Program

Farmers' Appeal on the Philippines

We farmers and related individuals from Thailand, Netherlands, the United States and Japan, participating in the International Farmers' Exchange programs organized by the Peoples' Plan for the 21st Century between July 28 and August 24, 1989 in Japan, confirmed in our exchanges the following facts on the conditions of peasants and farmers in the Philippines: 1) 70 percent of the total population of the Philippines are farmers and peasants, and of these, 85 percent are deprived of their right to possess land. 2) The poorest farmers are the biggest victims of the total war policy being implemented by the Aquino regime. Many peasants have become internal refugees who are forced to leave their rural communities by the military operations under the name of the counter-insurgency programs, including the burning down of whole villages and bombings. In Negros Island alone, over 20,000 peasants evacuated their villages to

become refugees in town centers, where 180 children died within three months. 3) Under the influence of foreign and domestic big businesses, the government has been encouraging export-oriented cash crops, making Filipino peasant labor subject to exploitation by big landlords and corporate farms. 4) President Aquino reneged on her promise to implement genuine land reform. The comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program adopted by the government has turned out to be pro-landlord and anti-farmers' legislation. 5) The peasant/farmers' movement in the Philippines is facing severe oppression. On 22 February, 1987, 20,000 peasants/farmers participating in a direct action demanding implementation by the president of genuine agrarian reform were fired upon by government troops and police. Thirteen demonstrators were shot to death and over 300 wounded right in front of the president's office. 6) Farmers/peasants demanding genuine agrarian reform had to resort to land occupations and other

peasant initiatives in order to regain their control over land and to secure food. 7) Democratic legal movements like KMP are subjected to state repression. There have been continuing arbitrary arrests and killings of movement leaders.*The leaders and staff of AMGL-NE, a KMP-affiliated provincial organization, were arrested in Baguio on March 31, 1989. Thirteen staff and leaders are still being detained.

*Last February, eighteen leaders, staff and supporters were arrested in a raid at AMGL regional office in San Fernando, Pampanga. On July 6, 1989, the National Campaign Office of KMP in Manila was also raided.

Recognizing the above facts, we conclude that actions and violence against Filipino peasant/farmers should be immediately stopped. We insist that the farmers' right to land is absolute. Furthermore, we recognize that Japanese governmental assistance does not satisfy the needs of grass-roots people of the society but only contributes to increasing the foreign debt of the Philippines.

Through the international and domestic networks among farmers' groups, we hereby strongly commit ourselves to work in solidarity and support with the Philippines Peasants/Farmers Movement.

To the Philippine Government we strongly demand that:

1. The Government and Congress of the Philippines should scrap RA6657 and instead implement immediately a genuine agrarian reform which would truly distribute land to landless peasants and farm workers.
2. To respect peasant initiatives, including land occupations, as a part of agrarian reform implementation.
3. To immediately stop the oppression against the Philippine farmers/peasants' movement, particularly the killings of KMP members and leaders. To stop the denial of farmers' rights to live and to stop the destruction of rural communities by military operations carried out under the total war policy.
4. To change the export-oriented agricultural policy, which is imposing crushing poverty on farmers, to a policy emphasizing self-sufficiency in food in order to insure the survival of the people.

Participants from Thailand, Netherlands, the United States and Japan to the International Farmers' Exchange programs of people's Plan for the 21st Century Participants to the Minamata conference

BULLETIN

OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS



If you care about the future of Asia, read the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*

—an independent voice on modern and contemporary Asia, for more than twenty years exposing injustices and exploring social change

— a 72-page, illustrated, readable quarterly that welcomes unsolicited articles, reviews, interviews, translations, and photo essays; refereed by specialists; international in editors, authors, and readers

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

One year for \$18

Subscriptions: \$22.00
Free index and guide to back issues;
guidelines for BCAS authors
BCAS, 3239 9th Street, Boulder, CO 80304-2112 U.S.A.
Telephone: (303) 449-7439

Spreading a Spirituality of Hope

by *Ohshima Kaoru*

The first international indigenous peoples' conference, organized by PP21 Hokkaido Committee, was held across Hokkaido from Sapporo to Nibutani and to Kushiro on August 7-14. As Mo Na-neng, a poet from Taiwan participating the conference puts it, "This is the beginning of a change in the world." During the conference, long and hot discussions to search for an alternative multi-ethnic society were held along with others to clarify the common problems of indigenous peoples from the participating countries; Tonga, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Tahiti, Palau, Papua New Guinea, East Timor, the Philippines, Taiwan, the Soviet Union, Malaysia, Hawaii, Guam, Guatemala, South Africa, India, Sri Lanka, and Japan.

In Sapporo the participants reported on their struggles. They strongly and sometimes tenderly but with dignity pointed out that to take back what they have been robbed of, their land, language and culture, is the very meaning of their existence and

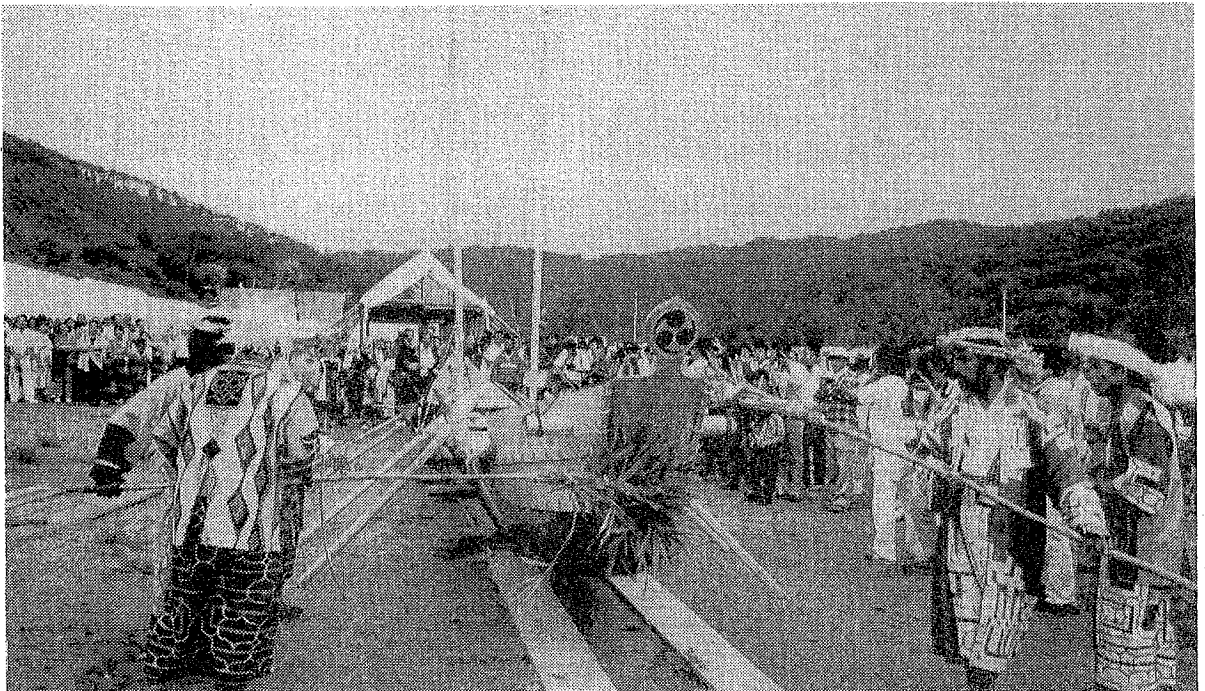
their spiritual proof.

In Nibutani, they deepened their discussion on the future. Solidarity was confirmed for the common struggle to overcome common problems; the plunder of their land and the destruction of nature in the name of development, the policies of discrimination and division aiming to assimilate indigenous peoples into the society of the strong, the denial of language and culture in the name of education and welfare.

In Kushiro intense overnight discussions were held, culminating in a declaration and resolutions. (See pp.53-60) On the last day participants celebrated together the launching of the Ainu windjammer (*itaomachip*) after 180 years and prayed together for the souls of the Ainu martyrs who had died in the Kunashiri-Menashi Uprising 200 years ago.

Kayano Shigeru, president of PP21 Hokkaido Committee noted the spiritual nature of such an auspicious gathering; and indeed his vision is backed up by several converging trends.

1) The growing self-consciousness of Ainu.



Launching Ceremony of a itaomachip, Ainu's windjammer.

Critical voices are growing among the Ainu against discrimination by the Japanese, crystallized by former Prime Minister Nakasone's remarks, "Japan is a monoracial country." Self-criticism by the Japanese has started and is growing at the same time.

2) Now is the critical moment for the Ainu movement to realize a New Ainu Law.

3) 200 years have passed since the Ainu's organizational uprising, the Kunashiri-Menashi War.

4) The Japanese government and corporations are deeply committed to oppressing peoples in Third World countries and plundering indigenous land.

Several advances for restoring Ainu rights have been made on land, culture, language and law.

1982 Ashiri Chep Nomi (a ritual to celebrate the first salmon coming up) was restarted. In 1986 the special right to catch as much as 20 salmon was acquired.

1983 The general meeting of the Utari Association made a resolution to demand enactment of the Law on the Ainu Race (the New Ainu Law).

1985 Chikap Mieko, an Ainu woman brought a case to the court on the right of portrait against the publisher and authors of the anthropology book, *Ainu Minzoku-shi* (She won the case in 1988).

1986 Ainu people organized a protest rally in Tokyo against Prime Minister Nakasone's discriminatory remark on race.

1988 Kayano Shigeru and Kaizawa Tadashi made

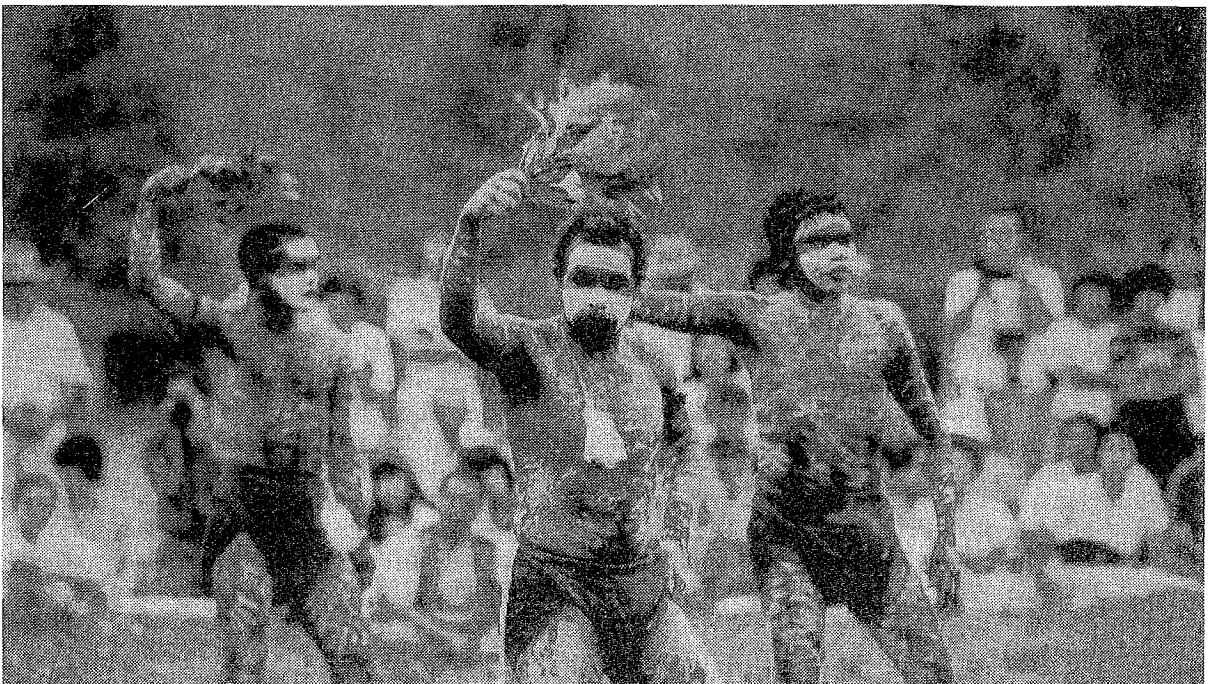
an appeal for recovery of the right to catch salmon in response to the government's attempt of forced expropriation for building a dam. The Utari Association started to edit an Ainu history. A protest action was taken by some Ainu people against 100 anniversary of Red Brick (Hokkaido Prefectural Government--a symbol of Japanese rule over Ainu-Moshiro).

1989 The first Ainu speech contest was held in Tokyo. The Utari Association held the first Ainu Cultural Festival. Three Ainu language schools were established in Hokkaido. A delegation of the Utari Association was sent to ILO General Assembly and expressed a view on Convention 107 (Indigenous and Tribal Populations).

The keyword for the Japanese who have joined in organizing this event is *kyosei*, or co-existence with indigenous people. How can the Japanese, as the majority people, respond to accusations and criticism of the oppressed? How to change from being the oppressors to being a part of an alternative multi-ethnic republic?

Preparatory discussions on who the Japanese are and what they have to do was followed by a group discussion by the Japanese in the Indigenous Conference in Nibutani and culminated in the resolution of non-indigenous Japanese which was unanimously endorsed by the Conference.

The exciting events of August are a new start for the process towards our 21st century and actually have empowered us to move onto it.



Bangara Dancing Theater, an Aboriginal group, performing at Nibutani

A Call from the Land

by Lopeti Senituli



1989 marks the 200th anniversary of the Kunashiri-Menashi Uprising. This was the last recorded popular uprising by the Ainu against the invasion of their land by the Wajin (Japanese) from the south.

Like the Koshamain Uprising of 1457 and the Shakushain Uprising of 1669, the Kunashiri-Menashi Uprising 1789 ended when the Ainu leaders were murdered after they had been tricked in to attending negotiations with the Wajin.

Though these Uprisings were not successful in relative terms, the Ainu have not given up hope. Nor have they lost the will to survive as a people and as a unique culture. The passage of time and the discrimination that they must endure has not diminished the legitimacy of their struggle for self-determination for justice and for peace.

So it is indeed appropriate that we are gathered here today on the invitation of the Ainu. Those of us that have come from across the oceans bring with us the tears of our own people. We bring the same sad stories of discrimination. We bring the same sad stories of our lands being stolen. We bring the same sad stories of Uprising brutally crushed by the invader. We bring the same sad

stories of being second class citizens in the land of our ancestors.

But we also bring with us the inner spirit that has kept us all going since time immemorial. We bring with us the belief that we shall survive and flourish. We also bring with us the olive branch in the belief that each one of us, indigenous or non-indigenous, has an undying love of justice and peace.

Who are the Indigenous peoples?

There is no ideal definition for "Indigenous." however I suggest that for this conference, a working definition that is widely used by international and regional organizations should be used. This definition is:

"Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and by conquest, settlement or other means reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation."

According to this definition there are 200 million indigenous people today which is approximately 4 percent of the world population.

In most countries the indigenous population is a national minority but in countries such as Bolivia, Guatemala, South Africa, Tahiti-Polynesia, the indigenous population make up the majority.

The definition that I have suggested is a working definition, therefore, it is not complete. There are various factors that unify indigenous populations the world over and these factors should be kept in mind during our conference.

One such factor is: no matter where they live, no matter what their political persuasion is, no matter what their social structure is, no matter what their main economic activity is, they all view Land as being the very basis of their survival.

Indigenous populations also believe that the land on which they have lived since the beginning of time was given directly to them by the Creator. Thus the whole community is forever connected to the Creator through the land. That being so the daily chores of life of an indigenous community are accompanied by rituals and offerings to the Creator reinforcing this bond.

So the indigenous populations may not necessarily subscribe to the Buddhist, Moslem or Christian deities but their reverent attitude towards the land on which they live stands as testament to their deeply-held religious beliefs.

It is this reverence for the land and the bond between the indigenous populations and the Creator through the land that distinguishes the indigenous populations from other minority and racially oppressed peoples. This bond also make the indigenous populations the only populations that have a legitimate claim to the land that is now in the possession of the dominant power group.

The act of invasion or colonization by the dominant power group not only broke this bond but also physically alienated the indigenous populations from their land and Creator. Perhaps the extreme examples of the alienation of the indigenous population and their land is that practiced in Australia. The Courts of Justice of Australia have consistently adhered to the "terra nullius" doctrine. In doing so the Courts have manufactured and perpetuated the completely false history that Pre-1788 Australia was a land belonging to no one, thus denying the very existence of the Aborigines.

To admit to the existence of the Aborigines in pre-1788 Australia, the Courts of Justice of Australia would then be subscribing to the "Conquest" doctrine. But they are even more uncomfortable with that option for this doctrine implies that the State and the Courts recognize that

the Aborigines were the prior owners of the land and that, though they have lost it through conquest, they still maintain their rights to it. This would make the question of compensation in terms of any rights taken away inescapable.

I believe the Japanese State and Courts of Justice also subscribe to the "terra nullius" doctrine in relation to Ainu-Moshiri and the Ainu.

Indigenous populations are also unified in terms of the objects of their struggle for survival.

Politically they seek self determination and or some degree of autonomy from the dominant power group. Economically they seek control over the resources of their land in order to use them for the collective development of their communities. Socially they seek the right to practice their culture and religions. In essence the struggle of the indigenous populations is one against assimilation and integration which historically has facilitated their cultural and ethnic genocide.

These common objectives are reflected in the agenda that has been carefully set for this Indigenous People's Conference.

We will first focus on Indigenous Peoples and Development. The current struggle of the Indian nations against the Amazon development in Brazil; the sustained struggle of the Penan people in Sarawak against the destruction of their tropical rainforest habitat; the struggle of the people of West Papua against the Indonesia Transmigration program; the struggles of the Indian Nations on Great Turtle Island, are some of the struggles that will be highlighted. We will of course attempt to formulate alternative development programs.

We will also focus on Indigenous Peoples and Laws and Treaties at the national and international level. The extremely discriminatory Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Law; the blatant and arrogant disdain that the French government has for the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in respect of the Maohi people of Tahiti-Polynesia and the Kanaks in Kanaky (New Caledonia), the Indonesian invasion and military occupation of East Timor in total violation of all existing International laws and in total disregard of numerous UN resolutions upholding the rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination; the continuing French nuclear bomb testing in the Pacific and why there is a definite need for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty are just some of the issues to be highlighted in this regard.

We will of course use the Nuclear-Free Constitution of Belau (the World's first nuclear-free Constitution) to illustrate that the indigenous populations are capable of leading the way towards

a more peaceful and safer world.

We will also focus on Indigenous Peoples and their Culture. I referred earlier to how the bond between the indigenous people, their land and the Creator has to a large extent been broken through the forced alienation of their land by the dominant power group. This has been accompanied by the loss of indigenous languages and cultural practices which was largely facilitated by the institutions of the State and the Church. In this regard we shall focus on the struggle of the Chamorro people in Guam to gain national recognition of their cultural identity and rights; the struggle of the native Hawaiians in Hawaii against further assimilation and for sovereignty; the struggle of the people of the Cordilleras in the Philippines to retain their ancestral land and culture against mining interests; and the struggle of the Mountain people in Taiwan against continued repression and discrimination.

I hope that the discussions in this area will involve a lot of singing and dancing. For no amount of narrative will be able to convey the beauty and vitality of each culture.

The topics that are listed on the agenda are not mutually exclusive and no doubt each indigenous representative present here has a wholistic perspective of the struggle she/he represents. Let us maintain that wholistic perspective throughout the Conference.

I believe there is a kind of metamorphosis going on in Japan at the moment, the implications of which will be felt all over the world but especially in the Asia-Pacific region. So the timing of the People's Plan for the 21st Century could not have been better. As described by the organizers, "PP21 is a program designed to launch a new process of empowerment of the people's movement and organizations in Japan and other Asia-Pacific countries as a productive rallying point; an opportunity to gather, reflect together on the

situation in this region of the world, to come up with a joint alternative vision of the 21st century we can work toward and discover effective action for its realization.

Pacific Islands and Japan

I shall deviate from the general overview approach I have followed so far and focus on the Pacific islands. The Pacific islands today are literally at the crossroads. Those that have not attained political independence must sacrifice the blood of their sons and daughters before they can attain it. Those that have gained their political independence are beginning to awaken from their drunken honeymoon with the "democratic" structures they inherited on independence day. Unfortunately they are now resorting to M16s and AK47s to resolve their differences rather than resorting to the traditional Pacific Way of dialogue.

In the province of Bougainville of Papua New Guinea, the indigenous people of the region are currently waging an armed struggle to fight against the national government and the conglomerates of mining TNCs and to safeguard their traditional and customary interests.

In Vanuatu, there have been deaths as a result of violence that has ensued over the question of the role of the traditional decision-making structures within a "democratic" government structure.

In Kanaky (New Caledonia) the Kanaks struggle for political and economic independence from France is as resolute as ever despite losing 30 independentists to French soldiers bullets in 1988.

In Belau, the country has lost two Presidents in succession and Bedor Bins to gunshot wounds though the country's nuclear-free Constitution remains supreme despite a concerted effort by the

*Tapu moe Tae Ha Mai.
Tapu moe Kelekele Eiki-ni
Tapu moe Hau o Ainu-Moshiri
Fakatapu foki ki he kau Toa nae
to i he tau 1789 lolotonga'a e tau
ko Kunashiri-Menashi.
Fakatapu ki he kau taki o Konifelenisini
Tapu mo kimoutola hono katoa
oku mea i he fale ni
Kae ata keu fai ha kii tokoni vaivai
ki he'etau fakataha ni.*

*I bow before the Creators of the Universe
I bow and kiss this sacred land.
I bow before the leaders of the land
of Ainu-Moshiri*

*I bow before the graves of the brave men
and women of Ainu-Moshiri who sacrificed
their lives to protect their lands in the
Kunashiri-Menashi uprising of 1789.
I bow before the organizers of this conference
I bow before you all that are here today
and ask for your permission
and patience whilst I make a humble
contribution towards our Conference.*

US government to undermine it.

In East Timor and West Papua, FRETILIN and the Operasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) continue to fight the war of independence against the Indonesian government. They are up against overwhelming odds but as Jose Guterres has stated "It is better to die fighting than to be killed like chickens."

At the same time Japan is beginning to figure more prominently in Pacific regional politics and economics not only as a source of capital for investment and ODA but also as a benevolent godfather. This latter role was formerly the preserve of the U.S. who is now finding it is not only an expensive prerogative but also an unacceptable one.

There is also an alarming trend towards militarization in Japan which does not augur well for the 21st Century.

Successive governments have not adhered to the country's three non-nuclear principles, i.e. NOT to manufacture nuclear weapons, NOT to possess nuclear weapons, NOT to permit the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japanese territory.

The US policy to "neither confirm nor deny" the presence of nuclear weapons on their vessels, aircrafts and installations makes a mockery of the third of these principles. Japan knows for a fact that nuclear weapons are present in their territory.

In September 1988, USS Bunker Hill and USS Fife were homeported in Yokosuka. These two vessels are equipped to carry nuclear-armed Tomahawk missiles. Tomahawk is the sea-launched version of the cruise missile. This is the first time that Tomahawk-capable ships are being homeported outside of the US, and in my view this is the initial compensation for the missiles banned from Europe by the INF Treaty.

Though Japan does not manufacture nuclear weapons, it provides almost all the Western nuclear armed states with Bomb-grade plutonium from its reprocessing plants. In April 1988 the Japan Diet approved the Japan-US Nuclear Cooperation Agreement under which Japan is permitted to supply plutonium to Great Britain and France without seeking the prior approval of the United States.

Japan also has a standing policy not to export arms. In practice this policy has meant that the only market open to the Japanese arms industry is its own Japan Self Defense Forces.

However in June 1988 US Defense Secretary Frank Calucci and his Japanese counterpart General Tsufomu Kawara agreed on a Japan-US joint venture to develop a new generation of jet fighters, the FSX. This marks the first instance of Japan-US joint arms development.

Also in June 1988, the US Defense Department announced that it had concluded a US\$3 million contract with Japanese companies to jointly develop defense systems for the SDI (Star Wars) Program.

Though these joint-venture agreements oblige Japan to export only to the United States, these mark a significant departure from the norm and as history shows the sky is the limit in these kinds of trade.

In 1976 the Japanese government first adopted the policy of the one percent of GNP ceiling on military expenditure. However the Nakasone government scrapped the limit in 1986 and military expenditure for 1987 fiscal year was 1.003% of GNP. For the 1988 fiscal year it was 1.013%. This percentage may look insignificant but this translates into US\$30 billion, and places Japan's military expenditure in fifth place amongst countries with nuclear capabilities just behind West Germany.

From a Pacific perspective these new developments do not augur well for the last decade of this century, or for the 21st century.

The questions that should be posed to the people and the government of Japan as we approach the 21st century are: (i) Can Japan distant itself from either of the superpowers and instead initiate measures towards international nuclear disarmament? (ii) Can Japan become a nation and people respected internationally for their recognition of the rights of their neighbors and their respect of the dignity and sanctity of human life? (iii) Can Japan lead the nations of the region by abolishing its legislation that discriminates against its own indigenous population, the Ainu? (iv) Can the Japanese government desist from supporting military and repressive regions through its ODA by making a clean human rights record a pre-condition for the deployment of ODA. (v) Can Japanese ODA allocation be guided by the "need" of the recipient rather than the "wants" of either the recipient country or Japan itself.

This list of questions is not exhaustive but these are important ones to keep in mind because as Japan becomes more outward looking some parameters need to be laid down and I believe representatives at this International Indigenous Peoples Conference will be helping themselves by making a constructive contribution towards the answers to these questions.

Each representative will be given an opportunity to address this conference and I hope the opportunity is used wisely. We have a week of hard work ahead of us and I pray that the Creators and our Ancestors will stay with us during this period and continue to give us guidance.

Finding Our Own Path

The History of the Ainu

By Kayano Shigeru



I was born in 1926 at Hiratori, Nibudani, a village on the Saru River facing the Pacific Ocean in the southern part of Ainu Moshiri, presently called Hokkaido.

Both of my parents are Ainu, and my grandmother was eighty years old when I was born. She had a tattoo around her mouth as was the custom among Ainu women in those days.

Luckily my grandmother lived until I was 20. I lived with her all those years and because of her I

became almost fluent in the Ainu language. As of 1989, I am one of the youngest Ainu people who can understand and speak the language.

Since my grandmother, who was my teacher, couldn't speak any Japanese, the conversations we had were all in Ainu. I spoke Japanese with my parents and brothers. In this way I naturally learned both languages. However, since when I think or try to speak, I do it in Ainu, and then I translate it into Japanese, it seems to me that my basic way of thinking is that of the Ainu based on the Ainu

language. Therefore, it is not such a happy thing for me to speak about how I learned or was taught Japanese. How happy we would be if I could speak in the Ainu language at a world indigenous people's conference like today's and the many Ainu people here could understand me.

The road our ancestors walked as slaves

I am going to talk about a part of the road of hardship my ancestors had to take. This will also act as a form of self introduction since the hardship the ancestors of Kayano Shigeru went through is common to all Ainu people.

In 1858, 131 years ago, several Japanese *samurai* (warriors) came to our village. They told the villagers to give them anyone who could work in the fishing business which was then being run by the Japanese. With their hands on their swords they said that they would kill all the villagers unless they did what they were told.

According to an old record, the total number of households in the three villages, Nibutani, Pipausi and Kankan, was 26, and the total population was 116. Of the 116, 43 young villagers, regardless of sex, were conscripted as laborers and taken to Atsugishi in the east of Hokkaido.

Most of the remaining 73 villagers were either children or elderly. The villagers could have lived comfortably with those strong young adults, but without them the villages were devastated.

Tokkaram, my grandfather

One of the 43 villagers who was forcibly taken away was my grandfather, Tokkaram. He was then 12 years old and the youngest person taken.

From the very first day he thought about nothing except returning to his own village, Nibutani.

The villagers were placed under hard labor starting so early in the morning that the stars were still shining until so late at night it was too dark for them to see their own footsteps.

Thinking he might be sent home if he got injured, Tokkaram, who was depressed by the hard labor and homesickness, tried to cut his finger off with a knife called a *tashiro*. One morning he put his finger on a cutting board and tried to cut it, but shuddering with fear of the pain he could not do it. The next morning, however, he closed his eyes and bravely cut his left index finger off. The tiny finger was snapped away. Although he was prepared for the pain, he screamed.

Hearing his scream, the Japanese foreman rushed to the spot. Seeing the severed finger, he merely said, "Why, just a finger or two! It can heal

easily if you put salt on it."

He must have felt the pain three times over. Merely told to apply salt to the wound, it was quite the opposite of his expectation that he would be told to go home because of such a serious injury.

Tokkaram was disappointed. The wound healed sooner than he expected and he continued to work every day like before.

He then thought of another plan. One of the many kinds of fish being caught was balloon fish. He squeezed out its bile and daubed his whole body with it. Repeating the process several times, his skin turned dark yellow and it looked as if he was suffering from jaundice.

Seeing him like this, the foreman finally sent him home. Seeing his son returning home, his parents were happy but I cannot imagine their surprise and grief on seeing his left index finger missing.

If you look at my grandfather Tokkaram's picture, you can see clearly that there is no left index finger. I cannot help feeling that he left this picture to his grandson not just as a keepsake but also as a proof of the pain of the Ainu people.

Accused as a salmon poacher

Now, I will move on to a story about my father.

My father had a thorough knowledge of Ainu ceremonies and events. He took me to these occasions whenever possible. Sometimes it was a special Ainu-style funeral. At other times it was an *iyomante*, the Bear Festival. Remembering those days now, I think he was as good a teacher as my grandmother. He also seems to have kept the spirit of a hunting people. While looking at other Ainu people working diligently at the farm work the Japanese government forced them to do, he went fishing for salmon.

Salmon is called "*akiaji*" in Hokkaido, and in Ainu "*shepe*." "Sh" means truly, "e" to eat and "pe" goods, i.e., a true food or a staple food.

My father went to the river almost every night to catch this staple food to feed us, the children and the elderly people in the neighborhood.

This all happened in the fall of 1932, 57 years ago, and I was still a young child. A Japanese policeman rushed into our house rattling the door which did not fit right. My parents, my elder sister and my grandmother were in the house. The policeman told my father "Are you ready to go?" I was too small to understand what was happening.

Right in front of my eyes, my father threw himself onto the wooden floor and said, "Yes, I will go." While he hung his head, big tears dropped one after another from his eyes onto the floor. He was blind in one eye. As a child, seeing tears running

from both his eyes, I simply wondered at that moment that tears dropped from his blind eye.

Then a terrible thing happened. In Japanese law it was prohibited to catch the salmon my father had brought home almost every night. He was arrested on a charge of poaching and taken out of the house by the policeman. They started to walk toward Hiratori. Finally realizing the seriousness of the situation, I chased after him, crying. Looking back many times, my father went farther and farther away rushed off by the policeman. The grown-ups who were following me consoled me, saying "Don't cry. He will come back soon." But I still clearly remember that they themselves were crying harder than me.

The Ainu people consider salmon as *shibe*, or a staple food. They could not read the Japanese law. The Japanese unilaterally deprived us of the right to catch our staple food.

One of the reasons the Ainu survived was that they could obtain enough food for survival. The Ainu's principal foods were salmon and venison. When we needed to keep a large amount of salmon, they were caught after the breeding season, as befits the law of nature.

The Ainu knew that catching salmon everyday for household use would not devastate the resources. The sharp decrease of salmon has been caused by overfishing by the Japanese. The Japanese law prohibiting salmon fishing meant death for the Ainu, since we depended on salmon for our staple food. It was an evil law from the Ainu's point of view: it was like killing a parent bird carrying food to small featherless chicks.

I believe the tears my father shed then were the Ainu's tears of chagrin at being deprived of our rights by force.

A tale of language: "I will be happy if I die before you."

It was in 1953, or 36 years ago. There were three elderly men in our village, who were very close to one another and had a complete knowledge of the Ainu language. One of them was my father whose Japanese name was Seitaro, and whose Ainu name was Aletainu; the other two were called Kunimatsu in Japanese and Nislerr in Ainu, and Ichitaro and Upalette. They had two names, Japanese and Ainu, as if they were living witnesses of the Ainu people in transition from the language of the Ainu to that of the Japanese.

"Of us three, the first one to die is the happiest person. I wish I could die ahead of you." This is what these elderly friends often talked about when they got together. The main reason why each of them wanted to die ahead of the others was that he

could go to the Ainu's kingdom, the land where their ancestors were waiting, for the two remaining friends would correctly perform the last rites over the deceased and arrange all the necessary things for the funeral.

The one who died first was my father. As he had wished while he was alive, his friend Kunimatsu performed the last rites in Ainu and conducted his funeral with an Ainu grave marker.

Is there a human being, no matter whether he or she is happy or unhappy, who wants to die ahead of others?! Each of these elderly people, however, wanted to die before the others, just because they wanted to have their funeral conducted in their mother tongue.

The language of a certain people is so important to them. Perhaps, the majority of white people and Japanese, who have never been deprived of their language, can not understand such a feeling but I expect the indigenous people present here today can sympathize with me about what I have just said.

Here I end this history of the Ainu's hardships in the form of my self introduction, and now I will move on to other topics.

Pessit — ripples

There is a word *pessit* in Ainu, which means a ripple. A drop of water on the surface of a pond makes ripples and then the water surface returns to normal.

Assuming that each of you who have come here today is a drop of water, why don't you spread a ripple, i.e. your native language in your own country like a *pessit* in Ainu to try to recover the rights your people have lost?

No matter how great an idea you have, if you stand alone, nothing happens. If one person tells of his or her idea to another and the number of people who talk and speak out increases, the idea will become public opinion and spread.

The louder you and I speak out, the more people join us one after another, and so we will naturally create our own path. We, the indigenous people, should be the subjects and masters of this achievement, and therefore we have to unite.

An old trick majority peoples often use to control minority peoples is to create internal strife among the minority people. Let us be careful not to be fooled by such a trick.

In this sense I would like to propose that we all gather our strength, unite and in order to recover our rights, we have a closer exchange of information such as on how much indigenous peoples are doing and on what ideas are behind their work.

I think the words, "information can be turned into power," is as true now as it was before.

Experiences abroad

I would now like to speak about some other matters.

I have visited other countries 17 times and have spent a total of 180 days abroad. I have visited Canada five times. Canada is one of my favorite countries.

The reason I visit other countries is to have exchanges with other minority peoples, and to learn how they are treated, what kinds of lives they are leading, and how their rights are being observed.

In May this year, I went to the Soviet Union, and met with the Nanai people in the Amur basin. I learnt how they are being treated by the Soviet government.

We, the Ainu in Hokkaido, would be put in handcuffs and detained overnight if we caught even one 2-4 kilogram salmon. But I was told that the Nanai people are allowed to catch up to 40 kilograms of fish per person. I also learned that there are 102 species of fish in the Amur River, and that there are more than enough fish in the river even if each person catches 40 kilograms of fish.

Then in June, I went to White Horse in Canada. I met a 92-year old Japanese woman there. She told me that the Canadian government under the name of the person equivalent to the prime minister had sent her a letter of apology for having put the Japanese in Canada in various concentration camps 40 years ago just before the end of WWII.

I really wish the Japanese government paid more attention to the Ainu. I wonder if there are any Japanese government officials who feel like saying "We are sorry. We should acknowledge the crime our ancestors committed," even though the Japanese living now are not to be blamed.

I also visited Australia in July and talked with aboriginal people about their situation there. Because the interpreter was too young to understand the situation, I could not learn as much as I wanted but I wish I could go there again to learn more.

There is one thing I want to ask all of you here, indigenous people and other non-indigenous people, i.e., Japanese people. Democracy must not just accept things as long as the majority people approve of them. It must not ignore the minority view but must listen to the minority voice. By doing so, it becomes a real democracy.

The world is large, but the speed of travel has become faster. We are living in a society where we can go to any country in the world in a short

number of hours.

Concerning nuclear power plants

One more thing: the story of another country I visited four years ago—Sweden where I met Sami people. I saw them angered by the fact that they could not eat reindeer meat because everything including the mountains, rivers, forests and woods, was radioactively contaminated due to the Chernobyl explosion.

It seemed to me, at that time, that this was something happening in a distant country but here in Hokkaido a nuclear power plant began operation in the spring of this year.

I really wonder whether this nuclear power plant is really necessary for Hokkaido, for the world, and for the places where indigenous people are living.

There is a saying in Japan that you must brush aside the sparks falling on you. However, you can neither smell nor see radioactivity released from a nuclear plant or a nuclear explosion. No person can brush aside sparks which you can neither see nor smell.

Can't we, who are alive at the moment, build a movement for the sake of our children and grandchildren to prevent the cause of such invisible sparks?

On Nibutani

Now, I turn my story to a subject very close to me. You will visit Nibutani in Hiratori-cho along the Saru River the day after tomorrow. A dam is being built on there. The reasons for building the dam are clearly written at the lookout platform: flood adjustment, water shortage, irrigation, etc. None of them, however, are necessary for us, the local residents.

Since it is a state project, it will probably not stop, no matter how strong I am opposed to it. However, having been demanding the government to return us only the right to catch salmon, two of us, my senior friend Mr. Kaizawa Tadashi and I, have not signed the agreement.

Lastly, an international exchange is not possible only because you can speak the language of the other person. I think a true international exchange means to warmly receive people from abroad at any time anywhere.

It is the happiest thing for me, as one of the Ainu people, to be able to have so many people here and to talk with you all. There are more things I would like to say, but we still have one week to be together, and I look forward to our sharing more with one another.

Will Mankind be a Hostage of Development?

by Ailton Krenak, UNI



Good afternoon to all of you. Yesterday we had an opportunity to make a brief presentation about the complex situation of the indigenous people of Brazil. I will make use of our time to give slightly more precise idea and updated information about our reality.

We have been organizing our people for the last 10 years. That does not mean that we have been sleeping for the last 500! Our grandparents fought and confronted with much courage the invaders of our lands. One of the characteristics of our people is that they are formed by many groupings, spread over a very extensive region.

Brazil is a continent. There are 8 million square kilometers, and our tribes can be found from the North to the South. We exist in diverse regions, with various economic situations and different

times of colonization. The Atlantic coast was colonized in the beginning of the colonization, and colonization was only limited to part of the Atlantic Coast until the beginning of this century.

In the central region of Brazil, the economic frontier only advanced in the later half of this century. Now, at the very end of this century, we have 70 percent of the indigenous population living in a region still not economically consolidated, the Amazon, a place of large indigenous lands. They are the most extensive and wealthiest lands. There are also approximately 30 tribes that have had virtually no contact with the official Brazil. They are nomadic groups and hunter-gatherers, consisting of populations of 120 - 300 people per group, having no complex organization that can offer resistance to the occupation of their lands. In those regions, the government has decided to expand the economic frontier and to consolidate

the national presence by liberating their lands and establishing big projects in the mining and lumbering sectors. All those factors are tantamount to an acceleration of the contact time of those fragile groups with the national society. One of the most difficult confrontation that we had with the Brazilian government this year was over the construction of an hydroelectric complex involving 60 dams, all of them in the Amazon. Five of those dams were to be constructed in the Xingu river basin. Those dams implicate the formation of huge lakes, just as the hydroelectric dam of Balbina flooded an area of 1800 ha: it flooded the forest, poisoned the water of the rivers, and drove out the local population. In some cases, the planners of the dam do not even consider prior warning to those living in the areas to be flooded. There are cases of indigenous groups being discovered only after construction of the dams had already started. In those cases the action taken by the government, is to transfer our brothers to other areas within the same project, which in turn leads to the displacement of jaguars, monkeys, turtles, etc.

We have tried to intervene in this process in a positive manner. We have been trying to identify the origin of those big projects, and despite the lack of will of the Brazilian government to disclose any information, we have achieved some little victories. By pressing the World Bank, by mobilizing public opinion, by blocking work at construction sites, we have been able to temporarily suspend these energy sector projects.

We know that this government initiative for the Amazon is not limited to the construction of dams. There are projects for the construction of big roads and railways to drain the wealth of the region: the forest and the minerals. All this is aimed at establishing an infrastructure to attract investment from big entrepreneurs into the Amazon. Before the resistance that our communities have raised against those programs, the government executed a militarization project for the Brazilian northern frontier. This program involves the opening of airports, construction of military bases for troop deployment, and also the establishment of what the government named a "colonization nuclei". Those colonization nuclei are being established within the indigenous lands, and some of the indigenous territories have not yet had their legal situation defined.

This undefined legal situation has enabled the Brazilian government to revise the land rights in the present constitution, which affirms that we have exclusive rights to the land we originally inhabited. 1. Nonetheless, the government has decided this year to create a new legal attribute for our lands. The government has decided that the

land the indigenous people inhabit is only that which they actually step on! Isn't it wonderful? (laughter in the auditorium) 2. The government is always trying to come up with something new to leave us without our lands...

To counter our mobilization of the public opinion, the environmentalists, and various national and international institutions, the government has come up with the argument that we do not have the ability to develop the Amazon, saying that a great project involving colonization, huge investments, and participation of international capital is needed for developing the Amazon.

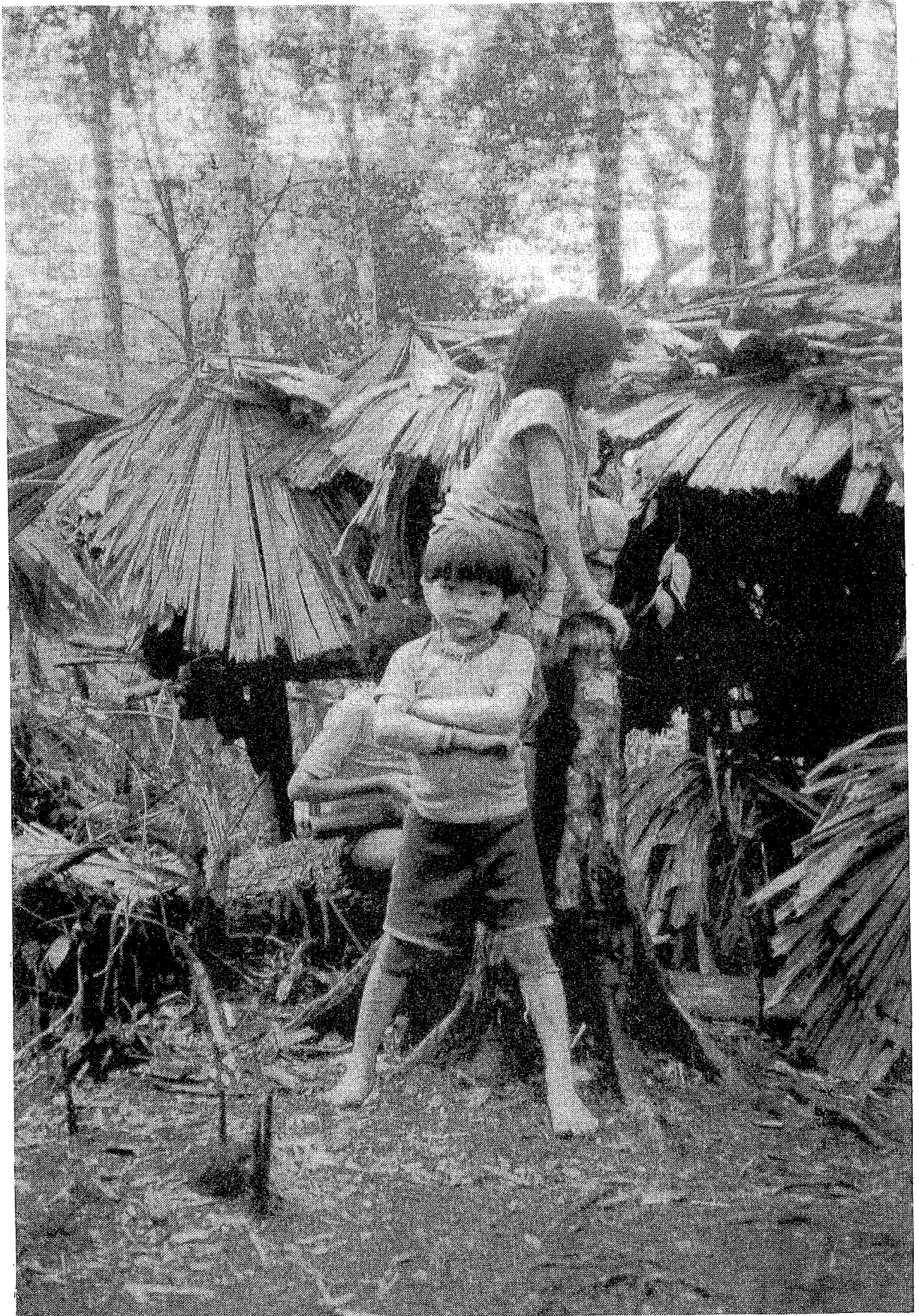
While we are alive, the planet will continue to exist. So, while the world exists, we will be here. There is a very old indigenous song which says that the day the last parts of our regions are stricken, touched, will be the end of the world. The question is if mankind likes to be a hostage of development. We are not in a hurry to develop the world. We want to live. Thanks to all our friends and brothers that are here together. We believe that we all have the same dream for life.

Eds. Notes:

1. The Indian's rights to the land they live on has been recognized in Brazilian law. The new Brazilian Constitution, approved by the National Congress in 1988, came out as a great advance in the sense of improving the devices to protect Indian culture and land.

Up to 1987, a total of 74,466,149 ha had been identified as indigenous' territories. Nevertheless, the distance between legal text and reality is still big enough to raise serious worries about the survival of the Brazilian indigenous people. About 50% of the total indigenous land is still in the first stage of the administrative demarcation process, i.e., practically without effective legal protection. Less than 4 percent (3.88) of the same total reached the last stage of the demarcation process, i.e., it has been effectively demarcated as "Indian Land". Besides that, nearly 87% (86.65) of the total has been threatened or has already suffered some kind of invasion from mining activities, railroads, and dams. (Source: "Terras Indigenas no Brasil". CEDI-Centro Ecumenico de Documentacao e Informacao & Museu Nacional-Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. November 1987.)

2. The indigenous people in the Amazon actually cover a considerable extension of land for their hunting and gathering. The Brazilian government has decided to limit the size of the indigenous territory to its actual dwellings (meaning territory occupied by the housing and farming -if any- facilities), trying to equate indigenous land to urban dwellings.



Why do they steal our land?

The Penan people of Sarawak and
the devastating effects of economic development.

by Anja Light

The author, an Australian environmental activist who attended PP21 Indigenous People's Conference, wrote the following article based on her recent visit to Sarawak.

The tropical rainforests of Sarawak, on the island of Borneo, are on the edge of destruction. Along with this treasure house of biological diversity, the culture and the very lives of the last tribe of nomadic hunter-gatherers in Asia, the Penan, will be sacrificed in the name of development. This is the same type of development that has caused the present global environmental crisis which is only now beginning to be recognized by some governments around the world. The Malaysian government seems to ignore this fact and the Japanese government, although it professes to care for the environment by actions such as declaring 1989 as being "The Year Of Environmental Diplomacy", has used the taxes of the Japanese people to fund aid projects which often spell environmental destruction and pollution world wide. In fighting for the forest, the Penan are fighting for their survival — their life — support system and the sacred dwelling place of the forest spirits. Since 1987 they have been putting up blockades to stop the trucks and bulldozers from destroying their home. Combining with thousands of people from many different tribes they were able to stop the machines, for a time. The Sarawak State government responded by introducing a new law that prohibits them from obstructing any logging activity, even though this is their traditional land. Subsequently many were arrested, jailed and heavily fined, men, women and children were harassed, and the logging operations were intensified.

For 40,000 years, since the dawn of humankind, these people have been a peaceful people, shy, and living in perfect harmony in the oldest jungle in the world. Never before have they been involved in any direct confrontation. The jungle protected them from any harm from the outside and they hid when there was any danger and retreated further into the

interior when the logging first began. Now they have nowhere left to retreat and must summon up their last courage to succeed in stopping the logging or face the complete destruction of their forest and their lives. Some believed the government's promises and accepted resettlement into permanent dwellings or longhouses with the understanding that they would soon receive assistance and compensation for the destruction of their land. Some were supplied with seeds but weren't taught how to farm. Most of the longhouses are by rivers but they are so silted as a consequence of the logging that there were very few fish and in most cases the water is unfit for drinking or even washing. The rate of malnutrition among these "semi-settled" Penans is among the highest of any community in the world. For all tribes in recently logged areas, malnutrition has jumped an astounding 300 percent. These people have learned that the Sarawak government only offers empty promises.

A Question of Civility

Some officials from the Sarawak State Government have called the Penan primitive, dirty and uncivilized and use this as part of the justification for their displacement into settled longhouses, disregarding their rights as traditional owners of the land. Most other people who have spent any time with the Penan say they are the finest human beings. The very beauty of the Penan's way of life increases the threat of this cultural genocide that the Malaysian government is presently carrying out. When the first bulldozers penetrated the Penan land, the people were mortified. One tribesman actually died of shock. Most of them retreated further into the jungle:

"We are like children, we don't understand the ways of the people who take our land. If these people downriver are already rich and developed then why do they steal our land? They say we are poor here, but we have a good life in our land; we are rich in our forest. If we went to the town and took food from the shops we would be arrested; why are the people allowed to come into our land

and take our food and destroy our homes, why are they not arrested? When they take our forest away we are like fish thrown onto the dry land, we cannot live."

With the understanding of the extreme hardships facing them as their options for survival dwindled they resumed their blockades on the 10th of September this year. 4000 Penan, Kelabit, Kehyah, Kayan, and Murut natives have been blockading in 12 different locations. 117 Penan tribesmen and women have been arrested to date and they have refused to be bailed out, stating that, "Even if we are released we face severe difficulties to look for food. This is because our land and the forest on which we depend for food have been destroyed and are still being destroyed. We are not criminals. We only asked for our land, forest, burial grounds and other properties in our own areas not to be destroyed and our rivers not to be polluted by logging activities. Those are our rights because our property is ours." So far there has been no response from the authorities and no news of these blockades in any Sarawak newspapers, but the logging companies have taken notice. In the past few months there has been a dramatic increase in the logging, with operations working around the clock 24 hours a day to extract as much timber as possible before worldwide pressure stops this trade in destruction. Logging at this speed has been unprecedented in the world and the price is not only the destruction of a priceless forest and a peoples' home - 69 people have died this year from unsafe logging practices.

The effects of logging in primal forests is well documented. Even in "selective" logging, 60% to 80% of the canopy is destroyed and what grows back may look green but will not sustain even a fraction of the diversity of species that were there originally. In the case of the Penan this means the bulk of their means of subsistence is gone. The main species of trees being logged belong to the Dipterocarp family (this timber is known as lauan) and is the principal food source for the wild boar. The wild boar is in turn the major animal the Penan hunt for food. When the wild boars disappear due to logging the Penan suffer greatly. Logging also devours the mainstay of their diet, sago, as the bulldozers simply churn the sago palms into the ground. Logging destroys many other plants and medicines, most of which have not even been researched by the "developed" world and may well offer potential treatment to many diseases. The wake of the overconsumption of the developed world is a barren wasteland. The scars from the construction of logging roads and this "selective" logging bleed silt, muddying the previously crystal clear streams and rivers and killing most of the

fish, again leaving the Penan and many other tribal groups hungry.

The profits of this wanton destruction find their way into the hands of a few: those politicians and powerful individuals who "own" these timber concessions and the multinational corporations from Japan, the United States, and Europe who boost their finances by cutting lucrative deals with these individuals. One of the principle concession owners is the Sarawak State Minister for the Environment, Mr. Datuk James Wong. His concern for these tribal people and primal forests is negligible. In the eyes of the Penan and many others who have observed his actions, he is a downright uncivilized and nefarious criminal. When he was asked if he was aware of a decrease in rainfall following extensive rainforest logging, he stated: "We get too much rain in Sarawak. It stops me from playing golf." When he was questioned about whether he had the right to claim that "rainforest logging is good for the forest," Mr Wong said: "I will not bow to experts, I am the expert, I was here before the experts were born."

Such is the disregard for the tribal people and the greed for hard foreign cash which flows as a result of logging, that a report about the situation drafted by a Sarawak State government organization was immediately made secret and kept from public release. It stated too clearly that the local indigenous peoples are suffering as a result of the logging operations which destroy cultures and their way of life as well as reducing food supplies. Furthermore, it actually recommends the setting aside of biosphere reserves for the remaining nomadic Penan who are dependent on the forest for survival and claims that untouched communal land must be set aside for the thousands of semi-settled Penan. This report, presented to the state government in November 1987, has recently been obtained and exposed by the Danish rainforest preservation group 'Nepenthes'.

The Japanese Connection

Japan is the worlds largest importer of tropical timber. Fifty to sixty percent of the logs from Sarawak make their way to Japan via trading companies and logging company subsidiaries of major Japanese multinational corporations such as Mitsubishi Co., C. Itoh, Nissho Iwai, Tomen and Marubeni. Sarawak has guaranteed the export of 10 million cubic meters of timber per year to Japan over the next ten years, surpassing that of the height of timber exports from Sabah, which reached six million cubic meters per year. Now the timber resources of Sabah are nearly exhausted and timber operations from these Japanese subsidiaries are rapidly expanding in Sarawak. Nissho Iwai has

made the decision to invest \$20 million in new logging projects, despite a promise when asked by citizens organizations to look into the matter of the extremely destructive effects of logging. Mitsubishi's local subsidiary, Daiya Malaysia, has just expanded its operations in the Bintulu district (meeting vehement opposition from the native Iban people) in response to the recent housing construction rush in Japan, and Tomen has decided to invest \$100 million in the construction of a new sawmill. Even more disturbing is the fact that Japanese Official Development Assistance has been used to support these industries. JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and the Ex-Im Bank of Japan financed the construction of the very same logging road that is now being blocked by the Penan in the Ulu-Limbang region.

Sixty percent of this tropical timber coming to Japan is used in the construction industry. A third of all the tropical timber is used once or twice for frames in concrete framework before being thrown away, despite the fact that steel frames could be used as a recyclable alternative. This plywood industry was actually created by the giants in the construction industry as a profitable use for the cheap and plentiful timber that was previously being imported from the Philippines. Now the Philippines are virtually logged out and operations are shifting to Sarawak. (This is documented in detail by the publication "Timber from the South Seas", by Francois Nectoux and Yoichi Kuroda.)

Actions in Japan to stop logging in Sarawak are gaining momentum. The recent series of PP21 conferences in Japan have allowed many

connections and networks to form between various groups. Media attention has covered with great effect the recent demonstrations coinciding with the blockades taking place in Sarawak. Many television programs and reports about the struggle in Sarawak are scheduled to be aired in the coming months. Support in Japan and throughout the world is essential if these people and the tropical forests are to be saved. Penan people have said:

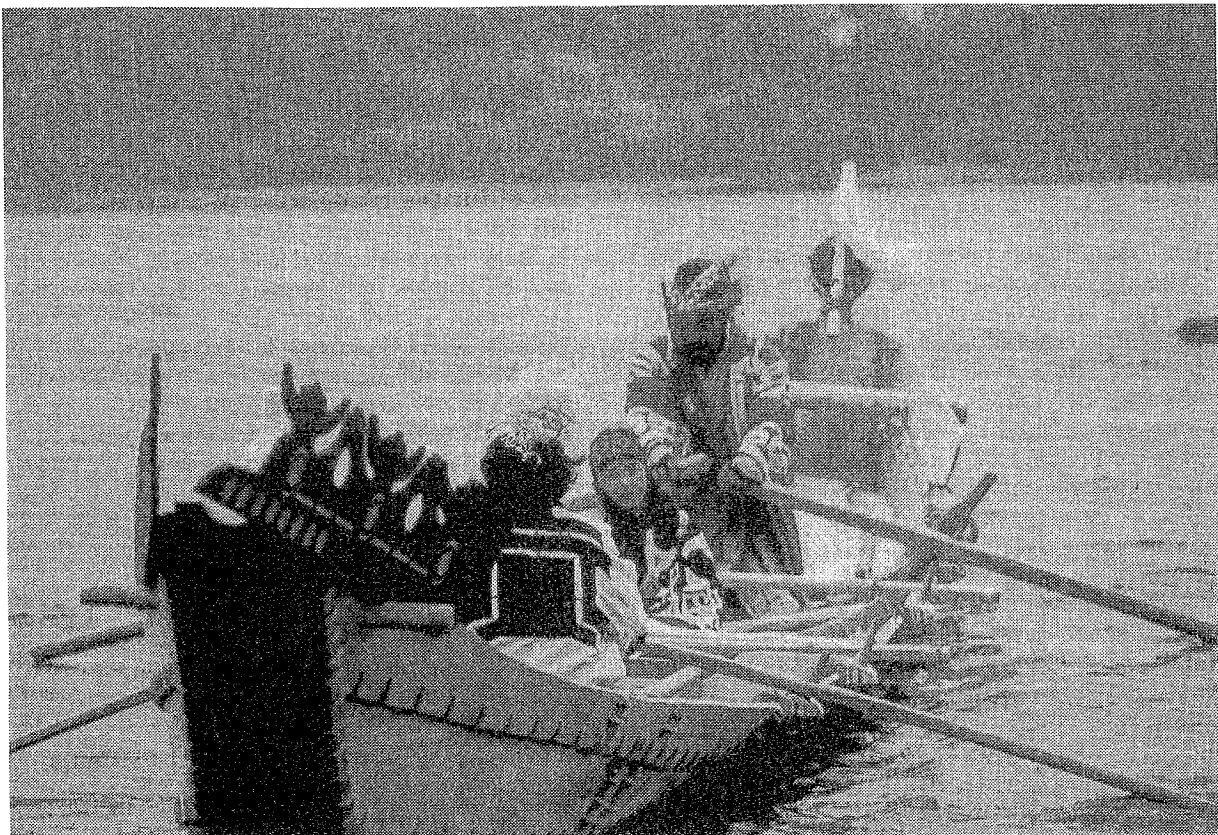
"We ask for help from people all over the world. We are people with a proud culture and a way of life that is based on our forest and land. Don't take our forest and culture and dignity away. We know there are many people in many countries who care for us even though you are far away. It is this knowing that keeps us alive. May God bless all of you."

Please help the Penan by writing to the Malaysian authorities, expressing in the strongest possible polite terms the obligation the Sarawak State Government has to honor and protect the rights of its tribal peoples, including their wish to end logging on their traditional lands:

Chief Minister of Sarawak
The Chief Minister's Office
93502 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia

Write to the Japanese government, firstly, to stop all timber imports from Sarawak until the Sarawak government prohibits logging in all the areas where residents oppose it and, secondly, to establish policies for the conservation of all tropical forests, insuring that no public works use tropical timber, particularly from Sarawak.





“...Where the Mountains Are Not Only Mountains, Where the Rivers Are Relatives”

Interview on Land with Participants of the Indigenous People's

“You ask if we own the land and mock us saying ‘Where is your title?’ Such arrogance to speak of owning the land when we are instead owned by it. How can you own that which will outlive you?”

Macliing Dulag

One of the most brilliant and novel European inventions was the idea that the land we live and work on is a commodity, exchangeable for money like other commodities. This radical new notion transformed the very map of Europe into a free-market gaming board and was part of the foundation of capitalist development. At the same time, the idea that you have no right to the land unless you have legal title to it became one of the chief methods for grabbing land from peoples who had other ways of being on the land. Today, as capitalist development continues to plunge the world toward eco-catastrophe, we may begin to wonder whether the idea was so clever and whether indigenous people, whose ideas of the land have so long been dismissed as “primitive”

curiosities, may have something to teach people in the overdeveloped countries after all. Part of the purpose of PP21 was to promote this kind of conversation. To that end, AMPO interviewed seven of the delegates to the Hokkaido Indigenous People's Conference on the subject of their notions of land. The interview is divided into two parts. The first part is a conversation between Ailton Krenack and Paolo Sepasse of Brazil, Eddie Daguitan of the Philippines, Kawamura Ken'ichi of Hokkaido, and Kathy Kum-Sing of Australia. The second part is an interview with Lusiah bt Tobah and Jannie Lasimbang of Sabah, Malaysia. It should be noted that in this latter interview Ms Lasimbang served as interpreter for Ms Tobah and, as is natural, sometimes interspersed her own opinion into her interpretation.

AMPO: In the English language we have the word “land.” But I think most of the indigenous people represented here, when you say the word “land”, I think you mean something different or something more than what the dictionaries mean. You mean

something different from what most modern Europeans or Americans mean by the word. When you say "Return the land" or "Restore the land" or "Give us back the land", I think you mean something different from that you want to be the owners of some real estate, as property. And that's what I'd like to ask you. In your own indigenous culture, when you talk about the land, what does it mean?

Ailton Krenack(Amazon, Brazil): The word "land" for us is very strong because it means the same as "planet" or "universe". So therefore there is no idea of a nation or state or even regions in the world. The idea that the world is divided into regions is difficult for us to understand. Also the idea of geographical borders is a foreign idea to our meaning of land. I believe that if I had stored in my mind the whole knowledge of my language and culture, I'd be able to go deeper and deeper into an understanding not only physical but also based on a magical time which is when our grandfather, our creator, created a place where we started a journey which we still continue against all conflicts, all abuse. Even though this place has suffered, it rests with its sacred meaning or expression.

I remember in 1950, the Brazilian government took the last families of my tribe and put them on a truck bound for other regions. It relocated them. The government had bought the land 300 kilometers away from our village, where they wanted to relocate our families in order to use our land for other purposes. This new village had much better facilities, and the main argument of the government was that we were being relocated to a better place, that we would have assistance and would be protected from the big ranch owners who wanted our land. Our struggle was to show the government that there is no other village in the world where we can live, die, or travel through the world, because any other place would be an exile.

This isn't a feeling of borders, but of a sacred place, where the mountains are not only mountains, where the rivers are relatives. It is very strong in our minds. It's a place where each spot bears the memory of the creation and reminds us and gives us a feeling of continuity.

Eddie Daguitan(Cordillera, Philippines): In the Cordillera we consider the land to be owned by one supreme being, whom we call the Kapunian in our dialect, meaning that there is somebody above us

and that the people are only stewards of the land, meaning they are supposed to protect or nurture the land. For example, if the soil fertility is decreasing, they must maintain the soil's fertility so that they can reap the fruits of the land. In our traditional concept, land cannot be sold. It is being caretakered by the family or clan. It cannot be sold or bartered for anything. And I think this is the reason there are traditional agricultural practices which are sustainable and are still being practiced. There is one traditional practice, that the people observe the phases of the moon when planting or when making rice fields or when making swidden farms. Another practice is watching a certain migratory bird which we call a 'kiling'. When that bird appears, agricultural activities can start. This bird indicates that the circumstances are favorable for planting the land. People don't just plant anytime they want. They are trying to protect the land.

Kawamura Kenichi(Hokkaido): In the Ainu language the word we use for "land" is "yoru". So for example, in Asahigawa, a certain hill will belong to a certain family and they can hunt there. It doesn't belong to them; it's the place where they hunt. And as these territories are decided, violations of them can be the cause of war. So if you're not getting enough from your own territory, you go to the next village and ask if you can hunt on theirs, and they give you permission. But if you hunt on their territory without permission, then this is the beginning of trouble. Asahigawa is approximately in the middle of Hokkaido, but Asahigawa people could hunt as far away as Kushiro or Tokachi or even Sakhalin. Before the Meiji period, Chinese and Russians often came to Hokkaido and we traded with them. So in Asahigawa there are many people who are a mixture of Ainu and Russian blood. In the old days we could come and go freely using the Itaomachip, and we could get to Sakhalin, which is now Soviet territory.

For the Ainu, the main foods were salmon, trout and deer. The main occupations were fishing and hunting. The mountain Ainu and sea Ainu were basically different. Our names for the months are related to certain foods. For example, September is the month for fishing salmon. November is the month for fishing salmon using torches to light the water. June is the month for picking special lilies, Ezoyuri. From September to November Ainu lived

near rivers and they built huts near a river and ate fish every day.

The village heads were chosen differently from in Wajin culture. In Wajin culture the son of the village chief became the next chief. But in Ainu villages the oldest member was always the chief, so the responsibility rotated among the families. In Wajin culture primogeniture is the rule, the property goes to the oldest child. In Ainu culture the land, or territory in which you have the right to fish, can sometimes go to the youngest.



AMPO: Was there ever buying or selling of land in those days?

Kawamura: No, certainly not. Also, an older son might marry into a family in a village where there aren't enough men, and become the adopted son in that family, and in that case his land would go to the other children, because the Ainu have very big families, eight or nine members. My father's younger sister went to Shirau in Nibutani to get married.

In relationship to what my friend from the Cordillera said, Ainu farming was very simple. We had only a few tools. We would plant the seeds and not come back until it was time for harvest, and we didn't need to fertilize the soil. We did very little farming. We also learned things from birds. For example, when the cuckoo began to cry, we knew it was time to gather certain plants from the forests.

My own personal opinion is that we lived mainly from fishing, hunting and gathering, and as the number of farming peoples increased in the world too much, eventually there was depletion of the soil. In the case of Ainu it would have been better if we had been able, or could be able, to continue as hunting, fishing and gathering people.

Kathy Kum-Sing(Australia): I'll talk about what land means to me, but I'm going to talk about it from my own tribal area. My grandmother taught me to live with the land and with the teachings that have been passed on to me. There are many different laws within the Bundalung tribe. The two main laws are laws that concern men and those that concern women. Now, I will say another thing, which is that I never give interviews about or even talk about things that effect our culture or things

that effect me on a personal level, because it is my way, that my grandmother taught me, that we are not to give away any more than what has been taken. So I hope this is not going to be too general.

I guess the first thing about those two laws is that I have no right and will not even attempt to talk about men's law. And men have no right to hear about aboriginal women's law. Within the laws there were sacred dances and ceremonies that were practiced by men, and there were sacred dances and ceremonies that were practiced by women. There were also sacred ceremonies and dances that were practiced by both together. For example, there is women's law about giving birth in the presence of the natural environment and other women.

I guess what I'm getting at is that although there were two laws they were equally respected. So men and women are equal. From this I can go on to talk about other laws, such as the law of the land and how we began. I have been taught that I am part of the very first Moon, Sun and the Earth. And I have been taught that Mother Earth, a superior being, that is still with us, gave birth to land and in turn gave birth to us through the land to look after the land and caretake it as if it were a part of ourselves. Men say differently, but I learned that. That's why we say that we come from the land, that we are the land, that we are children of the land.

This land has certain laws, too, laws that say that we must not destroy it, because to destroy the land is to destroy yourself. Another law is the law of the animals or the other living species. The laws of all these living species, trees, animals, are equal to the men's law and the women's law. For example, I am no stronger a spirit than a tree in my land. We are equal, we have the same spirit, we have the same strength. Many different tribal groups and within them clans, have animals that protect their families. In Banjalung, I am of the snake, I am a snake-woman. Snake is my brother, sister, mother, father.

Arai, interpreter for Kawamura: He says that he personally is also a snake...

Kum-Sing: That's an example. He walked in the room the first day and I thought I knew him, though I'd never seen him before. I knew that spirit. And now I know why. We are both snakes of the land.

These animals for peoples and clans are called totems. So, for example, I would not eat a snake,

and the snake is my protector. Animals also bring us messages. Maybe a certain bird might come and tell you a person in your family has died, and another bird will tell you someone has given birth. This still happens today. This is a communication system within the land and the Earth.

We believe that if I destroy the Earth I'm destroying myself. We believe that when you're born you're born with an incredible amount of respect for the Earth, and you never lose it. It's your spirituality, your strength, how you feel in relation to the land and your connection. It's not something you can buy, or receive in a ceremony. You already have it when you're born if you're an aboriginal person or a person of the land.

Sometimes people grow up away from their family or in a different area, and they always feel this thing, but they don't know what they're feeling. This happens with a lot of aboriginal people who grow up away from their families.

So that's how it is for us. There is Mother Earth, the mother of all, the greatest one. There is the Rainbow Serpent who comes through the lands with the Mother Earth, to make the waterways. This is the water for the Earth and this is a link for the people. The thing you have to remember with our culture is that there were over 600 tribes, and there were certain rules for each area. Certain animals you could eat, and certain animals you couldn't eat. The Bunjalung people, my people, were nomadic, within boundaries. We moved within an area which stretched from the ocean up rivers, and what we ate depended on the season. But we never took more than what was sufficient. We wouldn't need a fridge because we didn't save useless food. We only took what we needed; nothing else. Like I said, this is very general and brief; I'm not going to go into any more detail because of what my grandmother told me, that enough has already been taken from us and I will not give any more.

Land is not for development, for economic gain, for profit. And it's not passed on to one child in the family. It's passed on to the whole tribe. Everybody gets that land.

The last thing is that we die and are buried, we have a birth ceremony and a death ceremony, and we have to go back to the land where we were born. So if my family doesn't bring me back there, I will make trouble, my spirit will make trouble. They are obliged to bring me back to the land because we are one, and we come from the land

and we go back to the land.

Daguitan: In Kalinga [a tribe in the northern Cordillera, Philippines] society defense of the land is a prime responsibility of everybody. Each tribe has its own territory. A tribe who has no peace pact has no right to enter another tribe's territory. If somebody from one tribe enters another's territory, this can lead to tribal war. A peace pact is a treaty entered into by two tribes, wherein they will respect each other's territory. For example, if we have entered into a peace pact, you can enter my territory and I can enter yours, but for the use of resources you have to ask permission from the other party.



AMPO: What happens if a man and woman from different tribes are married?

Daguitan: There have been many cases like that. They have to choose which tribe they will belong to. But in the case of tribal war they can enter both territories without being harmed. So, people who are intermarried help to find solutions when there is a tribal war.

Our concept of land is that the rice fields are privately held, although the land is really owned by the supreme being. But all the others, for example the swidden areas, the pasture land, the forest and some of the hunting ground, the rivers, are owned by the community. When it comes to inheritance, there are various systems among various tribes. Usually it is the first born child who gets the biggest share. If, for example, a family needs money, they can sell their land, but they cannot sell it outside the clan.

AMPO: One thing people may not understand, which may be very special about the Igoro people, is that you had gold.....

Daguitan: When it comes to mining rights, the same thing applies. Everybody is given the right to mine on communal property. If people come from another village, they must ask permission to pan gold or mine. Nowadays, villages usually require people from another tribe to pay a fee for the use of natural resources such as mining.

With regards to other belief systems and

agriculture I could add some more things similar to what others said about snakes. If you are on the way to the farm and somewhere along the way a snake or a red bird passes your way, you have to go back. They believe the harvest will be poor. If this happens repeatedly, you must abandon your plan. It is very difficult to explain scientifically. It seems that these animals want to express something about the fertility of the land.



AMPO(to Krenack): Do your people also have customs like that?

Krenack: I am not going to talk specifically about the Shakati group. I'm going to talk in more global terms, because as our brother mentioned, land is very important to us. We walked on the land, were related to the land, from the very first moment we were born. From the starting point, the moment of birth, we start to have contact with the land and we start to realize that we can't be separated from the land. We start to coexist with the other living beings who inhabit the land. We consider them as part of our family, all the beings who live in relation to us and the land. From this moment we start to discover the secret of the land. And then we start to respect all the things which surround us. Then, because of that respect, we realize that we can only take from the land what we need to live. To take something from nature is a sacred act. That's why we can't buy or sell its products. For instance, we cannot buy or sell minerals or wood.

But our spirit, that of the human being as well as the trees, the animals, they communicate with each other. That's the reason for our struggle, the struggle of indigenous communities, a struggle to stop the destruction that has been carried out in our world - that is what we are struggling against, because if the forest is destroyed we will be destroyed ourselves. An individual can leave the environment, but his or her spirit will be weakened. That's why we struggle because when the white man came and took something that belongs to nature, wood or plants or animals, this was the first step of what has happened today. We know, we know that if we are not able to carry out this struggle, the consequences will affect us all. We will not be the only ones to disappear. We, our

planet, the whole Earth is going to disappear.

But those white people who are our enemies never understand why we are struggling to keep our world alive. It's possible that the world will end without the white people being able to understand. I think it is very important for you, Sipasse, to share with our brothers and sisters here, a brief idea of how you are from a village in the form of a circle, with a square in the center, called Wara, where the elders get together to teach the people. When you go out for hunting you go out from the Wara, you choose one of the hunting regions. The last hunting we did together was for Sipasse's marriage. We went about 80 kilometers into the forest. I'd like you to explain why we walked in that direction and not in a different direction.



Paolo Sipasse (Amazon, Brazil): When we are struggling to survive, why do we keep talking about our habits and our customs and our life? First of all we have to guarantee the land because it's part of our life.

All that we did during my marriage ceremony, all these things we have been talking about, are good, because it's good that we keep talking. The most important thing is to show our words, to be alive to be able to keep talking about these old customs, old stories. The Shapa people talk in order to carry out our struggle, to keep alive our customs, because we are at war to gain a future for our grandchildren. That's why it's good to reinforce the spirit of our relatives. We like to talk about all these things, our customs, to keep them alive.

Why don't we have a guarantee to the land, to be able to survive?

AMPO: Will you tell us why you went in one direction?

Sipasse: Because in our customs each place is sacred, and there is a specific place to hunt and a specific place people who will be married go to hunt, because the hunt is part of the wedding ceremony. That's why we walked in that direction and not another. We hunted for six days and we walked fifty or seventy kilometers. My people used to hunt in a circle... And how do we make a circle? We go out, we walk here and camp here, and again

we walk here and camp here, and we walk here and camp here then after a certain amount of hunting, we make our way back to the village. When we arrive in the village, the meat that we have taken is distributed among everyone. The women will take the meat and distribute it among the houses, the families. We live in community. We are communitarian. That's why we are happy and strong and healthy. The life in our village goes like that. Making a fiesta, making a party.

Krenack: In Brazil, at the end of the 20th century we have to recognize that what was true is still true. We live in a state of war and that's why Sipasse refuses to share completely this sacred secret of the culture. He feels by doing so he will be opening a weak point to be used to destroy this old culture. I hope that some day we are able, without fear, to share fully these sacred secrets which guide our existence.

AMPO: In English we have the word "land", which in Europe and the United States mostly means something you buy or sell, a kind of property, worth money, and it's exchangeable for money, so when you think of land you think of how much money it's worth, how much money you can make from it. Most indigenous peoples have some other word for the same thing, which means something different from something you buy or sell. And I'd like each of you to talk about that.

Lusiah bt Tobah (Sabah, Malaysia): I understand land--especially in a village--is a place we can find our livelihood. For villagers, we see land as something, if you don't have it you won't be able to live, in the land the villagers find whatever it is they need. I see land also as something that should not be sold because it will be passed through the generations. And if the land is sold there will be no gift to the next generation. I feel that land should not be titled, because according to government requirements there needs to be some sort of tax on titled land, and if they don't pay anything within three years the land will be taken, and in this way a lot of indigenous people lose their land. In Malaysia land is divided into several kinds of titles. We have native titles, which only native people should own. And we have other land--town leases, country leases, and so on--which can be

bought by people other than the indigenous people. The native titles protect the people so they can pass on the land. But we have found that there are loopholes through which other people can take native lands and convert them into country or town leases.

AMPO: If people are on native lands do they still have to pay a tax?

Tobah: Yes, they always have to pay a tax, but there are several kinds of lands which have been recognized by the government. For example, there is village land where the villagers are supposed to stay. And there is another area with enough land for cultivation. So land in this way has been allocated. Most of this land does not have titles. They know which family owns which land, and they decide between themselves...



AMPO: And the government does not have it recorded?

Tobah: Yes, they have it recorded. In fact we have what we call "customary land laws" and they have tried to assimilate these into the government's civil laws. The customary land laws say to have a claim to land, you have to live in the area for 3 years' plant some crops, or it's your burial ground, or your right of way. These are a few ways you can claim land. But the one loophole we found in the customary land laws is that they still consider all land to be state government land. So if they want to gazette this land, they can gazette it. That means they put up a notice, asking people of that area whether they want to claim that land, under the conditions I mentioned, and if the owners don't come forward it is no longer considered theirs. But the problem is where they will gazette it, when they will gazette it. I've seen some of these gazettes being put in the Land and Survey Office, which is usually in town. So people who live in villages and seldom come to town sometimes find that they've lost their land. Especially this happens with land that is being alienated for a big plantation. This is where a lot of conflict over land comes up.

Some of the land has also been grabbed from the people, especially from those who can't afford

to pay. You are expected, before you can get a title and formal claim to the land, to apply to the Land and Survey. If several people claim the same land, those who are rich can afford to pay private surveyors and they can claim the land more quickly.

AMPO: So as the civil law replaces the customary law, it becomes a way for people with money to take land away from people without money?

Tobah: Actually that's exactly how people have lost their land. In customary law, the person who lives in an area will have claim to the land, and the village headman usually knows, but under civil law they lose some of that security. Before you can get a title approved you must get the approval of the village headman, but they can be bribed.

AMPO: Do your people have some feeling about the land, that it's more than just something that gives you comfort or food? Some deeper, spiritual relationship?

Tobah: We consider the river, the older people consider the river, the blood of the people. They say that if the river dries up the people will die. They believe that logging will dry it up and the people will die.

AMPO: What about the cutting of trees. What do people feel spiritually about that?

Tobah: The villagers also believe the water comes from the trees, and if you cut the trees you won't have any water. They also believe the source of the river is the same as the source of life, so if any activities, like logging, destroy the area, they also destroy the life of the river.

Jannie Lasimbang: I personally believe the concept or view of a lot of people has changed toward land because religion has changed their world view. The introduction of Christianity has made a big a difference in how land is perceived. I don't know if she will agree with me, but this is my own view. The world view has changed. I see this in my village.

AMPO: The world view she is describing is already a changed view to some extent?

Lasimbang: I think--I won't speak for her--but in many villages I have seen there is no more value for land. For example, in my area, they don't have any love for land at all. They just fill up the land, paddy fields especially, and they build houses. There are few of us who believe the spirit of the paddy must be preserved, that we must continue the traditional life.



AMPO: One last question. What are the words you use for development in your native languages, in Malay and your or her indigenous language?

Lasimbang: In Malay it's "Vagunmunan." "Vamun" means develop, and the same word is applied to "Vamunan" which is buildings. In my tribal language we don't have a word for it so we use the Malay language. We don't have an equivalent word. We have a word which means to make something new. But we use the Malay word.

AMPO: In ordinary conversation, when did people use that word? What kind of thing would people use that word to describe, if they're not talking about economics? As an ordinary word in the Malay language.

Lasimbang: I think it is a very new word. It denotes programs, and buildings. I can't think of what words they would use to denote non-economic development, because it was not in the experience. Even the Malay language has been developed to incorporate this kind of... Because vaguman has no other meaning than to denote buildings and...

AMPO: For example, if you build two or three buildings in a traditional building style...

Lasimbang: They say "monquat", which means to make.

AMPO: It's only if it's in the modern style, with concrete, then it's development. New type of buildings.

Lasimbang: Yes.

Ainu Moshiri (Hokkaido) Declaration

by the Ainu Representatives

We, the Indigenous Ainu people of Ainu Moshiri (Hokkaido) who organized the International Indigenous Peoples' Conference, and attended as representatives in it, express our spirit and declare our rights, as follows:

The President of the Executive Committee of this International Indigenous Peoples' Conference, Mr. Kayano Shigeru prayed for this conference, in the Ainu language;

Tapan irauē tapanā'ne irauē somone nakoro, Moshiri sokasi ero'tro't kamui koro irauē ncehine nankoro newa naya'ne. Neita pakno chikoro irauē sipet teppe neruwetapanna konkaminaa!"

It means, "I do not believe that we, as mortal human beings are the ones that longed for the convening of this meeting. Indeed, I believe that the gods of this Earth have been awakened by the cry of our own crisis and have brought us together here. Let us take advantage of this opportunity and make our solidarity even stronger than stone. Pray for our better future!"

Mr. Lopeti Senituli, who is the General Coordinator of the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Movement, in his keynote speech (which can be found in this issue, p.---), stated on behalf of the overseas participants of this conference, "We, who have come from across the oceans bring with us the tears of our own people. We bring the same sad stories of discrimination, we bring the same sad stories of our land being stolen. We bring the same sad stories of uprisings brutally crushed by the invaders. We bring the same sad stories of being second-class citizens in the lands of our ancestors.

But we also bring with us the inner spirit that has kept us all going since time immemorial. We bring with us the belief that we shall survive and flourish. We also bring with us the olive branch in the belief that each one of us, indigenous or non-indigenous has an undying love of justice and peace."

Who brought sadness?

Why must we tell our stories with tears?

We have trodden and are still treading on the same path of our sad and painful histories.

This sad history began when the invaders robbed us of our land which our ancestors received directly from the Creators. It is the same land that has nourished and sustained us which we must bequest to our own descendants.

The invaders came with a different god and they

considered our spiritual association with our gods through land as being inferior to theirs.

The invaders came with different weapons. Our own weapons, the bows and arrows were used in order to sustain our own lives. The invaders weapons, however, were used to destroy us.

The invaders came with different laws. Our laws aimed to share gifts of our land with each other and to make our land beautiful.

But their laws were designed to divide our land into little outposts, to dispose of them without our consent, and to ultimately transform the beautiful landscape into a lifeless wilderness.

We, the indigenous people will not stop shedding tears as long as our land is continuously being destroyed.

We have embraced each other in the spirit of solidarity.

Now, we have to express our anger and to restore the love which our ancestors taught us.

We solemnly swear, we will do our best to heal the injured earth. Unless, we shall not be able to restore peace within our mind.

We reached the following resolutions and we call on the Japanese government to immediately act on the following:

- 1) to recognize the Ainu people as the indigenous people of Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido), and to repeal the Hokkaido Former Natives' Protection Act and to enact the new laws being proposed by the Ainu people. This new law recognizes the indigenous rights of the Ainu people, respects their dignity as an ethnic entity and guarantees the development of their own culture and traditional values.
- 2) not to carry out development projects in Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido) without consultation with and the consent of the indigenous Ainu people.
- 3) to guarantee and protect the indigenous land rights of the Ainu people by returning all publicly-owned land in Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido) to the Ainu people in the meantime.
- 4) to recognize the rights of the Ainu people for salmon fishing by immediately beginning consultations with them on this issue, as it is their inalienable right, as indigenous peoples of the Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido).
- 5) to suspend the construction of the Nibutani Dam and to immediately consult with the Ainu owners of the dam site.
- 6) to withdraw the plans for the construction of storage and research facilities in Horonobe for high-level radioactive waste being produced by

nuclear power reactors.

- 7) to stop the operation of the nuclear power plant that was already built in Tomari.
- 8) to restore the cultural property, the items of cultural significance and human remains of the ancestors of the Ainu people, kept in museums and research institutions not only in Japan but also around the world which were taken from them without their consent.
- 9) to apologize to and compensate the Ainu people for the injustice, maltreatment and exploitation they have suffered. In this connection, we demand also that a similar apology and compensation be made to other people discriminated against, oppressed and exploited by the Japanese government.
- 10) to suspend its economic activities and overseas development aid which actually causes much suffering for indigenous Peoples elsewhere.
- 11) to set up a national commission involving Indigenous Peoples and other minority groups, for generating peaceful co-existence in the society on the Japanese archipelago and promoting mutual respect between different races and cultural groups.
- 12) to withdraw the statement of the Japanese government made in the meeting of the United

Nations Sub-committee of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of the Minorities in Human Rights Committee, in 1989, in objecting to the statement given by the delegation of the Hokkaido Ainu Association and the Civil Diplomacy Center, that;

- (i) it is groundless to criticize that the nature of Japanese democracy is a sort of "tyranny of the majority" for the sake of majorities.
- (ii) the government of Japan and local public entities have actively made a special budget allocation for the improvement of the social and economic status of the Ainu People.
- (iii) in constructing the Nibutani Dam several measures have been designed to preserve and develop the Ainu culture in Nibutani including the improvement measures of the residential areas and social welfare.

The statement deliberately misrepresents our history and real status, and covers up the reality oppressing us.

And, to replace the Japanese member of this sub-committee, Mr. Hatano Riboo with a more appropriate person sensitive to the indigenous issues because of the statement above

The Ainu Moshiri (Hokkaido) Declaration

We, the Indigenous Peoples of Australia, Belau, Brazil, Canada, Guatemala, Hawai'i, Malaysia, West New Guinea (West Papua), Philippines, Tahiti, Guam, Taiwan, Tonga, United States of America, and Soviet Union, met on Ainu Moshiri (Hokkaido) from August 7-14th, 1989.

We were joined by non-indigenous observers from Sri Lanka, India, and Japan. This is the first time that an international conference of indigenous peoples has been held in Japan, organized by and for indigenous peoples. The Ainu people of Ainu Moshiri (Hokkaido) hosted us and shared their spirit and community, as we moved from Sapporo to Nibutani and finally Kushiro.

We have been truly inspired by the indomitable

spirit of the Ainu, as was so clearly demonstrated to us.

Their survival as a cultural entity in their own country is remarkable, given the consistent and continuing denial of the Ainu identity by the government of Japan.

The cultural survival of the Ainu in the face of such systematic denial of their rights provided a very positive atmosphere for our deliberations and strengthened our resolve, to go on with our just and common cause, as indigenous people.

We unanimously endorsed the demands of the Ainu people and we call on the Japanese government to immediately act on them (see the Declaration of the Ainu Representatives).

Set of Resolutions

PREAMBLE

Having come from many nations around the world, we shared the same sad stories of discrimination, the same sad stories of lands being stolen, the same sad stories of uprisings brutally crushed by the invaders, the same sad stories of being second class citizens in the land of our

ancestors.

We also shared the inner spirit that have kept us all going from time immemorial.

Believing that we, as mortal human beings, were not the only ones who longed for the convening of this conference, we deeply felt that the Gods of this earth have been awakened by the cries of our own crisis and have brought us

together here. We took the opportunity to make our solidarity as solid as rock and prayed for a better future.

We, the participants of the International Indigenous Peoples' Conference convened on Ainu Moshiri (Hokkaido) from August 7 to 14, 1989, meeting under the guidance of our ancestors and being inspired by their spirits resolved and adopted the following resolutions:

I. IN RESPECT OF THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF THE RAINFORESTS

WHEREAS there is an on-going wanton and massive destruction of the rainforests in the Brazilian Amazon Region, Cordillera Region and Sierra Madre Mountains of Cagayan Valley in the Philippines, Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia and other areas by governments and corporations funded by the Asian Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, European Economic Community, multi-lateral financial institutions, and because Japan has become the leading participant of these by contributing to such financial institutions and by being the leading importer of forest resources, and these destructions being in the form of logging, mining, and dam buildings whereby depriving the indigenous peoples of the world from their rights to live on their lands, and considering that the rate of the destructions is gathering speed daily, thus imposing great threats to the survival of the forests and the indigenous peoples,

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT Japan desist from importing forest products and mineral resources from the Third World countries.
2. THAT the Japanese media monitor the Japanese corporations overseas investments.
3. THAT all lands and forests destroyed by logging, minings, and dam buildings be properly reassessed and compensated.
4. THAT the International Tropical Timber Organization publicize all of its records pertaining to the logging projects in our regions, which should include the local corporations involved in log harvesting and marketing.
5. THAT the United Nations monitor all activities of multi-lateral corporations and impose disciplinary actions on these for the wanton destruction of the world environment.
6. THAT these multi-lateral financial institutions recognize the capacity of indigenous peoples to develop according to their needs and

ability.

7. THAT a common network for indigenous peoples threatened by development projects be established sharing of information and for coordination of activities.

* It was also agreed that copies of this resolution be sent to:

- Japanese Government
- Japanese media
- International Tropical Timber Organization
- The multilateral financial institutions
- United Nations
- Environmental groups

II. IN RESPECT OF THE UNESCO DECADE FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

IT WAS RESOLVED:

THAT in view of the UNESCO declaration of 1988-1989 as Decade for Cultural Development;

THAT all member nations of the United Nations should make the Cultural Development Projects of their respective indigenous people a priority during the declared Decade.

III. IN RESPECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN TOXIC AND INDUSTRIAL WASTE

IT WAS RESOLVED:

THAT the Basel Convention on the Transboundary Movement of Toxic and Industrial Waste is hereby condemned based on the following:

1. THAT this convention does not totally prohibit the trade in toxic and industrial waste and instead it only regulates and thereby encourages this lethal form of trade.
2. THAT this convention facilitates the further victimization of the populations of the Third World countries who, in most cases, are the recipients of the toxic and industrial wastes.

IV. IN RESPECT OF THE OCEAN DISPOSAL OF RADIOACTIVE NUCLEAR WASTE

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT all countries which are signatories to the London Dumping Convention maintain the moratorium on the ocean disposal of radioactive

nuclear waste.

2. THAT the plans of the government of Japan to dump the radioactive nuclear waste from its nuclear power reactors in the Pacific Ocean is hereby condemned.

V. IN RESPECT OF THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT this conference endorses the indigenous peoples' sovereign right to self-determination and condemns the racist legal fiction "Terra Nullis," which states that Australia was uninhabited prior to the British invasion in 1788.

2. THAT this conference calls on the Federal and State Governments of Australia to refrain from enacting new laws and legislations in relation to the Aboriginal People, until such time as negotiations held under international auspices are made which guarantee the inalienable rights of the Aboriginal People to their land and self-determination.

3. THAT this conference calls on the Federal Government of Australia to stop the proposed relocation and expansion of the Australian Naval Defense Base from Sydney to Jervis Bay and to immediately end the use of Beecroft Peninsula by the Australia Navy for bombardment practice.

4. THAT this conference calls on the Federal Government of Australia to continue the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody until an appropriate Crimes Authority is established under Aboriginal control. To terminate the Royal Commission without providing for an alternative monitoring body will not only be an insult to the Aboriginal people but could only lead to an increase in the number of Aboriginal deaths at the hands of the police and the prison wardens.

5. THAT this conference also calls on the Federal Government of Australia to legislatively empower the Chief Royal Commissioner into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody with full investigative and prosecuting authority.

VI. IN RESPECT OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT this conference condemns critical threats over the indigenous peoples of the Brazilian Amazon region, due to the occupation process of the Northern Strip of Brazil, bordering Colombia, Venezuela, and Guianas. The occupation has been executed by a governmental military agency, the National Security Council, through a project called "Calha Norte," which is a threat to the integrity of indigenous people, such as Yanomami, Macuxi, Ticuna, Wayapi, Tukano, and many others within the Amazon region.

2. THAT the Presidential Decree of September, 1988 that establishes "indigenous colonies," which contradicts the Brazilian Constitution must be abolished.

3. THAT the construction project of the road BR 364, between Rio Brance (state of Acre) and Callao in Peru (on the Pacific Ocean) which represents a big threat against the forests' people, must be evaluated, reassessed and it must guarantee the participation of the local communities.

4. THAT the genocide practiced against the Yanomami indigenous people in collusion with the Brazilian Government, caused by the invasion of 50,000 "garimpeiros" (gold diggers) in their territories, is hereby condemned.

5. THAT being aware of the fact that all those programs are funded by multilateral agencies (such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, European Economic Community) and private financial institutions, thus financing the Brazilian Government to promote through development projects the economic occupation of the Amazon Region, we demand the suspension of this funding.

* It was also agreed that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, European Parliament, and to the Japanese Diet.

VII. IN RESPECT OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA - THE INDIANS

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT the Governments of Canada and United States of America allow the right to self-determination and self-government.

2. THAT the Governments of Canada and United

States of America refrain from further legislating and implementing laws which deprive the indigenous people of their land rights and exploitation of their resources.

3. THAT the United Nations studies on Treaties and other Agreements is hereby fully supported and that the Governments of Canada and the United States of America comply and honor their obligations under Treaties and other Agreements, with indigenous nations.

VIII. IN RESPECT OF THE TIMORESE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT the invasion and militarization of East Timor by Indonesia on the 7th day of December 1975 is hereby condemned.
2. THAT the physical and cultural genocide in East Timor committed by Indonesia is hereby condemned.
3. THAT the immigration program to East Timor be immediately stopped.
4. THAT the World Bank immediately be stopped in its lending to Indonesia on its transmigration program to East Timor.
5. THAT the Indonesian Government immediately withdraw its program of Forced Birth Control in East Timor.
6. THAT the Indonesian Government immediately implement the recommendation of the United Nations Committee on Decolonization made 15th August 1988, relating to international access to East Timor and preparation of East Timor of a referendum on self-determination of East Timor.
7. THAT the United Nations General Assembly resolution 37/30 on East Timor be implemented immediately. It is understood that the full participation of the East Timor peoples representatives is absolutely essential to the successful implementation of this resolution.

IX. IN RESPECT OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF GUAM-CHAMORRO

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT this conference endorses the struggles of

the Chamorro People of Guam for self-determination. In this context, we call upon the United States government to recognize and adhere to the inalienable right of the Chamorro people to self-determination.

2. THAT this conference endorses the proposition that only the Chamorro people of Guam be allowed to vote in their referendum on Guam's future political status.

3. THAT this conference calls on the Churches in Guam to recognize the role they have played in the destruction of Chamorro culture and language and the decline of the Chamorro population. This conference also calls on the Churches in Guam to make appropriate compensation to the Chamorro people for the injustices and misery that they suffered as a consequence.

4. THAT there be immediate end to all desecration of sacred grounds, burial sites, and other culturally identifiable areas by the United States of America, Japan, and all other persons and countries.

. IN RESPECT OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF HAWAII

IT WAS RESOLVED:

WHILE condemning the overthrow of the of the Hawaiian Government by the United States on January 17, 1893

1. THAT Hawaii existed as a sovereign nation with its own laws and form of government designed for the needs and well being of her people; and
2. THAT since time immemorial the indigenous Hawaiians lived and enjoyed life in the society left to them by their ancestors with all the support and blessings of life in their lands, ocean, and all the resources around them; and
3. THAT as a nation Hawaii had diplomatic relationships with many countries around the world and did in fact have binding treaties with many nations; and
4. THAT on January 17, 1893 United States Marines with the encouragement of rabid annexationist American businessmen some being missionary descendants illegally and unlawfully invaded and overthrew the Hawaiian Government; and
5. THAT as a result of the United States overthrow of the lawful Hawaiian Government, Hawaiians

were displaced and were and are being unlawfully assimilated into a foreign society not of their own ancestry nor choosing.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the International Indigenous Peoples' Conference convening in Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan - land of the Ainu-Moshiri that:

We condemn the United States for its illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Government and question the legitimacy of the United States sovereignty in Hawai'i.

We demand the United States compensate the indigenous Hawaiians and their descendants for the ninety-six years of illegal occupation and plunder of the Hawaiian territories.

It was fully agreed that a certified copy of this resolution be sent to the following persons and organizations:

1. United Nations Committee of Human Rights
2. United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples/Populations
3. United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

XI. IN RESPECT OF THE SABAH INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF MALAYSIA

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT the Malaysian and Sabah Governments does not impose economic development programs, oil palm and cocoa plantations, prawn farming projects inclusive, on customary lands particularly in the State of Sabah.
2. THAT the Malaysian and the Sabah Governments effectively and practically provide essential and basic services (inter-alia) in the areas of education, health, housing, marketing, and transportation in the Sabah State.

XII. IN RESPECT OF THE MELANESIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF WEST NEW GUINEA (WEST PAPUA)

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT the government of Indonesia immediately stop its Transmigration program on New Guinea (West Papua).
2. THAT the Third World, Asian Development Bank, and any other financial institutions stop

forthwith their financial assistance to the government which is used for the implementation of the Transmigration program in West New Guinea, directly or indirectly.

3. THAT the countries which give aid to the Indonesian government, directly or indirectly are assisting Indonesian government and Indonesian armed forces to suppress the Indigenous peoples' rights to exist.

4. THAT Japan reconsider its economic trade relations with Indonesia which gives economic strength to Indonesian and thereby enables Indonesai to efectively implement its militarization and suppression of the indigenous people of West New Guinea (West Papua).

5. THAT the United States of America and Australia immediately stop its military aid and financial aid to Indonesia which enable and assist Indonesia to militarize and suppress the indigenous people of West New Guinea (West Papua).

6. THAT the Asia-Pacific countries and non-aligned member countries examine and consider the case of the West New Guinea (West Papua) in order to ensure that their case for self-determination and independence is reopened.

7. THAT the Act of Free Choice of 1969 was not based on "one man, one vote," therefore, there was no act of free choice; and that the people of West New Guinea (West Papua) be immediately given an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in the referendum to be conducted and supervised in person by the Office of the Secretary General of the United Nations and the UN Committee on Decolonization.

8. THAT the United Nations Committee on Decolonization call a special and particular conference on self-determination of West New Guinea (West Papua).

XIII. IN RESPECT TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF THE CORDILLERAS IN THE PHILIPPINES

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT the Aquino government's policy of Total War against the indigenous people of the Cordilleras be strongly condemned.
2. THAT an appeal be made to the Japanese government to desist from providing financial or

any form of aid to the Aquino government for as long as it pursues the policy of Total War against the indigenous people.

3. THAT all logging permits be suspended to ensure the preservation of the forest resources.

4. THAT all repressive land laws be abolished and instead traditional land laws be recognized.

5. THAT the right to self-determination of the Cordilleras people which takes the form of genuine regional autonomy be recognized.

XIV. IN RESPECT OF THE MAORI PEOPLE OF AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT this conference condemns the plans of the Aotearoa (New Zealand) Government to lavishly celebrate the 150th Anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1990.

2. THAT this conference also calls on the Government of Aotearoa (New Zealand) to fully honor the Treaty of Waitangi which in effect guarantees the sovereign rights of the Maori people to their lands, forestry, and fisheries.

3. THAT this conference also supports the call from the Maori people for boycotting of the Commonwealth Games which is scheduled for January-February 1990 in Auckland, Aotearoa (New Zealand) should the Government of Aotearoa (New Zealand) continues to ignore the Treaty Rights of the Maori people.

XV. IN RESPECT OF THE MAOHI PEOPLE OF TAHITI-POLYNESIA (FRENCH POLYNESIA)

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT this conference denounces the planned integration of Tahiti-Polynesia as a French Colony into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1992. This integration will immediately permit EEC financiers unrestrained investment opportunities in and all EEC country citizens to have unlimited entry into Tahiti-Polynesia.

2. THAT this conference also recognizes and supports the Maohi people in their struggle for

independence from France.

3. THAT this conference condemns the French Nuclear Bomb Testing Program in Mururoa, Tahiti-Polynesia and calls on the French Government to either immediately terminate its nuclear bomb testing in Tahiti-Polynesia or relocate it to mainland France.

XVI. IN RESPECT OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF TAIWAN

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT the indigenous people living in Taiwan, which is not a member nation of the United Nations, heartily expect support and help from the international society.

2. THAT this conference asks the international society and Taiwan Government to respect and observe the basic right to survive (land, culture, language, the right to protect themselves from the danger of the Nuclear Dumping Facilities in Ranyo Islands, etc...) as the Indigenous People of Taiwan.

XVII. IN RESPECT OF THE PEOPLE OF SRI LANKA

IT WAS RESOLVED:

1. THAT in the context of the steadily deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka (the to self-determination for the Tamil people) in which both Sinhalese and Tamil people, mostly innocent people, are being senselessly killed almost daily by the Sri Lankan state's security forces, the Indian Peace-Keeping Forces, the several Tamil and Sinhalese armed organizations involved in internecine conflict and by unidentified but well funded and heavily armed assassination squads.

(a) the Sri Lankan Government must act expeditiously to implement the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord of July 29, 1987, which provides for internal autonomy to the Tamil People in their traditional areas of habitation as a first step towards restoring peace with justice.

(b) the Sri Lankan Government and its security forces, the government of India and the Indian Peace-Keeping Forces (I.P.K.F.), the Liberations Tigers of Tamil Eelam (L.T.T.E.), the Eelam Peoples' Liberation Front (E.P.R.L.F.), the Eelam

Revolutionary Organization (E.R.O.S.), the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (E.N.D.L.F.), the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (P.L.O.T.E.), and other Tamil armed organizations and among the Sinhalese the Janata Vimukti Peramuna (J.V.P.) or Peoples Liberation Front to arrive at a cease fire, and to begin negotiations together with the political parties represented in Parliament to work towards a solution that would guarantee territorial rights, human and democratic rights, and provide the institutional framework which guarantees the right to self-determination of the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim people, so that these peoples can live with unity in diversity, preserving and developing their respective languages, religions and cultures and

pursue their economic and social welfare, and thereby pave the way for an early withdrawal of the Indian Peace-Keeping Forces. We call for a lasting peace, with justice for all the people of Sri Lanka, especially the poor, the displaced, the refugees, and the victims of violence.

XVIII. IN RESPECT OF THE NON-INDIGENOUS JAPANESE WHO WISH TO CO-EXIST WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.

(This Resolution originated from the non-indigenous Japanese participants. The Resolution was welcomed and unanimously endorsed by the Conference.)

Declaration

PREAMBLE

We, the non-indigenous Japanese participants of the International Indigenous Conference held in Sapporo, Nibutani, and Kushiro on Ainu-Moshiri (Hokkaido) from August 7th to 14th, 1989, have recognized that the indigenous peoples all over the world have been severely struggling as the result of serious invasion. We also have recognized that the government of Japan and the Japanese enterprises have taken part in the aggressive activities.

We had a workshop in order to listen to the cries of indigenous peoples around the world and the Ainu, the indigenous people in Japan, to consider the way to create the world of mutual existence, and to make a small step into action.

We hereby declare and take responsibility for the action programs which will be proposed as the result of this conference so that we could identify ourselves with compassion and seek the change of the relationship based on discrimination and oppression we are now imposing upon neglected people.

We, non-indigenous Japanese, have been depriving the Ainu people of their lives, lands, and natural resources connected closely to their lives, rich language, culture, and spirit. Therefore, we believe that the Ainu should be recognized as indigenous people of Japanese archipelago, restore all the neglected rights and be given an opportunity to determine their own future. Furthermore, we should admit the history of invasion towards the Ainu and take responsibility to compensate for the past.

We, non-indigenous Japanese believe that we should learn the noble spirituality of the Ainu which unites people with the lands and the holy spirits. And we wish to find an alternative value within the relationship between the Ainu and the lands, and to cooperatively create our future. We believe that the above-mentioned ideas should be positively applied to fight against all discrimination and invasion still existing in Japan as well as in other parts of the world.

Demands to the Japanese Diet and the Government of Japan:

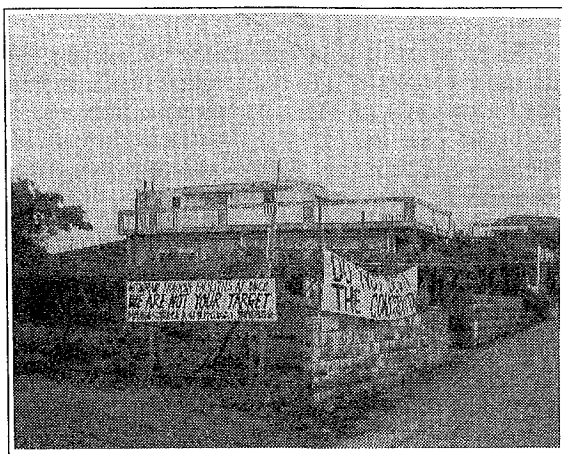
Based on this declaration, we, the majority living on the Japanese archipelago, demand the following to the Japanese Diet and the Government of Japan where our will is to be reflected.

1. To recognize the Ainu as the indigenous people who have the right to determine their free will.
2. To legislate the new law for the Ainu as early as possible.
3. To include the teaching of the history and of the Ainu in the public education programs and to teach and learn their own language, culture, and history.
4. To ratify the ILO Treaty No.107 on the right of self determination of indigenous people.
5. To dismiss Mr. Riboo Hatano whose qualification and personality are not proper to be a member of United Nations Committee on Human Rights and to respect the opinions of the discriminated minorities on selecting the post.

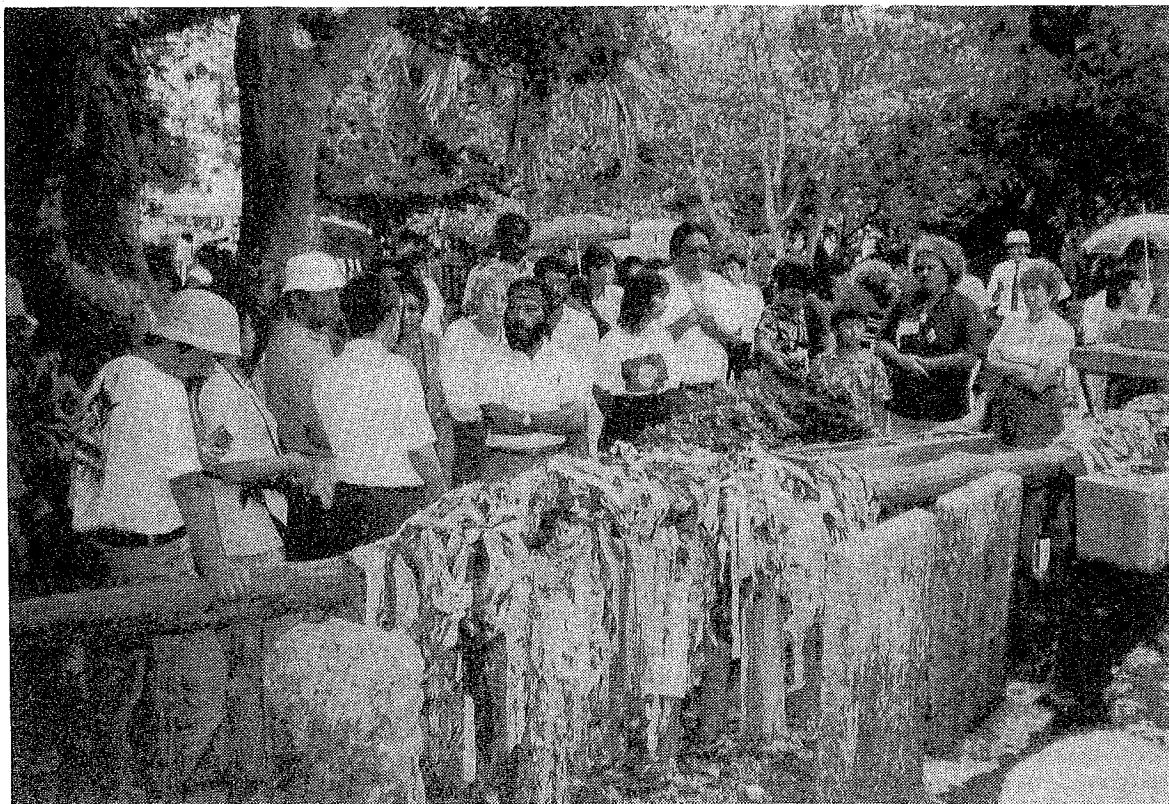
Towards Autonomous Asia-Pacific

The People's Exchange of the Asia-Pacific Ryukyu Archipelago (Aug.17-19) started with a rhythmic Okinawan concert participated in by 2000 people in Cape Zanpa on Okinawa Island. Many of the foreign participants in the International Indigenous Conference joined the exchange to discuss peace, and autonomy and the nuclear issue with people in Okinawa who share a history of invasion and discrimination with them. At the meeting on the second day, much attention was given to the report on the struggle against the on-going construction of an urban guerrilla training facility in Camp Hansen by the people of Onna and of neighboring villages. (see p.63) A participant from a Pacific island that shares the same situation pointed out that even if people in Okinawa are now exposed to U.S. military training they share the responsibility when the U.S. cannonballs from Okinawa rain on other islands. The following is the Appeal of the Asia-Pacific Ryukyu Archipelago People's Exchange,

and the solidarity message to the people of Onna Village adopted by the participants of the fourth meeting of the Steering Committee for the PP21.



*A banner reading "Withdraw Training Facilities at Onna",
Onna Village*



Appeal

We, the participants in the Asia-Pacific Ryukyu Archipelago People's Exchange, through our meetings, exchanges, and informal conversations, have deepened our mutual understanding and have come to a common consciousness.

First, we have learned that the Okinawans and the other peoples of the Asia Pacific region share a common history, and face common problems today.

— In the past we had our own peaceful cultures and societies based on the abundance of nature and the richness of humanity.

— Years of colonial rule by the great powers have deeply damaged our societies, and the land and sea on which they depend.

— In the Pacific War, the islands of the Pacific from Hawaii to Okinawa became battlegrounds for Japan and the U.S. where our people were killed, our lands were stolen, and our islands and seas destroyed.

— After the war our lands have been invaded by U.S. and French military bases, and by foreign, today mainly Japanese, economic power, which have stolen our land and our livelihood, and robbed us of our sovereignty. Violent 'development' has destroyed our natural environment.

— Today, under the U.S. and French military domination of the Pacific, we live in an ever-increasing fear of nuclear war. Their bases bring a thousand evils to our lands — the prostitution of our women, the drug addiction of our youth, and countless invasions of our human rights. Especially

today, after the 1987 INF treaty between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. limiting middle-range nuclear missiles, the U.S. has shifted to a strategy of increasing its maritime military power, thus rapidly increasing the militarization of the Pacific.

Second, we propose a common vision of the Asia-Pacific region for the 21st Century, and we resolve to join together to fight for the realization of that vision.

— We resolve to make the Asia-Pacific a non-nuclear region.

— We resolve to make the Asia-Pacific a region with no foreign military bases, and no military domination either by great powers or by smaller regional powers.

— We resolve to make the Asia-Pacific a region in which there is no violent 'development' which steals our land and destroys our natural environment; a region in which we can live in our traditional cultures which developed over the centuries in harmony with nature.

— We resolve to make the Asia-Pacific a region in which there is no discrimination against women or any other group, and in which freedom, peace, and justice have been realized.

— We resolve to make the Asia-Pacific a region in which there is no domination of any people by any foreign power, no domestic domination of any indigenous people or minority, and the universal right of self-determination has been realized.

— To realize this vision we resolve to support each other in our various movements, and to raise still higher the great Pacific tidal wave of people's movements for peace and justice dignity.

Solidarity Message

To the people of Onna Village:

The United States Marines stationed in Okinawa, in total disregard of the opposition of the local residents, are proceeding with the construction of an urban guerilla training facility in Camp Hansen. Occupying land requisitioned by the U.S. Army some 35 years ago, Camp Hansen contains within its boundaries a vast exercise grounds covering the villages of Onna and Ginoza in central Okinawa Island. Also located on land occupied by the Camp are water sources indispensable to the lives of the local residents and Onna Mountain, a natural resource of both material and symbolic importance to the nearby communities. For the last 35 years, the residents have not been permitted to enter the area of the water source or go to the mountain without

the consent of the U.S. Army. The U.S. Army's firing practice has repeatedly caused fires on the mountain, and it has now lost the lush greenness with which it was once endowed. The water sources have been polluted to the point where no matter how many times it is filtered, the water will not become clean.

To the people of Onna and Ginoza villages who have long suffered under the destruction brought on by the military training exercises, if they could recover the land occupied by the base tomorrow, it would not be too soon. In spite of this desire, however, they have been informed of the plan to build an urban guerilla training facility within the base. The two village councils have issued a resolution of opposition to the construction and

have repeatedly appealed to the U.S. Army and the Japanese Government to stop the work. The Okinawa Prefectural Assembly has on three occasions passed a resolution calling for a halt to the construction. The U.S. Army and the Japanese Government, to the contrary, have only turned a deaf ear to the voices of the people and have expressed a willingness to force the construction through.

Under such circumstances, in December 1988, the villagers began to monitor the construction work. With the U.S. Army approaching exasperation at these monitoring activities, which in fact succeeded in halting construction for a time, the Japanese Government this past July mobilized its riot police in an effort to oust the monitors and resume construction. In response to this attempt to ram the construction through, the villagers, in full force, including the two village mayors, staged a sit-in on the street and blocked the path of the trucks carrying construction materials. This stand-off continues even as of today (November 1989), and the construction remains only partially completed.

Okinawa was occupied by the U.S. Army in 1945 and was soon thereafter placed under the U.S. military government under the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. In 1972, Okinawa reverted to Japan, but the U.S. military bases located there have not been removed.

Instead, Okinawa's military role has only been increasing, as the Japanese Government lends its active cooperation to the global strategy of the United States. The construction of the urban guerilla training facility is nothing less than an expression of this fact.

The participants in the fourth meeting of the steering committee for the People's Plan for the 21st Century, meeting from 21 to 22 October 1989, unanimously decided to send the following appeal, in a spirit of solidarity, to these people struggling in Okinawa.

The televised image of the riot police bodily removing those participating in the sit-in on October 6-7 brought forth both strong sympathy for the struggle as well as profound resentment towards those who are forcing through the construction.

Along with these sentiments, we send our heartfelt greetings of respect and solidarity to those who, in order to block the U.S. army's construction of a counter urban guerilla training facility, have continued the struggle of the whole village and the whole region.

This past August, as one link in the events of the People's Plan for the 21st Century, we held, under the sponsorship of the Okinawa Steering Committee, the Asia-Pacific-Ryukyu Archipelago People's Exchange. At the mass meeting held at Okinawa City, we heard in detail from the Onna ward chief and the Minami Onna ward chief about the struggle taking place at Onna Village. We were informed that due to the American army's firing practice, Onna Mountain has been devastated and

water sources have been polluted and that the villagers are unanimously opposed to both the firing practice and the outrageous act of constructing a counter-?] urban guerilla training facility.

It was also stated that "It is not necessary that Okinawa be sacrificed again for the sake of peace in Japan. I reject both a peace based on the sacrifice of Okinawa and the existence of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty." When we see that 75 percent of the land occupied by U.S. bases in Japan are concentrated in Okinawa, when we reflect upon the history of the crimes the Yamato people have committed against the people of Okinawa, this struck us like a knife to the heart as a problem we cannot escape. Moreover, the U.S. army in Japan and the Japanese Self-Defence Forces are preparing for every type of warfare from Low Intensity Conflict to nuclear war. When we think of them turning these weapons of war on the people of Asia and the Pacific, we believe that it is the historical duty and responsibility of we Yamato people to demand the removal of the American forces in Japan and to struggle against the continued existence of the Self-Defence Forces.

It is also a struggle, we believe, to teach the meaning of the struggle to the questioning youth pondering, "At school, we got up a Boy Scout troop and although we are working hard at our tree planting campaign, before our eyes, the mountain is burning." It is a struggle to transmit to the next generation the desire to build a future different from one based on the notion of "The mountain dies so the country may prosper." To those of us living in Yamato who, living in the midst of the "prosperous nation" have a tendency to lose sight of this desire, this struggle represents both a severe criticism and an encouragement.

In order to build a 21st century based on efforts of the people, the Steering Committee of the People's Plan for the 21st Century makes this appeal for the solidarity of the people of Asia and the Pacific. We have called this common purpose an "alliance of hope." While being encouraged by all of those who, by their own struggle, are promoting the desires of the people for the 21st century, we also wish for our part to continue the struggle.

Along with our earnest desire for your continued efforts in the struggle, we send our heartfelt spirit of solidarity.

*The participants,
Fourth meeting of the Steering Committee for the
People's Plan for the 21st Century,
October 22nd, 1989*

Confronting the Four Ps: Poverty, Prostitution, Patriarchy and Pollution —Asian Feminism

by *Kaji Etsuko*

The Asia Women's Forum was held in Yokohama on August 12-14, with the theme "Asian Feminism as a Basis for Social Change". 39 feminists and women activists from 15 countries outside Japan participated in the Forum, along with 470 others from Japan. After the conference, a public meeting entitled "Asian Women Speak Out" was held in Tokyo attended by more than 600 people.

The Japanese Organizing Committee for the Forum was comprised of individual women involved in a broad-based women's movement, representing different groups, trends, and organizations, ranging from feminism, the labor movement, community organizing, the consumers' movement and the anti-nuclear power movement. This kind of broad-based coalition among women's groups in Japan indicated the significance of the Forum.

During the three-day forum, participants divided into four workshops, made reports, exchanged views, discussed and tried to find common directions.

WORKSHOPS:

Migrant women workers and human rights

Since the early 1980s, the number of migrant women workers coming from Asia to Japan has dramatically increased. Of the 70,000 to 80,000 women coming to Japan annually, more than 70 percent are from the Philippines. Recently, the number of Thai women has also been increasing and some are now coming from south Korea and Taiwan, too.

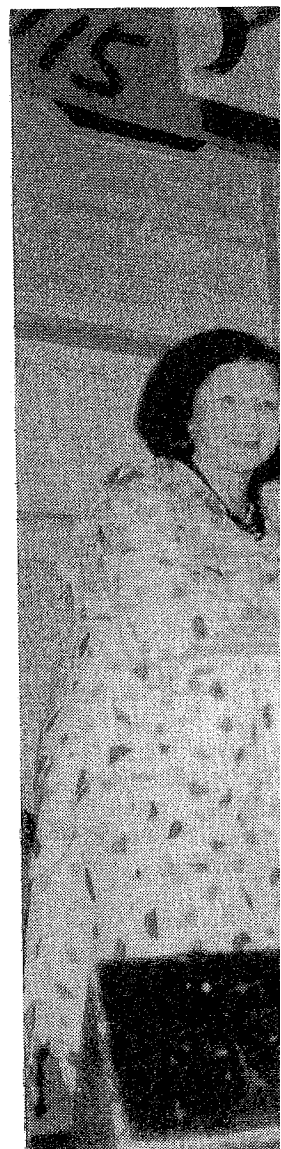
Most of them are illegal aliens. They are traded at between 1.5 - 2 million yen per woman and forced to work as prostitutes at the low end of the Japanese sex industry. They are also victims of human rights violations, including violence, drug abuse, and wage cuts. They are the victims of double discrimination: prejudice against Asian people and sexism.

Why do so many women come to Japan as

migrant workers? Several factors were pinpointed. First, there is the economic gap between the sending countries and Japan as a receiving country. Participants from the Philippines and Thailand also presented several problems that the sending countries are faced with: poverty, unemployment, the gap between the rich and the poor within the country, the influence of consumer culture as well as the prevalence of prostitution domestically. This means that a triple discrimination of class, gender and race is driving poor women out of their own country.

As for Japan, the rapid growth of the sex industry here has brought with it a shortage of women for the industry. Thus, women from other Asian countries, from whom the sex industry can draw higher profits, are welcomed. Japanese culture is closely tied with prostitution, which under advanced capitalism has now combined the public prostitution which appeared almost 400 years ago with the commercialization of sex.

This prostitution culture is pertinent to the situation that Japanese women face. Women still suffer from low wages because of discrimination at work. They are often forced to take jobs as part-time workers. Unable



to be economically independent, most women are dependent on their husbands and this makes it difficult for them to protest against their husbands' sex tours.

During the workshop, women from the Philippines and other Third World countries asked, "Why are Japanese women not committed to political struggle, to fighting against the Japanese imperialism which is at the heart of the problem of migrant Asian women." Some feminists in Japan in reply emphasized the struggle against sexual violence or sexual harassment in the workplace. The gap between Third World women and Japanese women on this point was explicit.

Japanese women support businessmen who are the foot soldiers for the Japanese economic

invasion of Asia. It is therefore necessary for both Japanese and the other Asian women to change this oppressive male society.

Women's bodies, technology and the environment

The development of science and technology has brought environmental pollution spread by big science while biological engineering threatens human life with gene manipulation, in-vitro fertilization, and examinations using amniotic fluid. "For whom are these technologies used?" was the question presented at the workshop.

Women from Bangladesh, India and Indonesia pointed out that the women's body has become a target of science and technology in terms of population control. Women in the Third World



suffer from forced sterilization using various contraceptive methods including synthetic hormones such as depo-provera, Netoen and noaplant, which can cause adverse side-effects.

New reproductive technologies have been developed alongside these new contraceptives, including test-tube fertilization increasingly being used in the First World countries including Japan. It means that the "quantity" population control policy to decrease the number of children in Asia is not separated from "quality" population control which lets women choose test-tube fertilization, DNA examination and other new reproductive technology. In both cases, women's bodies are used for a population policy not in favor of the women themselves but of state power.

Women should obtain sexual freedom by claiming "to give birth or not is a woman's decision." Women's reproductive ability and methods are not enough. Other social conditions, including political and economic structure, patriarchy and family system should also be changed so that women are treated as human beings and fully obtain reproductive rights. All agreed that consensus was needed for the use of technology.

Women in the Third World suffer not only from sex control by their own state, but also from development for the benefit of the First World. This became clear at Bhopal. Thousands of people were killed and an unborn generation has also been seriously affected. Both the government and Union Carbide corporation must take responsibility for this incident.

Women, Development and Aid

The workshop started with reports from Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, India, and south Korea. All of these reports, using concrete experiences, and made it quite clear that "development" has had adverse effects on women's lives.

Poverty still prevails. In many countries, 20 - 30 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, with unemployment among women higher than among men. Literacy is also lower among women. Even official figures show that only 18 percent of Nepali women are able to read. In Indonesia, almost two-thirds of the illiterate population are women. One can see a lack of health services, indicated by high infant mortality rates.

Secondly, women are feeling more and more that sexism is still making women's lives more difficult. In many countries, domestic violence, rape and sexual violence are rampant, while international sex tourism, human-trafficking and pornography remain profitable.

Furthermore, there are many women who are faced with militarization, political oppression and human rights violations; for example, the militarization in the Philippines, the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, repression and imprisonment under the Internal Security Act in Singapore and Malaysia, and so on.

Another problem is the destruction of the environment, which threatens women's health as well as their living conditions. In addition, women's own values are mis-guided by the consumer culture fostered by multinational corporations.

The reports clearly demonstrated that development is done in the interests of the industrialized countries and victimizes huge numbers of people, depriving women of their power and dividing them.

Participants emphasized that Japan as an economic power in Asia should assume responsibility for the effect of its development strategy. Firstly, Japanese ODA, now the largest in the world, causes difficulties for women in the countries receiving it. In the area near the Sarawak river in Malaysia, the indigenous people, the Iban, have been forcibly relocated since Japanese ODA-financed dam construction started. Compensation has pushed these people into a cash economy. While men in families take the money, the women must toil even harder. In Sri Lanka, the development project of the Mahaveli river, also financed by Japanese ODA, has only proved to help Japanese corporations make more profits. Japanese ODA to the South-Pacific region will mostly benefit the Japanese fishing industry and other companies from Japan.

On the question of the influence of Japanese multinational companies on women in Asia, one researcher from Malaysia reported that Japanese style management is used very effectively to control women workers there. If women in Japan are determined to stop one Japanese economic invasion of the Asia-Pacific region through either ODA or capital investment, they should first reflect on their own materialistic life-style and money-oriented values.

The Right to Work and the Women's Labor Movement

Even after the industrialization of the past two decades, the situation for young women workers driven out of rural areas has changed little. Most of them still suffer from long working hours, lower wages than male workers, health problems and sexual abuse and harassment. Meanwhile, women workers in Japan face a lack of job security as is seen by the presence of so many part-time,

temporary workers, and employment agencies, the low wages (On average, 52 percent of a male worker's wage), the division of jobs by sex and intensified work through the introduction of micro-electronics technology (8 hours' work currently is equivalent to what would have taken 11 hours in the past).

As Japanese companies have accelerated their overseas investment, the number of workers employed overseas by Japanese capitals has now reached 1.17 million. Half of this work force is concentrated in the Asian region. As a result, employment within Japan has decreased by 800,000. Women and part-time workers were dismissed first, in most cases being transferred to the service sector.


Faced with this situation, how have women workers organized themselves and continued the struggle for their rights? Women from south Korea, Philippines and Indonesia reported on various activities by women workers in pursuit of their rights. These included support for laid-off, struggles to obtain maternity leave and wage rises, child care and day-care centers. Women have organized themselves to establish their own trade unions, and to take the lead in movements for democracy, challenging patriarchy as well as military repression. In Japan the male-dominated labor movement has long discouraged women from presenting their own demands but recently many women have joined the leadership of existing trade unions or have organized themselves.

At the Minamata Conference, Nigat Khan (Pakistan) expressed her views on "Asian Feminism."

"We need a new type of 'development'. As women, we do not want to be integrated into the present system. Instead, we want to, and must challenge the very concepts on which the present model of development is based. We must ourselves be prepared to break free from the frames that we know, from the molds in which we are trapped.

"For us, feminism is a way of doing this, for this not yet definitively formulated but dynamic 'ideology' is seeking an alternative way of development. This necessarily means a new construction of knowledge, a new relationship with the poor, with the oppressed, with women, with nature....Feminism is a distinct shift from what has become a universal construct, and it seeks to question and to redefine 'progress' and 'development' and to work towards a new notion of these in all aspects of our lives.

"It is never too late to seek a newer world, it is never too late to seek a newer human being, it is never too late to believe. The women in Yokohama believed that it is possible that feminism will bring a new dimension in all progressive struggles, an enriching dimension, and that we will all be touched and changed by it if we can allow it to enter within us and then from us, flow into our struggles for a world in which all of us -- human, fish, fowl, the oceans, the rivers, the trees -- when all life will breathe free.



July/Sept
£2.50/\$4.50

RACE & CLASS

Literature: colonial lines of descent

Cosmopolitans and celebrities
Tim Brennan

Kipling's children and the colour line
S.P. Mohanty

Mothers, whores and villains: images of women in novels of the Northern Ireland conflict
Bill Rolston

Nature's outcast child: black people in children's books
Imogen Forster

Notes and documents
Namibia 1: the British press **Busi Chaane** 2: reign of terror **NAMPA**

Annual subscription (4 issues): £10/\$18 (individuals); £14/\$34 (institutions). Payable to Institute of Race Relations, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS, UK. (Please send cash with order and state clearly your postal address.) Details of back issues available on request.

Women and Development

by Kamla Bhasin

First of all, I would like to thank and congratulate the dreamers and organizers of this gathering of Asian women. They have given us a wonderful opportunity to meet, to share, to think collectively, to create and strengthen links with each other. We definitely need more links at the Asian level between women and men who are dissatisfied with the paths our countries are taking, who are dissatisfied with the marginalization of women, peasants, ethnic minorities and other weaker sections of the population; who are unhappy about the increasing power of our states, the rule of terror which most of them unleash whenever those in power are threatened.

I am extremely happy that PP21 is bringing together a large number of people groping for alternative visions, struggling to experiment with more human ways of living. It is important that we are meeting in Japan, because we need closer links with Japanese groups and organizations. Our present links with Japanese feminists are also very weak. I have come to express feminist solidarity with all of you. I have come to Japan for the second time and have come here to know, to learn. India and Japan have very old ties. We are related through Buddhism. But now, we in South Asia do not know very much about Japan except that it is a land of BIG companies like Sony, Suzuki, Seiko, which want to make BIG profits everywhere. I have come to learn about Japanese people, especially Japanese women. And I want to assure you that even in my brief visits I have learnt a lot. I have learnt that there are thousands and thousands of Japanese women who are opposing nuclear power plants, there are many Japanese women opposing sex-tourism, there are Japanese women who are unhappy to see their country exploiting other countries. Japan is known as the "Land of the Rising Sun." I wish and hope that Japanese women will become so strong that Japan will also be known as the Land of the Rising Daughter!

As an Asian I am proud of Japan for what it has achieved. It has shown to the world that Asians are capable of achieving whatever they want. But my question is, can we expect Japan to give up being an aggressive profit maker; can we expect Japan to lead a way towards a different kind of development; can we expect Japan to help other countries develop; can we expect Japan to spread the message of love, equality and peace? I hope to

get some clues, some answers, in the next two weeks. Now I come to the subject assigned to me by the organizers—which is 'Development and Women.'

Development is a much used and equally abused word. What do we understand by Development? Unfortunately, all of us have had a very narrow definition of Development. Development has meant only economic development, only material development, it has meant only higher production, higher incomes. Human development, spiritual development, the development of values like love, compassion and pity have been neglected. Development has meant cut throat competition, it has meant exploitation, injustice and inequality. Economics, Gross National Product and profit have been the gods in this kind of development.

In the present model of development, a few industrialized countries like the United States and Japan control the main resources of the world. A few big companies are becoming bigger and bigger. In the third world, a few rich people control the resources and decision-making power. The large majority of the people remain powerless and poor. The close relationship between the affluence of a few people and the poverty of large numbers of people is becoming more and more obvious.

Development has not only meant competition between people, it has also resulted in aggression against nature. Man has exploited nature for short term gains. Instead of living in harmony with nature, man has declared war against nature. There has been large scale destruction of forests, for example, causing famine everywhere. Africa has seen the worst famines in history because of this kind of development. This development has been obsessed with bigness, with grandiose plans. They want bigger and bigger factories, bigger and bigger dams, bigger and bigger profits. This bigness has caused havoc for the small people. Yet the people have had the wisdom to oppose big dams, whether it is in the Philippines, in the India, or in Sri Lanka, but our big leaders supported by their Big Brothers still lack the wisdom to see the devastation their grand designs are causing.

For more profits and more power, men have been making newer and more weapons. Billions of dollars are spent on armaments. Nuclear bombs and plants are being developed everywhere. There are, it is said, three tons of explosives per person in the world. Is this development or is it madness?

Does it make sense to anyone? As a consequence of this utter madness, we have Hiroshimas, Nagasakis, Chernobyls, Bhopals. No one is safe now from destruction. "Development" has poisoned our food with chemical fertilizers and pesticides. It has poisoned our air with too many cars. Our wells and rivers and seas have been poisoned by chemical wastes. Man has created this immense power, it seems, only to destroy. The



Kamla Bhasin

same power could have been used to destroy hunger and disease and poverty—but this has not happened. The same knowledge and technology could have been used to create human scale development, to create small, self-reliant communities—but this also has not been the case.

Development has come to mean mindless consumerism and tremendous waste. Earlier one produced to consume. Now it seems people have to keep consuming so that production can go on. Common wisdom and common sense have been made to stand on their heads.

This kind of development has destroyed family life. Men have no time for families. Even married women live like widows. No one knows this better than Japanese women. People spend more time in traffic jams than in their families. Big beautiful cars which do not move. They are stuck in a jungle of cars and such jungles are being created in every

country by countries like Japan.

The process of urbanization and industrialization has led to the creation of the most inhuman of slums. Twenty to twenty-five percent of families in "modern" cities like Bangkok, Manila, Calcutta, Karachi, Jakarta, live in slums created in the name of "development" in the 20th century. This kind of development has also created brothels and the flesh trade. Little girls are bought and sold. In a world of multi-national companies, prostitution also becomes an industry, a cross-national enterprise. Our Asian women have to satisfy the lust of "developed" men from West Germany, the United States, Japan. Pornography is another by-product of this kind of development. Pornography and now child pornography has become a billion dollar industry.

Making violent films is also a billion dollar industry. Our children are fed on scenes of killings, bombings, torture, rape. Their tender and innocent minds are forever subjected to aggressive, violent media with the help of TV sets and videos in our own homes. This development is leading to alienation of all kinds. More and more people feel alienated, feel cut-up from their roots. Alcohol and drugs seem to provide the only escape from the "hellish" realities of life.

The worst impact of this so called development is that it destroys diversity, it destroys local cultures and local creativity. Coca-Cola, MacDonalds, Ajinomoto, Sony, Judo, T-shirts, Superman become universal. They destroy local foods, local clothing, local entertainment, local values.

Decision-making gets into the hands of fewer and fewer people. All kinds of decisions are made by others for us. Economic decisions are made by big conglomerates, political decisions are made by people in our national capitals; Hollywood and their Japanese and Indian versions decide what is entertainment and who are our heroes. Our governments decide what kind of education our children will have, how many children we will have, whether we can abort or not. Our governments or military generals decide what religion we should follow.

Newspapers and the TV start thinking for us. They become our minds and eyes. Human beings become less and less powerful, less and less autonomous, less and less creative, less and less human. Small communities and small and poor nations also become less autonomous. They are thus entangled and strangled by world markets, World Bank policies, the power games of world powers.

My question, friends is, can we call this development? Can such development lead to

happiness? Even if this is development, can it be sustained for ever? Can mother nature be plundered for ever? Can every country of the world have a standard of living like Japan's or America's?

My answer is—No! It is not possible. Such development is not sustainable. It is leading us to destruction—in many, many ways Western experts and Western development organizations have been telling us that the biggest problem we face is the growing population of poor countries. This is nothing but false propaganda carried out to hide the truth. The truth is that the biggest threat to our planet are the rich countries and their consumption patterns. An average American or Japanese consumes 100 to 200 times more resources than an average African or Indian does.

Now, let us see what has been the relationship of women to this "development"? Women have not been directly involved in determining the nature of this development. It has been controlled and directed by men. It has been patriarchal in nature and it has strengthened patriarchy. Women have actually been the victims of this development. Let me give you some examples from Asia. As our societies are still largely agricultural, I will give you examples from the rural areas.

As you know, women were the first farmers in the world. It is they who discovered and developed agriculture thousands of years ago. Since then, women have played an important role in food production. Even today in most countries of the world, women produce more than 50% of the food. Yet, in every language I know of, a farmer is called He. During the last hundred years women's role in agriculture has been gradually denied and marginalized. Their role in decision-making has also been reduced. Development has clearly led to the marginalization of the poor and of women.

When agriculture was modernized by male planners and male implementers, most of the training and technical education was given to men; as were the land, the credit and other resources. Women were thus left out of innovations in agriculturally related areas. Because of this, women's status became lower. They lost what control they had over economic assets and activities. All they got was more work, harder work and more back-breaking work. They continue to perform the most tedious of tasks, receiving the lowest of wages and the least recognition.

In Nepal women used to be the main farmers, but development programs designed by foreign experts ignored them completely. They planned everything for men. This has meant that women farmers have been losing control over resources and decision-making power.

In Bangladesh and India hundreds of thousands

of women used to make a living by pounding rice. When the rice mill was introduced, men took over the ownership and the jobs, and women became unemployed.

For profits jungles have been cut. This has affected rains. It has led to floods and famines. What does this mean for women? It means that now they have to walk for several hours to fetch water, to collect firewood and water. Their burden of work has increased further; their struggle to survive has become more tedious, their existence has become more precarious.

In industry the situation is similar. In India many women were employed in the textile industry. When the textile factories were modernized, women were thrown out. As we know so well, they are always the last to be hired and the first to be fired. They are also the lowest paid and usually in the most subordinate of positions. Newer forms of exploitation in the electronic and garment industries have also had a negative impact on their mental health.

Then there are the modern media reducing us women to objects of sex, unleashing all kinds of violence against us, depicting us as the playthings of men. In the Philippines and in Thailand, where there is a vicious connection between sex-tourism and the flesh trade, women are challenging and opposing such attacks on their identity and self-respect. Everywhere in Asia, women are now challenging sexist media, pornography and violence.

The question is, do we women want to accept, do we want to be part of the present model of development? Do we want to be integrated into the present system and move faster towards destruction, or do we women want to challenge this system? My answer is that we must challenge it and I know that we CAN challenge it. We must challenge the very concepts on which the present model of development is based. We must ourselves be prepared to break free from the frames that we know, from the molds in which we are trapped. We must be prepared to work out our own yardstick, for as a friend, Corrinne Kumar says in a poem, we have to see that "thinking is not separate from being", "theory from practice," "the researcher from the researched," "the knower from the known", "the dancer from the dance."

As women we must start looking for a new vision, an alternative way of developing, and this necessarily means a new construction of knowledge; a new relationship with the poor, with the oppressed, with women, with nature. Feminism and the feminist movement is helping us do some of this. It is showing us the possibility of finding new kinds of space, of searching for new ways, for

finding new frames and new rhythms, of discovering new roots and dreaming new dreams. Feminism is a distinct shift from what has become a universal construct, and it seeks to question and to redefine "progress" and "development" and to work towards a new notion of these in all aspects of our lives. All of us have to work harder to define our vision of a human life, of human development.

In many senses this appears to be an unthinkable dream, but this dream is only unthinkable for those of us already caught in the one universal world view. For millions of women (and millions of other oppressed people) the feminist vision is no more unthinkable than their dreams of economic security, of justice and humanity, for all of these are as remote from their reality.

For what is alternative development anyway? Very simply it is a people-development in that not only the questions, but also the answers come from the people. These answers also come from within their own space and time, from within their reality. That means that alternative development accepts that logic is not singular and that there is no single linear development model or one path to progress. It accepts different logic systems, different idioms, different concepts of time and space. Feminism does all this too. At the same time feminism seems to break down the barriers between disciplines; between the personal and the political; between the emotional and the logical; between the natural and the physical; between relationships and roles; between them and us, and between you and me.

If we come close to the people of any Third World country today, if we come close to the oppressed in these countries, we will see that their systems of existence and systems of life are not dissimilar to what alternative development and feminism are attempting to "recreate." The average peasant, the poor, the oppressed, female or male, have yet not separated their beings into categories; or their lives into fragments. They have not yet distanced themselves from nature, from spirituality, from emotion, or from what we might call the "irrational". They have still not made creativity a different art form. It still lingers in all aspects of their lives; the dancer is still not separated from the dance.

This is even more true regarding women. We have often noticed that women in our countries are much more able to relate to alternatives; much more ready to experiment with new ways of working, and organizing and struggling; because they have as yet no experience with the "known" patterns. They have never been a part of hierarchy; or been in positions of power; never been presidents or treasurers or secretaries and,

therefore, are much more open to collective decision-making for instance. In other words with the majority of women in the Third World countries who are not yet a part of THE system, we are in the fortunate position of working out "alternative" systems based on our own realities, our own perceptions and with our own conceptualizations.

And in fact this is exactly what is happening in many many places now.

In Asia there are a large number of instances of women's power, their militancy, their unity. Most of these instances are of peasant women, tribal women and urban working class women who have been in the front line of struggles against deforestation, mining, the usurpation of tribal lands, the exploitation of landlords, the corruption of bureaucrats, sexual abuse and violence. We now know that in many people's struggles women have been the more daring, the more militant, the more fearless. Women have also been active participants in struggles against colonialism and imperialism. It is women who are in the forefront of the peace movement everywhere. In Japan also it is the house-wives who are getting organized to say NO to nuclear power plants. In Pakistan, it was women who challenged religious laws, imposed on them in the name of Islamization. In the Philippines, in Thailand and Sri Lanka it is women who are organizing against sex-tourism, the flesh trade, the export of house-maids. In almost every Asian country it is women who are exposing and challenging sexism and violence in the media, who are challenging pornography.

In the north of India, hill women have participated in a struggle to save trees from being wantonly felled, by literally clinging to them, daring the axeman to wield the axe on them first, rather than on the trees. Mass mobilization was carried out through folk songs which spoke of the life-giving properties of trees and their role in stabilizing the environment, especially the water cycles necessary for hill farming. Over the years, women have been called upon to resist forest contractors again and again and in the most recent incident, hundreds of them physically prevented trucks of felled trees from leaving the forests by throwing themselves in front of them. Contrary to the men, the women have consistently emphasized the ecological rather than the economic aspects of the struggle that originally began as a fight against alcoholism. It was this earlier fight that provided them with the organizational base for the Chipko struggle.

In Bangladesh we have organizations like Nijera Kori—which means we will do it ourselves. NK has helped several thousand rural working

class women to get organized, to fight for their rights, to demand what is theirs and to challenge oppressive structures. Every group decides its own priorities. They have successfully fought to acquire common lands for collective farming, to get higher wages, to get loans, to create better health services, to get rapists punished, to stop pornographic additions in folk theatre. These women have also been using songs and theatre to mobilize and to initiate discussion. Though illiterate, these women are highly conscientized and very articulate. In the most graphic of language they can talk about the exploitation they are subjected to and the reasons behind it. They can speak volumes on patriarchy without even using the word. In South Asia there are now very many such organizations of women.

In Nepal we have the Women's Development Program initiated by some innovative women. Through this program, young educated Nepali women have gone to the most remote villages to live there, to help women form their own groups and to make plans for their development. The women decide their own priorities. The activists from outside help them realize plans by facilitating access to information, credit, skills, markets. Once united these women take on anyone or anything which oppresses them.

Another existing development has been the emergence of women as creators of knowledge. This has been an area which has been totally monopolized by upper class, upper caste men, at least over the last two thousand years. It is men who created the modern religions and male gods; who reduced the importance of goddesses and female principles of power. Men defined for us what is right, what wrong, what is moral, what immoral, what is male, what female. Male psychologists defined female psychology, male historians defined what is history, male artists defined female beauty, and so it goes on. We women have been looking at everything including ourselves through the eyes of men. But during the last few decades women have made a bold entry into this male domain. Women theologians are challenging male-dominated religious ideas, women historians are having a new look at history, women psychologists are redefining female psychology. Feminist film-makers, journalists, poets, novelists are providing a women's view of reality, of life, of dreams and aspirations.

I could go on telling you about similar success stories of women getting organized to improve their economic conditions, to redefine their social and cultural position, to demand more space, dignity and leisure.

All kinds of innovative feminist efforts are going on in the areas of health, education,

employment, self—employment, leadership and research. Little lamps of courage and hope everywhere. Attempts are also going on to link these efforts. We have learnt many lessons from these experiments.

We now know that ordinary women and toiling men not only want to, but can, participate in their own development if they can decide what this development should be. We know that they can be effective leaders and planners of their own development. We know, once their creativity is unleashed, it cannot be contained. It is this faith in people's power which gives us hope.

We have learnt that development is like a tree, it must grow from below upwards. It cannot be imposed from above. People like you and me can help the people but we cannot and should not try to direct them.

We now know that development means changing the present socio-economic structure, it means the redistribution of resources and decision-making power. Every act of ours should challenge the present exploitative structure.

We have learnt that development essentially means empowering the powerless. As power comes through unity, development means the poor getting organized to fight for their rights, to tilt the balance of power in their own favor.

We have learnt that development has to be integrated and multi-dimensional, which involves making linkages between like-minded people doing different things. It requires a close partnership between grass root level activists, researchers, journalists, artists, planners, lawyers and doctors. Development requires different skills and talents at different levels. It requires experiments at the micro level and policy changes at the macro level. So a book reinterpreting religion is as important a developmental activity as digging a well is. We have also learnt development requires a coming closer of theory and practice. We have learnt that we need to think again about values—like love, equality, honesty and democracy.

We have learnt that development based on exploitation can only trace a graph of destruction. What then is the alternative? We think it is high time that we abandoned our relentless pursuit for surplus and looked instead for sustainability, that we stop being preoccupied with quantitative changes and start genuinely looking for and making qualitative ones, that we shift the focus from what an Indian women ecologist calls 'male development — mal-development to a woman-centered development. We think this shift is critical.

We should stop trying to integrate women into mal-development and make a fundamental shift in

our perspective of locating women centrally in this process of reconstruction, of understanding that a development program without women at its center is no program at all.

Let me return to the example of the Chipko women. The lesson they have taught us is the lesson of conservation; of the inter-dependence of nature and human beings, of a holistic rather than fragmented development; of the value of food crops over cash crops, of the necessity to sustain lifesupport systems, not plunder them. I would like to suggest that women as much as soil, water and forests are a life-support system.

The feminist movement gave us all a slogan—"personal is political." We should keep emphasizing this. A small change in our personal life is a step towards global change. Let us act locally but think globally. Change must begin within us, within our families, within our communities.

I believe that our homes have to be the biggest schools for peace, equality, democracy, because it is in the home that the next generation learns. Our children learn not from what they read in books but what they see all around them. I believe in the present world our children do not see peace and equality in the homes. They see inequality and conflict. They see the father dominating, ordering. They see the mother obeying. It is at home that boys learn to dominate, to be aggressive, to control others. It is at home that girls learn to be timid, to obey, to suppress their desires. Therefore I believe that the family structure must change. All those religious beliefs and customs which preach male superiority and domination must also be challenged and changed. I believe women are the only ones who can change the family structure. Every woman who loves equality should refuse to accept male domination. Every woman who believes that every human being is important should start giving herself importance. She should start respecting herself before she respects others. Every woman who believes in happiness should start being happy herself. No one who is unhappy can make others happy. If we believe mindless consumption is bad, we have to stop consuming mindlessly. It will be wonderful if in the next few days we could discuss concretely how we should try and realize those aims; how we can strengthen each other and strengthen the feminist movement.

In this search for alternatives and for visions, I have special expectations from Japanese women. Japan has become an economic power. It is becoming a model for our leaders who are enamored by statistics, glamour and power. Japan is defining for the rest of Asia what development is and should be. It is not only defining but

intervening through business deals and now through its development aid program. If you agree with the critique of development I have presented, then we can say that Japan is not leading but misleading us, it is creating mal-development and not development. I expect you to listen to the experiences and the points of view of women and men on the role of Japanese business and the Japanese government in their countries. We expect you to challenge, and, if necessary, oppose the policies of Japanese business if you find them harmful.

We would like to hear from you Japanese sisters what you think of Japan as an economic power? According to you, what price have society, the family and women paid for this economic boom? As women, do you feel respected, do you feel fulfilled, do you feel satisfied? Do you think your husbands, fathers, sons are fulfilled and happy?

Since, as Japanese women, you are ahead of us on the road of "development," we expect you to tell us whether we should start moving in the same direction or not.

Because you are from the richest country of the world and have many resources, we expect the feminist movement to flourish here. A strong feminist movement in Japan will inspire us. We expect feminist scholarship, feminist media, feminist art to flower here.

Most of all we expect to have a strong relationship, a relationship of mutual respect and trust, with the Japanese feminists. I see this gathering and PP21 on the whole as an important step towards bringing us all closer to each other.

Friends, I would like to finish with a song in Hindi.

(an Indian song)

तोड़-तोड़ के बन्धनों को
देखा बहने आइती हूँ।
आयेगी, जन्म मिटायेगी
को तो नया जमाना लायेगी।

Breaking the shackles the women came
They will come, challenge the oppression and
create a new world

Women will now break the silence

They will break the darkness

They will give up fear and dependence

They will become free

and will spread happiness

They will create a new world

Asian Feminism as a Basis for Social Change

by PP21 Women's Forum Organizing Committee

The opening of this Asian Women's Forum with its theme, "Asian Feminism as a Basis for Social Change," is an occasion to celebrate the awakening, at long last, of women in Japan and to assert our voices together against the discrimination and oppression of the male-dominated society. This Organizing Committee, comprised of women working in various areas of the women's movement in Japan, has been preparing for this forum since last year. Throughout the entire period of preparation, the theme of Asian Feminism has challenged us to discover and confront our differences - differences in methodology and strategy, in immediate goals, in experiences, and in basic awareness, feelings and perceptions. And in the face of these vast differences, we have struggled with the real challenge of how to recognize each others differences and yet stand together.

1. The Women's Movement in Japan Today

As in many countries, the women's movement in Japan has passed through various stages. Out of the new "women's lib" movement of the late 1960s and the U.N.'s "Year of the Woman" in 1975, the movement emerged in the early 1980s as a social force which has succeeded in bringing the word "feminism" into widespread, everyday use. A microcosm of the women's movement as a whole, the women on the Organizing Committee represent the different mainstreams which have developed in the women's movement in Japan since 1970.

Thus, this Organizing Committee includes:

- 1) women involved in the liberation stream of the '70s, whose slogans of "A woman's body is her own" and "It's the woman's choice to have a child or not" center on the rights of women over our bodies, including pregnancy, abortion and birth;
- 2) women in the labor movement whose struggle for real economic equality has demanded abolition of sexual discrimination in employment and has introduced feminist values into the workplace;
- 3) women who have developed a women's movement with an Asian perspective, focusing on sex tourism, the importing of women workers and brides, and foreign development aid. These women

have confronted the infiltrators of these crimes - Japanese men, who fattened by Japan's economic invasion of Asia and the third world, have magnified the exploitation of Asian women to unprecedented proportions; and finally,

4) women in the newest stream of the women's movement, who in holding life as their fundamental concern, are questioning the basic premises of 20th century technology, particularly the ultimate threat posed to life by nuclear weapons and power, and are searching out alternative ways of living.

Yet, despite the courage and commitment of these women, the Japanese women's movement has, until now, focused largely on the situation of the women in Japan. The recent situation, however, has forced the women in Japan and thus, the women of this Organizing Committee, to open our eyes and see the interconnections between our situation and the situation of women in other Asian countries. Out of the undeniable recognition that our struggle cannot succeed unless we join hands in solidarity with all Asian and third world women, the women's movement in Japan has finally come to address itself to the theme of "Asian Feminism."

If we are truly to make the solidarity of Asian and third world women the focus of the women's movement in Japan, how must we speak and work toward this theme of "Asian Feminism"? And in addressing this theme, is it not essential for us in Japan to link "Asia" together with "Feminism"? In discussing these questions, it has become clear that the differences among us are due to different levels and kinds of awareness as well as different involvements. We cannot make the claim that there is unity among Japan's feminists. Indeed, with regard to concepts of motherhood and the nature of sexual discrimination, concepts of gender and gender differences, understanding of the relationship between feminism and ecology, and even with regard to basic feminist principles and the underlying rationale of feminism, there is constant disagreement and argument amongst ourselves.

Nevertheless, in spite of such differences, the Organizing Committee believes that it is vital for us to meet together as Asian women. On this point,

we must agree because, in consideration of the overwhelming burden of reality which we as women must shoulder, we have no other choice. Above all else, we who live in Japan can no longer continue to endure the current situation of violence, corruption and degeneration which male-oriented Japanese society has bred. The current situation transcends far beyond mere discrimination against women and is instead one in which women's most basic being is constantly attacked and fundamentally denied.

To fight against this, we must recognize, as but multiple aspects of a single reality, the structure of discrimination and enslavement, the systems of sexual violence against women, the ongoing invasion and exploitation of Asia and the third world, and the discrimination and oppression which confront us in our daily lives. In other words, we must come to the realization that despite differences in the particular form and substance which these various strategies may assume, they are all indicative of the same system of oppression at work. From this realization, the first step we must take is to look at the inter-relationships which connect the realities of the third world, Asia and Japan. The relationship between Japan and Asia is expressed through numerous paradigms: developed versus developing nations, first versus third world, North versus South. While it is true that the use of such paradigms runs the risk of dividing us along strict, unbending lines, it is also true that if we are to join together as woman and bond in real sisterhood, we cannot ignore the reality of these relationships. As long as we continue to accept, as a matter of course, the kind of world order in which Japanese enterprises can pay Asian women workers only one tenth of what they pay Japanese women, we will forever be unable to cut across these divisions.

On one side of these divisions, some women in Japan enjoy economic abundance, modern conveniences and leisure; on the other side, women throughout Asia are victimized by exploitative, discriminatory policies and structures and can hardly maintain a survival-level existence. How can the bonds of such a relationship be severed? Or even before that, how must the women on the privileged side of this division act to sever this kind of relationship?

2. Exploitation of Women as the Foundation of Japan's Economic Growth

In the last twenty years, the circumstances surrounding Japanese women have undergone fundamental changes. Many of these changes stemmed from the U.N.'s adoption in 1979 of the

"Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" which it claimed would bring an end to sexual discrimination. Faced with both internal pressure from the Japanese women's movement and external pressure from the international community, the Japanese government was forced to give its pledge of support to this treaty. However, in actuality, the treaty served as a cover for the government to enact legislation and policies detrimental to the situation of women workers.

Under the pretense of meeting the terms of the U.N. treaty, the Japanese government gained an excuse to restructure the labor market. It achieved this restructuring through a revision of the Labor Standards Law and the enactment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law. Although these changes may have benefitted a few women by opening some paths for participation in previously exclusively-male professions, the impact of these changes on the majority of women was to rob them of any protections by relegating them to the ranks of part-time workers. Thus, while this treaty aimed to give women and men equal responsibility for family and social life and to establish the basis for a society of horizontal/equal, rather than vertical/hierarchical relations, between the two sexes, what it actually accomplished was to create a reserve labor market out of Japan's women workers.

So we have come to a point where we must ask ourselves very difficult, challenging questions. How far have we really moved toward creating a society of equals? Indeed, what is this so-called society of equals which we say we are striving to bring about? How is this society to be created? With and for whom? How can we abolish the sexual discrimination woven deep into the social fabric through the structures of law, government and tradition? And why? In Japan, does achieving a society of equals simply mean including women within the ranks of "the rich Japanese"?

Material prosperity has taken the housekeeping and service roles of women, wrenched them from the home, and turned them into commodities. Almost anything - even child care - can now be bought if the price is right. The goal which feminism set for itself was to overcome the bondage of the chores of housekeeping and child raising and to make the work of reproduction the center of the whole society. Instead, capitalism has twisted this demand and commoditized it. As a result, not only has feminism failed to budge the system of male domination even an inch, but it has been coopted to help spread the ideology of "the woman's place is in the home" and to serve the interests of patriarchy.

Discrimination against working women

Statistics indicate that the number of working women is increasing, but the reality behind these figures must be examined. Although the actual number of women in the work force may be rising, at present, one out of every three working women is only part time. Many part-time workers are married women in their forties or fifties who take on heavy labor on an hourly pay basis. Part-time workers enjoy none of the benefits of the much-touted Japanese social security and lifetime employment system.

*So we have come to a point
where we must ask ourselves
very difficult, challenging
questions. How far have we
really moved toward creating a
society of equals?*

Moreover, while it has been claimed that sexual discrimination has improved, structurally, women are still being excluded from the main line at every level — recruitment, transfer, promotion, training, education, welfare benefits, age of retirement, retirement compensation and termination of employment. Under the terms of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law and the revision (for the worse) of the Labor Standards Law, women are still being forced into sexually-discriminated roles and are expected to conform and adapt to a social situation defined by fundamental inconsistencies. By looking at the areas of layoffs, night work, overtime work and computerization, the stark reality that the majority of women serve as nothing but a dispensable labor force comes clearly to light.

Labor unions have registered post-war lows in their rates of membership and organization. These rates are almost zero among part-time and dispatched workers, the groups with the greatest increases in the numbers of women. Japan's labor union movement has failed to recognize or understand the problems of women workers as one of its main issues. Rather, it has merely sat on its haunches as part of the patriarchal system, doing nothing to address the concerns of women.

Even with such a brief overview of the working conditions and general work situation of Japanese

women workers, one can see what a desperate and demeaning existence these women face. This is true for all the women involved - whether they be primary wage earners, or supplementary income earners who must work because a single income is insufficient to support their families, or workers who are also students, or even those few women who are part of a small, elite group of successful career women. And now, we must add to this list the rapidly increasing numbers of the most exploited workers - the migrant women workers from Asia.

The Problem of Reproductive Technology

The slogan, "To give birth or not to give birth is the woman's decision," emerged as the basic rallying point of the women's liberation movement in Japan, as women struggled to recover control of their own sexuality. The development of various methods of contraception was heralded as a major step in the liberation of women - reproduction could be separated from sex. However, it became clear by the eighties that even with the rapid development of new reproductive technologies women's options and choices were not increasing. Over the past few years, test-tube fertilization for infertile women has become available in Japan. But whether or not such processes actually benefit women is highly debatable.

Already, genetic engineering is doing violence to living species other than human beings by modifying and developing new forms of life. We cannot ignore the fact that test-tube fertilization is in the area of genetic engineering. The above situation is the by-product of capitalistic demand. Not only does it fail to recognize our rights as women to make decisions about our own bodies, but it launches a new form of attack against both the women who do not want children as well as those who cannot bear children. This strategy of technological development to control the female body, far from abolishing sexual discrimination, is adding a new and dangerous weapon to an already lethal arsenal of weapons leveled against women's reproductive energy and being.

The Commoditization of Sex

Japan's economic power, obtained through development based on rapid growth, excessive competition and a rampant sex industry, has invariably given rise to a pornographic society. The widespread use of naked women to advertise any and every kind of enterprise is one very vivid illustration of this fact. Not only banks, airlines and oil companies, but even organizations which we would expect to stand for the rights of women, such as trade unions and progressive movement

groups, slip suggestive or outright nude photos into their publications. Would the men who trumpet the issue of the right to freedom of expression as a means of blasting away the voices of criticism permit their nude photos to be displayed in public?

Discrimination against women in Japanese society has come to be taken for granted as a matter of course. But we cannot be allowed to assume such a passive stance. We must answer to the factors which force migrant women workers from Asia to come to Japan and which turn them into victims of the sex industry. There was sudden increase in migrant women workers from Asia in the early eighties. Of course, poverty in their home countries and the underlying structure of economic relations are the real problems which drive women to find work abroad. But recognizing this reality must not blind us from seeing Japan's role in creating the conditions which force these women abroad, nor must it allow us to overlook the fact that the majority of these women come to Japan. Although we in no way condone or want to propagate its usage, the fact that these women are commonly referred to as "Japa-yuki san" - meaning literally, "Miss Going-to-Japan" - is a telling statement about Japan's central role in determining the direction of these women's lives.

As long as Japan continues to sanction the prostitution culture, these problems will never be solved and will continue to grow and spread. In addition, as long as the chauvinistic attitude of the Japanese government that it has a duty to protect only the human rights of Japanese citizens is allowed to prevail, not only the women who come from other Asian countries, but also the women in Japan will continue to be oppressed.

The system of mass capitalism has brainwashed women into believing that technology and material prosperity are required for our liberation. As we women have bought into this patriarchal propaganda, we have become collaborators in our own subjugation and self-denial. The role that we ourselves play in displaying distorted images of women - swarming to buy expensive brand-name products, enjoying gourmet dining and luxury trips abroad, supposedly free from the bonds of marriage - reveals the extent to which we have internalized the structure of male domination. In other words, we have become part and parcel of the "controlled society" which forbids criticism of Japanese society and demands total conformity.

Thus, we are now faced with a situation that saddles us with the dual contradictions of both pre-modern values and excessively developed commercialism. Yet, not only must we face such enemies which attack us from without, but we must also fight the enemy of our own passivity and

collusion which eats away at us from within.

3. Exploitation of Asian and Third World Women Through Development Strategies

The last twenty years, the period of Japan's most intense striving to become an economic superpower, have also been a period of complete exploitation of the Asian women caught in the net of Japanese development strategies. Asian and third world women have had to struggle not only against the traditional, feudal attitudes and patriarchal systems of religion and culture within their own countries, but their burden has been multiplied by the addition of foreign capital. As a result of the "aid" and "development" offered by Japan, with the additional backing of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the entire system of international economic organization, the women in these countries have witnessed the destruction of their families and communities, their environment and their very way of life. This is what "aid" from the developed nations has meant to these women.

On behalf of such "development," agricultural workers have been forced to work with dangerous chemicals and fertilizers. And they have been subject to these health hazards not in the growing of food for their own sustenance but in production for export. Factory workers have suffered long working hours and low wages only to see their lifeblood sucked up into the unskilled, dispensable labor force which provides the backbone of this model of economic growth offered by the developed nations.

For women of the third world, our waving of the banner "it is the woman's choice to bear or not to bear" has merely served as a convenient device to blame women for the problems of overpopulation and to justify the forced implementation of the "Population Control Policy." Thus, we first world women have inadvertently contributed to the tightening of the chain of development strategy around the necks of our third world sisters.

The "pill" is the classic example in which first world development has been literally forced down the throats of third world women. Despite its high costs, both in monetary and health terms, the pill has been sold to women in the developed nations as the key to real liberation. With no guarantees as to its safety, and indeed, strong evidence as to its risks, the pill nevertheless is now being pushed on third world as the "final solution" to the problems of increasing poverty and population. In effect, the spread of the pill has made women the objects of forced sterilization operations.

The pill is just one example in which the so-called "progress" of first world women has led to further oppression of third world women. If we are to keep from reproducing more and more such examples, it is crucial that women from the developed and developing countries share our thoughts and experiences and strive together for common solutions which benefit us all.

4. New Horizons for Asian Feminism

The task that lies ahead is to establish the common ground on which women of the third and first worlds can stand and fight together. It is important to reaffirm the bonds between Japanese and other first world women so that our mistakes and successes can inform and strengthen each others struggles. But at the same time, we must reach beyond these first world-centered bonds and form new linkages that can address the system of oppression and exploitation which imposes such terrible structural violence on all women, irrespective of boundaries of first and third world.

Rather, the goal of the women's movement is to create a new world order which defies the fundamental male assumptions of exploitation and subjugation which are the groundstones of the current structure of human relations.

Japan is currently completely consumed by its own gluttonous consumption. Yet, in the midst of such excess and greed, women are raising voices of protest and dread, saying that there must be another way, that the ruling male forces cannot be allowed to carry us any further along the path of destruction. Through the crisis which has arisen, the male-dominated state and society has revealed its true nature. No longer able to hide behind its dark distortions and myths, the evil giant has exposed itself so that its shameless consumption and degradation of women now stands clearly visible to those who have the honesty and courage to see.

Traditional techniques of agriculture have been supplanted by mechanization and chemical processing. If our forests, land, seas and air

continue to be ravaged and destroyed by fertilizers, pesticides, deforestation, industrial waste and radioactive pollution, we have no guarantee of the continuation of the basic life cycle. With the survival of future generations being threatened, it is no wonder that even the hearts of children have been enraged.

The relationships of persons to persons and persons to nature have all been converted into merchandise and money. Under the dictates of the current ruling system, people are not allowed to live as human beings. In the face of such irresolvable social paradoxes, more and more women are awakening with an awareness born of their day-to-day lives. Voices can be heard saying, "Don't feed us the leftovers of this overabundance; we will not be accomplices in this economic invasion and plunder."

Asian women who have resisted the developmental strategies of these past ten years have personally acquired a unique feminist stance/identity - as women, as workers, as people of the third world. Against these three layers of oppression, we must strive to break down the structures of sexual subjugation and pursue the vision of women's full realization in every area of social life. Asian women are asserting that the goal of the women's movement is not simply to "catch up" in the aggressive pursuit of self-interest and personal greed in order to gain a privileged position in the existing system of power and domination. Rather, the goal of the women's movement is to create a new world order which defies the fundamental male assumptions of exploitation and subjugation which are the groundstones of the current structure of human relations.

In the struggle to reach this goal, women are protesting the kind of development which only further lines the pockets of the developed nations. More specifically, Asian women are standing against the forced implementation and imitation of the Japanese model of development in their own countries. This struggle is of particular importance in the NIEs countries, which have already shown strong indications of advancing along the lines of the Japanese development model. Against overwhelming forces, these women are searching out alternatives which will lead to real liberation and independence. Their struggles demand the courage to risk everything, including imprisonment and even death.

Through the United Nation's Decade of Women, women's voices have finally begun to be heard throughout the world. Our urgent task now is to transform these disparate voices into a unified force. Asian Feminism must choose a new future

and chart the way. In order to do this, it must denounce the economic system of Japanese dominance, a system which is based on masculine values of force and exploitation, a system which places the rest of Asia in a relationship of subjugation, a system which destroys the natural environment which sustains us. Feminist values are needed to replace the values espoused by the male-dominated society and culture. Women must overcome our position of subservience to men and seize back control of our own fates and the fate of our world. By creating new women-centered attitudes and new women-centered ways of interacting with nature and with each other, we will blaze a new path to a society free from oppression, exploitation, hierarchy and domination.

It is also of great significance that the Asian Women's Forum is part of the People's Plan for the 21st Century (PP21) - An Alliance of Hope, Building the Future of Asia. The broad vision of a just and peaceful Asia built on a democracy of peoples cutting across national boundaries will never be more than a dream unless women join

hands, bond together, and take a central role in its creation. Any progress in the direction of PP21's vision requires change from a male-dominated hierarchical structure to a foundation of woman-affirming horizontal relationships.

In order to bring about changes in the current situation of massive poverty, environmental destruction and dehumanization, it is necessary to overthrow structures and values of sexual subjugation. It is necessary to build a world in which women participate in all decision-making processes - from the determination of gender roles and rights of reproduction, to the allocation and use of resources, to the setting of basic priorities and values. If the Asian women gathered at this forum can answer to these challenges, if we can work out our own models of development and progress, if we can form a vision for the future and construct strategies to make this vision a reality, if we can truly make Asian Feminism a basis for social change, then the 21st century will be one of renewed hope and unlimited possibility rather than one of ongoing, deepening despair.

JAPAN MILITARISM MONITOR

Special Issue on the Tenno System

Feature Articles Include:

- articles analyzing the historical significance of Japan's emperor system, the recent change in the imperial household and its political, social, and military implications
- statements from political, professional and religious organizations, and grassroots citizens groups
- clippings from the major Japanese English-language newspapers documenting events within Japan and the international response to emperor-related developments

1,000 yen for a single copy

3,000 yen for one year subscription to the Japan Militarism Monitor

For More Information Contact:

**Center for Christian Response to Asian Issues (CCRAI)
Japan Christian Center, 2-3-18 Nishi-Waseda, Room 25
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 169
tel: (03) 202-0494**

Towards a Clear View of Japanese ODA

The PP21 ODA Workshop was held in Tokyo on August 14 and 15 with 70 participants including 10 foreign guests and closed with an open forum with 150 participants. The purpose of the workshop was to present an interim report of the PP21 ODA Research Group and discuss future research themes and policies.

Japanese ODA has grown large enough to have a significant effect on the economic and political situation of recipient countries. Japanese aid to Burma in 1986, for example, totalled \$244 million, 3.3 percent of Burma's GNP.

However, the real nature of Japanese ODA is not clear and many questions have been raised about its funding structure and effectiveness for people in recipient countries. In order to study and analyze it, the PP21 ODA Research Group was organized in 1988 and started joint research with partners in aid recipient countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand to share views.

Several Japanese ODA projects in the three countries were selected for study. The Japanese participants collected materials and information on their decision-making process, and their counterparts in the various countries carried field research. However, available materials are limited due to Japan's secretiveness over ODA information. There has not been efficient sharing of views yet and this process, therefore, should be promoted in further research.

The workshop consisted of two parts: On the first day, participants from three countries presented reports on contents, realities and problems in the ODA projects and then gave their comments. On the second day, reports were presented by Japanese participants on ODA mechanisms, financial flow, connections with business circles, etc. and proposals were made to create an ODA Basic Law and adopt a People's Charter on ODA.

Japanese ODA in the Philippines has increased its potential influence, especially after the Philippine Assistance Plan (alternately called Multilateral Aid Initiative) was initiated by the United States. PAP is a large-scale joint aid program from several developed countries to the Philippines amounting to \$11 billion over 5 years,

and Japan is supposed to share the heaviest burden (one third of the total fund). The U.S. intention for this plan is to retain its power in Asia but with a lightened burden at the critical moment of the expiration of the U.S.- Philippine Base Agreement in 1992.

The Aquino government accepted this offer without consulting its own people just as the Marcos regime did, and doubts are being raised at home on its effects on the grassroots people.

Japanese Aid to the Philippines in general, as pointed out in the workshop, is in the form of a turnkey project: all the necessary equipment and goods for the project, ranging from stationery to construction materials and huge, sophisticated machines, are assembled and procured by Japanese companies. Aid serves as a tool to earn profits for Japanese companies but does not help the grassroots people in the Philippines. The example of the Out-Patient Department of the Philippine General Hospital in Manila is proof to this. OPD-PGH was built as a Japanese grant project with a total fund amount of ¥2.9 billion. Even though the expected patients are from the poor sector of the society, the inside of the building is decorated with a chandelier like a five star hotel. The Manila Chronicle carried a headline on the construction of the hospital, proclaiming "Culture Shock at the PGH." There are not enough engineers who can work the computer system and sophisticated medical equipment. The Philippine government has to pay a huge amount of money (70 percent of the total budget of national University of the Philippines) for its maintenance and management.

Another case brought by an Indonesian participant involves the Borobudur Historical Park which was constructed using a Japanese loan amounting to ¥3.21 billion. The feasibility study was done in 1974 and further research was carried out by two Japanese consulting companies. Construction started in 1982 and was met by a protest by residents in the area who, eventually, were relocated to make way for the park. Compensation was not enough for the residents who made a living on sugar from coconut trees in the site of the park. This is one of numerous cases in this top Japanese ODA recipient country in Asia in which grassroots people are not beneficiaries but

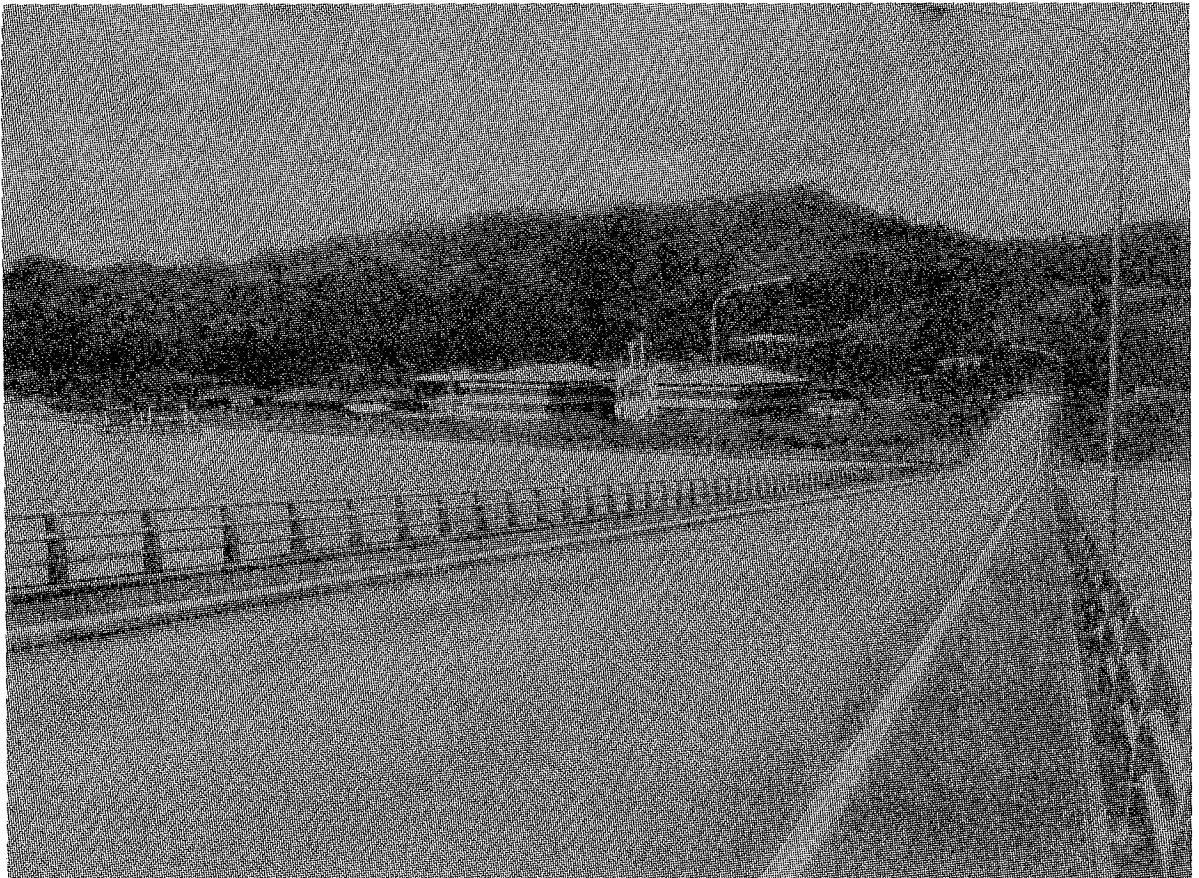
victims of Aid projects.

The Thai participant presented the case of the Thai Cultural Center whose construction was finished in 1987 as a part of the commemoration of 100 years of Japan-Thai friendly relations. The center was built through a Japanese grant aid amounting to ¥6.38 billion and consists of a major hall with a capacity of 2000, a smaller hall with a capacity of 500 and a cultural and educational facility with library, audio-visual room, etc. It looms spectacularly over the suburbs of Bangkok but the admission fee is too high for neighborhood people. Heavy maintenance costs are also a headache for the government. It is clearly an unwelcome gift to Bangkok where 20 percent of the total population lives in slum areas, and not wanted by the center of Thai society whose government budget for welfare is only ¥3.5 billion, a little one half of the money poured into this project.

The Japanese presentation at the workshop focused on the institutional problems of the donor country. There are several governmental ministries

and agencies involved in the management of ODA: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning Agency and Ministry of International Trade and Industry are those who have jurisdiction over aid and those who have, a budget on ODA number 16. This divided structure of aid planning and management often lacks clear accountability for each aid project and make it hard for Japanese citizens to access information related to ODA. There are few chances and time for people to check the ODA decision-making process because its budget is decided without much discussion and consideration in the Diet as a part of the total national budget. Further research is needed to pinpoint ODA related problems to lead to action for change to nurture a relationship based on self-reliance and mutual respect. The workshop concluded with the adoption of the drafts of People's Charter on ODA (see p.) and ODA Basic Law.

The following is one of the Philippine reports submitted in the workshop. AMPO hopes to carry further products of the group in future issues.



The National Maritime Polytechnic built with a Japanese loan and the Philippine-Japan Friendship Highway

Philippine Assistance Plan: A Mockery of Aid

by Eduardo C. Tadem, University of the Philippines, Manila

The highly publicized and U.S.-conceived Philippine Assistance Plan (PAP) is a "hoax," thus proclaimed Solita Monsod, after resigning from her twin positions as Economic Planning Secretary and National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) Director General over what she termed "irreconcilable differences" with other government departments on economic policies.

The PAP, alternately called Multilateral Aid Initiative (MAI) and Mini-Marshall Plan, was initiated by the United States in 1988 as a program to infuse massive amounts of new and additional foreign aid into the Philippines to start off the Marcos-ravaged economy on the road to economic recovery. The total amount targeted is \$10 billion over a period of five years. In a meeting in Tokyo from 4-5 July 1989 and presided over by the World Bank, major donor countries pledged \$3.5 billion to the PAP for the first year of the plan.

PAP as Old Money

Monsod, however, claims that of the \$3.5 billion, only \$251 million is additional "new money," while the balance are all previously committed funds. PAP Chairman Roberto Villanueva disputes Monsod's assertion, saying that the entire pledged amount is "new money." But Filologo Pante, Jr., who took over Monsod's position in acting capacity before himself being replaced in early August, confirmed Monsod's findings in a testimony before a Senate hearing. He, however, gave a higher figure of \$800 million in "new money."

In other words, according to Monsod and Pante, even without the PAP, the Philippines would have received from \$2.7 billion to \$3.25 billion anyway. Counting commitments made as far back as 1979 which have not been utilized, Pante testified that without the PAP, \$4.1 billion in ODA would have entered the country in 1990. (*Manila Chronicle*, 1 Aug. 1989)

This dispute over whether the \$3.5 billion PAP money is "old" or "new" assumes significance because of the tremendous publicity that has accompanied the launching of the assistance plan.

As its original designation as a Mini-Marshall Plan implies, it recalls the American-funded rehabilitation of Western Europe after the Second World War. The original plan, as the Americans announced it, "was to take advantage of the world wide support for the restoration of democracy in the country in order to raise new funds beyond the ODA either pledged or expected under existing problems. (*Far Eastern Economic Review* 20 July 1989) The initiative has therefore raised high hopes about its impact on the Philippine economic recovery program.

On the international plane, skepticism has generally accompanied announcements of major aid plans. At the Paris summit meeting of leaders of industrialized nations in mid-July 1989, then Japanese Premier Sosuke Uno announced a \$35 billion three-year aid program to help debt-strapped developing nations. Officials of other industrial powers, however, were reported to have expressed uncertainty "about how much of the commitment really would be additional, new money that otherwise would not have been available." (*International Herald Tribune*, 17 July 1989) This was because in a similar \$30 billion program launched in 1987 by Japan, it was discovered that \$12 billion of the total were "old" money, i.e., funds which "Japan would have provided in any event."

NEDA and Monsod Are Undermined

In Manila, anticipating the windfall and in expectation of the special nature of the PAP, President Aquino formed the Coordinating Council on the Philippine Assistance Plan (CCPAP) to supervise the MAI funds. It was a body separate and apart from NEDA, in effect, usurping the latter's mandated functions. To ostensibly correct this, President Aquino subsequently formed the Council on Official Development Assistance (CODA) under NEDA but designated CCPAP Chairman Villanueva as its head. Under Administrative Order No.126 dated 23 June 1989, CODA is "authorized to undertake the various aspects of the official development assistance including programming, coordinating of program

and project development and of negotiation for foreign assistance, and monitoring of, and where necessary, supervision of the project implementation." The Economic Planning Secretary, supposedly the lead Cabinet person for such matters, was made a mere member of CODA.

This new directive served to further undercut Monsod's position. One day after the memorandum on CODA was signed by Mrs. Aquino and two weeks before the Tokyo pledging session, Monsod turned in her resignation. Weeks after quitting, Monsod criticized the concentration of powers in the CCPAP as creating "one huge stumbling block" which derails the ongoing process of government decentralization. (*Manila Chronicle*, 23 July 1989) She also called CCPAP and CODA "redundant" and with unclear delineation of duties.

Monsod, who before joining government was Professor of Economics at the University of the Philippines, had been considered a maverick in President Aquino's cabinet. Despite being an advocate of sound free market economies, her unorthodox and outspoken positions on primary economic issues often diverged from the mainstream stand of the Cabinet. On the handling of the \$29 billion foreign debt, the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), sectoral development priorities, and finally, the handling of ODA, Monsod had often clashed with the more business-oriented and conservative bloc of bankers and entrepreneurs led by Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez, Finance Secretary Vicente Jayme, and Trade and industry Secretary Jose Conception. Unfortunately for Monsod, President Aquino has always upheld the conservative position.

As the PAP, Monsod lamented, "We were promised a massive bail-out plan approximating that of the Marshall Aid Plan for the reconstruction of war-shattered Europe. What we will be getting instead is only \$251 million!" (*Manila Chronicle*, 10 August 1989.) According to the Far Eastern *Economic Review* (FEER), the original plan have a "special, separate aid program" has not come about and there is nothing in the PAP that departs from the existing practice of official development assistance. What took place in Tokyo was merely a regular annual meeting of the Consultative Group on the Philippines with the addition of other prospective donor countries.

Citing NEDA statistics, *Review* correspondent Rigoberto Tiglao writes that aid commitment for 1989 (taking into account the pledge made during the Tokyo meeting) total only \$2.8 billion, not \$3.5 billion as announced by the CCPAP Chairman. This amount, however, already includes \$337 million that is considered part of the U.S. bases

compensation package. because of all these circumstances, Tiglao calls the PAP an "illusion of substance."

In an interview with the *Chronicle*, Monsod summed up her reactions to the Tokyo pledging session:

If you are going to judge the original concept, of it being a special, incremental program, obviously there is no such thing. What has happened is that the PAP is now a catch-all for all flows, whether traditional or incremental. The point is most of it is traditional flows. So it is essentially, I would say, based on the original concept, a failure.

(*Manila Chronicle*, 23 July 1989)

NEDA Assails Japanese ODA

The issue of "old" or "new" money, however, while important at the moment, obscures basic and probably more important concerns surrounding the practice of giving foreign aid. The granting of official development assistance (ODA) by industrialized countries to the Third World has always been a controversial issue. ODA is the term used by donor countries when referring to their disbursement of loans (bilateral multilateral), grants, and technical assistance to recipient countries categorized as "less developed."

Japanese ODA to the Philippines, for example, is burdened with many "evils" and needs "improvement for it to be effective." (*Manila Chronicle*, 11 Aug. 1988) This was the assistant made in August 1988 by the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA). Speaking to newspaper reporters, then NEDA Deputy Director General Filologo Pante, Jr. said that Japan earns from 75 to 95 U.S. cents for every dollar of aid it gives. This takes the form of good goods and services acquired from Japan in relation to aid projects. Apart from this, interest and principal payments are increasing due to the very strong yen currently.

The flowback in funds occurs because grant assistance is "tied" to the procurement of goods and services from Japan. Japanese firms engage in active lobbying and are generally favored in the choice of who is to conduct preparation, consultancy, and engineering services. Pante adds that this lobbying "could affect the Philippine government's decision in lining up its priorities and must, therefore, be neutralized." Furthermore, he noted that the awarding of contracts to Japanese firms marked by controversies which even drew the attention of the Japanese Diet three years

earlier.

At the time the statement was made, however, the NEDA had already lost its standing as the premier economic planning body due to the rift between Monsod and the conservative bloc in government. Pante's comments cited above, which surely had Monsod's approval, could have only widened the rift between NEDA and the government's other economic managers. Thus NEDA's assessment of Japanese ODA was disregarded by President Aquino and the rest of the Cabinet.

Scholars on Philippine-Japan relations confirm NEDA's disclosures. In an interview with Aurora de Dios, a Professor of International Relations at Miriam College (formerly Maryknoll), it was learned that a large portion of the so-called "untied" loan funds still end up in the hands of Japanese companies. Feasibility studies are conducted by Japanese consultants hired by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and they either specify the use of Japanese goods and equipment or recommend Japanese industrial standards.

De Dios says that ODA, particularly Japanese aid, cannot be separated from trade and investments or for that matter from "strategic considerations in foreign policy." She points out that when the volume of aid increased, so did the trade figures. The bulk of Japanese project loans, which accounts for 85 percent of all loans, goes to infrastructure development which is seen as the prerequisite for investments. De Dios cites the Leyte Geothermal Power Plant which was funded by a 188 million yen loan in 1980 and which provides power for the Philippine Associated Smelting and Refining Corporation (PASAR). The corporation, which is a copper smelter, has 32 percent direct Japanese equity while four of the nine Filipino copper firms involved as partners are actually Filipino-Japanese joint ventures. (Tadem 1983)

Japanese scholars themselves have arrived at similar findings. According to Professor Mamoru Tsuda (Osaka University) and Masaki Yokoyama (Shikoku Gakuin University), "the bulk of Japanese commodity loans was spent in buying goods from Japan, despite the fact that said loans were supposed to be "untied aid." (Tsuda and Yokoyama 1986.) From 1971 to 1984, an average of ninety percent of Japanese commodity loan funds were used to purchase Japanese goods. Tsuda and Yokoyama see this as "clearly indicating that Japanese companies were the biggest beneficiaries of these commodity loans."

Irregular practices are not the monopoly of the Japanese, however. In a testimony before a Senate

Ad Hoc Committee on PAP, Solita Monsod revealed that sometime in 1988, U.S. Embassy Charge d'Affaires Kenneth Quinn pressured her to award the contract for a foreign-funded project of the National Power Corporation to an American firm. (*Manila Chronicle*, 17 August 1989) In this case, the contract had already been granted to a Japanese-French consortium. Monsod said that other governments have exerted similar pressure on NEDA.

Inevitably, the issue of corruption crops up particularly in reviewing Japanese loans during the Marcos years. During hearings conducted by the U.S. House Subcommittee on Asia-Pacific Affairs and in subsequent media disclosures, it was revealed "that Japanese corporations had paid rebates to Marcos and his cronies, as well as to financial groups allied with the former President, in connection with Japanese yen loans to the Philippines." Total commissions (in reality, bribes) allegedly paid by five corporations initially named had amounted to \$1.03 million. (Tsuda and Yokoyama 1986, p.37)

The use of foreign consultants for foreign-funded projects has recently attracted the attention of the Philippine Senate. On August 14, 1989, its powerful Blue Ribbon Committee asked the Commission on Audit "to scrutinize all consultancy contracts by the government after it was found out that five agencies were paying superfluous and unnecessary fees to foreign consultants." (*Manila Chronicle*, 15 August 1989.) The committee also lamented that the hiring of foreigners for consultancy positions "well within Filipinos' expertise" is often a condition for the release of ODA funds.

It was further noted that of the 59 consultants in five government agencies who submitted reports, only five were Filipinos. The Department of Transportation and Communication had 32 foreign consultants, all of them Japanese and included those described as "motor vehicle inspectors." Furthermore, Filipino consultants were discriminated against in the salary scale. The highest paid Filipino consultant receives P17,200 (U.S.\$780) a month while an American economic consultant at the Sugar Regulatory Board gets P368,050 (U.S.\$16,730) a month.

The Senate Committee recommended that Congress pass a law to "limit, control, and minimize" foreign consultancy contracts, establish a ceiling on consultancy fee, and protect Filipino consultants. Committee Chairman Sen. Teofisto Guingona said that guidelines set by NEDA on consultancies are not being followed. The guidelines stipulate among others that consultancies be offered first to Filipinos and be

awarded to foreigners only if no Filipino is available for the job.

Japan's Central Role

Japan's role in the Multinational Aid Initiative (MAI) for the Philippines is paramount as she is the biggest donor. Of the \$3.5 billion pledged in Tokyo, Japan alone accounted for \$1.6 billion, or 45.7 percent of the total. However, FEER's Tiglaos says that \$600 million of this amount is merely the World Bank's "approximation of the amount Manila may get in Japanese funding...in a worldwide debt-reduction scheme being worked out by the World Bank."

Japan, of course has been the Philippines' largest ODA donor for many years now counting both bilateral and multilateral aid (See Table 1). Since Aquino came to power and up to 1989, Japan has committed a total of \$3.07 billion of ODA to the Philippines. This is equivalent to 36.6 percent to 57.4 percent of total bilateral and multilateral aid. Far behind are the United States with \$1.25 billion (23.4 percent of bilateral aid) and the World Bank itself with \$1.7 billion (19.9 percent of both types of aid.)

Table 1: ODA Commitments to the Philippines, 1986-1989 (in US\$ million)

Donor	1986	1987	1988	1989
Japan	331.1	875.6	809.5	1,050.4
U.S.	243.0	378.3	292.6	337.4
W. Germany	9.8	114.1	39.0	
Italy	—	270.0	—	
France	—	—	43.5	310.1
Spain	—	15.2	75.0	
Belgium	—	8.5	—	
Switzerland	—	—	40.0	—
Canada	82.7	—	—	n.a.
Denmark	—	—	14.5	—
Singapore	—	5.0	—	—
Bilateral	666.6	1,666.7	1,314.1	1,697.8
UNDP	5.0	8.7	6.8	9.7
ADB	351.7	205.7	287.2	500.0
WB	179.0	505.0	355.0	630.0
Multilateral	535.7	719.3	649.0	1,139.7
Total	1,202.3	2,386.0	1,953.0	2,837.5

Main Source: National Economic Development Authority as reproduced from the *Far Eastern Economic Review*

Japan's ODA has targeted member-countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as primary recipients. ASEAN members are the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia,

Singapore, and Brunei. From 1982 to 1985, the region received 12 billion yen in ODA loan, or 40 percent of total Japanese loans of 29 billion yen for the period. (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1987)

Why has Japan assumed the learning role in the granting of foreign aid to countries like the Philippines? To understand this phenomenon, one must start by examining the overall strategy of the United States for maintaining a security blanket based on political, military, and economic control over the eastern Pacific region. The countries here form what had been known in Cold War parlance as "the forward defense line against Communism." Central to this strategy had been the maintenance of U.S. military bases in the Philippines and Japan.

The American Decline

Beginning with late seventies' however, the U.S., saddled by huge budget and trade deficits and steadily losing its position as the world's number one economic power, was finding it increasingly difficult to perform international police work and economic patronage all by itself. Observing the rise of Japan as a rival and later a more superior economic power, the U.S. thought of asking the Asian power to share the burden of maintaining its security apparatus in East and Southeast Asia. Thus was born the strategy of "burden sharing."

The U.S.-Japan partnership has resulted in a division of labor whereby the former takes care of regional military security, diplomacy, and other political matters while Japan complements these with its economic activities. The political and economic factors interact with and support each other. Prof. De Dios says that because Japan did not have to spend as much as the U.S. for military protection and depended on the American security umbrella, she was

able to concentrate on her own economic development.

Foreign aid is the carrot dangled before countries like the Philippines to allow them to be

used as part of the American security umbrella in the Pacific. With the weakening of the U.S. economy, the Americans' most reliable ally, Japan, has taken over the role as principal aid giver. For this, Japan is well equipped. In 1986 alone, the country registered a U.S.\$86 billion current account surplus. Taking over the aid burden is also one way by which Japan can placate growing resentment within official and public circles in the U.S. over the gargantuan trade surplus Japan enjoys *vis a vis* the U.S..

If the Philippine Assistance Plan does not depart from the traditional practice of foreign aid and only introduces administrative mechanisms that have been criticized as adding another bureaucratic layer to an already over-bureaucratized governmental apparatus, then it would seem that the U.S., as the program's godfather, has nothing to gain economically from the exercise. The answer to this puzzle can be found by investigating the non-economic issues implicit in the multilateral initiative.

The US Bases and the American Agenda

Speculations have been circulated about the motive of the U.S. in arranging for the Mini Marshall Plan with attention centering on the two giant U.S. military installations in the Philippines. The Philippines-U.S. military bases agreement is due to expire in 1991 and intense debates are going on in all sectors of society on whether to renew the agreement or evict the bases. The new Philippine Constitution ratified under the Aquino administration, expressly prohibits the installation and storage of nuclear weapons in Philippine territory. Despite official silence, it has been verified by independent observers that the bases store nuclear weapons and often host nuclear weapon-carrying aircraft and ships. (Simbulan 1985)

Official pronouncements emanating from both the Philippine and U.S. governments disaffirm any connection between the military bases and the PAP. The U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines denies any link between the two. Aquino herself has publicly issued a similar denial. Such disavowals, however, ring hollow in the light of statements made by U.S. officials which point to a close association in the minds of American planners between the continued stay of the bases and the success of the multilateral initiative.

One of the authors of the Mini Marshall Plan, Senator Richard Lugar, wrote in the *Washington Post* last April 1989 that:

Although it stands on its own, the MAI has security implications for the United States. Last October, we signed a two-year base review agreement providing for short term stability in security ties and additional resources to the Philippines. Progress on the MAI will build on this agreement. Improved economic performance in 1989-91 will create a promising atmosphere for discussions on the future of security relations.

(as quoted in Merlin Magallona 1989)

Other legislators state the connection just as clearly, even if in an underhanded way. A paper prepared by the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs entitled, "A Report on the Philippines at the Mark-Up on 18 April 1989" states:

...although the MAI is not directly linked to the forthcoming bases renegotiation that is expected to begin later this year, the successful implementation of the Plan would certainly be extremely helpful in terms of creating a favorable climate in the Philippines for the renewal of the bases agreement.

The PAP is also seen as a way of removing an irritant in the bases negotiation, i.e., the issue of compensation for the use of the facilities. Thus the inflows to MAI (then estimated at \$2 billion a year) are calculated "to remove the compensation issue from its current status as the primary issue in the bases negotiation." An added bonus to the U.S. will be in the arena of burden-sharing. Through the MAI, the U.S. "will have leveraged a relatively small U.S. contribution of \$200 million annually into \$2 billion worth of multilateral assistance for the Philippines in each of the next years."

Finally, the relation between MAI and the bases is explained in a rather candid manner by retired U.S. Ambassador David Newsom:

If I were an official going up before the congressional committee to get a large sum of money for the Philippines just after the Philippines might have thrown U.S. out of Clark Field, I'd have a much harder time than if we were still in Clark Field.

(*Manila Chronicle*, 7 April 1989)

American interest in the multinational assistance plan does seem out of proportion to U.S. financial contribution to it. Testifying at a Philippine Senate hearing of the Ad Hoc Committee on the PAP, the irrepressible Solita Monsod accused the U.S. of interference in the

program by providing \$25 million to support the PAP Council secretariat. The Asian Institute of Management (AIM), training ground of business executives, was also granted \$99,000 by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) for "specialized short term assistance" to the PAP Council. (*Manila Chronicle*, 17 August 1989) Monsod said that this foreign interference in "the drawing up and implementation of PAP projects would complement the kind of strategic control the World Bank has gained in terms of dealing with our foreign creditors."

Conditionalities Attached to PAP

The PAP, however, is not a free meal ticket. This the U.S. House Subcommittee April 1989 Report takes pains to emphasize. It is seen as a "quid pro quo" and contingent on the Aquino administration enacting "necessary economic and administrative reforms." One specific reform recommended for "priority action" is "the removal of constraints on the debt-equity swap program." Under this set-up, portions of the foreign debt are transformed into equity in Filipino corporations, a process that will enhance foreign participation and control over the local economy. The constraints mentioned could possibly refer among others to Constitutional limits (set at 40 percent) on the amount of equity foreigners may hold in a Philippine corporation. Pressure is already being exerted by transnational corporations on the Aquino government to amend the Constitution on this matter.

University of the Philippines economist Fermin Adriano says that while it is technically true that no conditionalities were mentioned during the Tokyo pledging session, "it would be dishonest to claim that the PAP money has no conditionalities attached to it." (*Manila Chronicle*, 11 August 1989) He cites the PAP document, "The Philippine Aid for Sustained Growth and Development," as containing "self-imposed conditionalities" which are "the same guidelines contained in the Letter of Intent (LOI)" submitted to the International Monetary Fund in April 1989. The MEP commits the Philippines to a tight austerity program that will result in reduced public expenditures for basic services like health and education, impose new taxes and raise existing ones, devalue the peso, and prejudice domestic industries by further liberalizing imports.

Adriano says that the MEP gives priority to debt servicing "even at the expense of our welfare." It also replaces NEDA's medium term plan as the country's blueprint for economic development.

Cutbacks on government deficits will mean withdrawal of subsidies for basic goods such like health, education and social welfare. This explains government's inability to grant the salary hikes demanded by striking public school teachers and other government workers.

When the MAI bill was passed by the U.S. HoUse of Representatives on 21 July 1989, a host of conditions were attached to the granting of assistance to the Philippines. In addition to those earlier imposed by the Solarz subcommittee concerning administrative and economic reforms, structural and judicial reforms were also demanded. A strong pitch was made for extending massive support for the private sector through import liberalization, export growth and diversification, privatization of government enterprises, and the development of infrastructure needed by the sector (as cited in Magallona 1989, p.28)

The MAI bill also slashed the proposed \$200 million fund by \$40 million to show the HoUSE's concern over the low availment of loans already committed to the Philippines. Thus, an additional condition would be the ability of the Aquino government to fully utilize all of its ODA commitments. This could be difficult to achieve. According to the NEDA, the loan availment statUS of foreign assisted projects stands at only 77 percent as of September 1988. The backlog in unutilized loan funds was \$751 million and this increased to \$779.1 million by March 1989.

Backlog in Aid Pipeline

Foreign aid donors, however, estimate the backlog at close to \$2 billion. (*International Herald Tribune*, 29-30 October 1989) Government figures are said to be misleading as it "counts only the amount that should already have been disbursed, not the total amount pledged by the donors for the next few year." The inability of the Manila government to utilize large loan amounts already committed is a major issue, as the American slashing of its pledge indicates. The problem, it is said, lied with "the preparation and implementation of the projects, record keeping, and provision of matching funds." (Ibid.)

Tribune writer Keith B. Richburg quoted Philippine officials as saying that "they are fighting a cultural attitude known as *ningas cogon*, which literally means a sudden brush fire that quickly burns itself out. Projects are often announced with great fanfare but soon stall for lack of follow through."

But while foreign observers are quick to fault

Filipinos for the low availment of funds and cite factors such as perceived cultural traits, part of the blame would also lie with the donor countries for not taking into account the cultural factor. This is the problem with the \$20 million grant for the new Out Patient Department of the Philippine General Hospital (OPD-PGH). The impact of the ultramodern OPD with its chandeliers and hotel-like surroundings on Filipino patients has been described as one of "culture shock." (*Manila Chronicle*, 7 March 1989)

Oversights in ODA

Aside from the cultural aspect are oversights such as provisions for other essential equipment and training. The OPD-PGH for example contains state-of-the-art equipment including a \$600,000 CT Scan unit. However, it lacks a host of other basic equipment such as suction machines, Mayo tables, examining tables, electro-catheters, needles, syringes, gauze, and many other things. because of the lack of equipment, the operating rooms are not yet fully functional.

Total additional equipment cost for the OPD-PGH may reach one million pesos. Since the new facility is meant to double the number of patients it services, an additional 137 new personnel are needed at a cost of P3 million a year. In addition, the maintenance cost of the OPD is estimated at P10 million a year. These additional expenses will prove to be burdensome for the University of the Philippines, of which the PGH is its medical training hospital, as the university's budget is severely restricted by curbs on government expenditures. At present, the PGH already eats up 75 percent of the budget of the University's Manila campus.

The training of technical personnel to handle the hospital's modern equipment has become a problem for the OPD administrators. The computerized medical records section lacks trained personnel resulting in delays in the retrieval and processing of medical records. Even the CT Scan machine lacks a qualified doctor to operate it.

The NEDA-JICA Meetings

"Problematic Japanese-assisted projects" were the subject of a series of meetings held last April 18, 19, and 25 between NEDA and JICA representatives. The results of the discussions showed that both governments shared responsibility for the problems encountered. The minutes of the meeting enumerated seven

problematic projects, namely:

1. Crocodile Farming Institute
2. RP-Japan Offshore Mineral Exploration Project
3. Occupational Safety and Training Center
4. National Maritime Polytechnic Training Center
5. Fishery Training Vessel
6. Baguio Sewerage System
7. National Cancer Control Center

These projects, however, were chosen by JICA as focus of the discussions and not by NEDA. The crocodile farm in Palawan is perceived as operating below its capacity due to delays in the release of local counterpart funds, difficulties in the release of JICA funds due to the absence of a full-time disbursing officer, difficulties in the release of donated equipment pending payment of cUstoms duties and other taxes, and the "the lack of exposure of some JICA experts on crocodile farming."

The mineral exploration project's data gathering suffers from a lack of spare parts for its electronic equipment. Additional JICA grants to cover this lack are proposed. The Occupational and Safety Training Center has difficulties in recruiting trained personnel due to the low salary scale approved by the Department of Budget and Management. The transfer of technology from Japanese experts has not taken place and coupled with the lack of personnel, is delaying the operationalization of the Center several months after the completion of its construction. The minutes, however, fail to mention that because it has not been utilized, the huge complex along Visayas Avenue in Quezon City is now being derisively referred to in media circles as a "white elephant."

The National Maritime Polytechnic (NMP) in Leyte already has its infrastructure and equipment in place. However, the Philippine counterpart in infrastructural facilities such as officers' dormitory, site development, and perimeter fencing has yet to start as bidding for their construction was only to be held in May 1989. The NMP is also "unable to meet its targeted number of personnel (teaching and non-teaching) and trainees." Only 47 out of the 62 regular personnel items have been filled up due to what is perceived as the school's "high standards of qualification" and the low salaries offered. Prospective student-trainees stay away because of the longer period of training required compared to other maritime schools in other parts of the country.

What the NEDA-JICA meeting failed to mention, however, was that, along with other Japanese-funded projects in Leyte, this was a pet project of Mrs. Imelda Marcos to boost the image

of her home province. The Japanese government had no choice but to give in to her wishes. Leyte is a sleepy and isolated province in the eastern part of the Visayan islands and is not attractive enough for prospective trainees who would prefer the excitement of metropolitan centers such as Metro Manila, Cebu, and Davao.

The Fishery Training and Research Vessel of the University of the Philippines (UP) College of Fisheries in Iloilo province has been inoperative due to the inability of UP to finance the full rehabilitation and upgrading of the vessel. Lack of funds has also reduced its operating and maintenance budget. Since UP does not have the funds to rehabilitate the ship, the NEDA-JICA meeting has proposed that a project proposal be prepared for this purpose. In desperation, it is also being suggested that once fully operational, the vessel can engage in commercial fishing or be leased to private fishing companies!

The Baguio Sewerage Treatment plant is unable to function at full capacity due to operational problems. The collection fees of the city government are too low to generate operating expense funds. The National Cancer Control Center at the Jose Reyes Memorial Medical Hospital is not yet operating due to the late implementation of facilities funded by the Philippine government to house Japanese-donated equipment which arrived two years ago but has yet to be installed. Furthermore, JICA did not provide for the maintenance and repair of the equipment and there are no provisions for training personnel to manage the machines.

What underscores the plight of these "problematic" projects is the repeated inability of the Philippine government to provide on schedule its counterpart contribution to the projects on schedule. This may be aggravated in the coming months given the provisions of the LOI-MEP on reducing expenditures. Senator Wigberto Tanada has publicly questioned where the estimated government counterpart to PAP of P20 billion for fiscal year 1989 is going to come from since it is not part of the 1989 budget. (Tanada 1989) CCPAP Chairman Villanueva's answer was to announce that President Aquino would file with Congress a supplemental budget request for P12 to P15 billion to raise the required counterpart funding. (*Manila Times*, 3 August 1989) On the other hand, the 1990 government budget of P233 billion submitted by Aquino to Congress on July 26 is only 2.7 percent, nominally higher than the 1989 budget. In real terms, however, (i.e., adjusting for inflation) it represents a decrease of 4.1 percent. The fact that the loans to be secured as part of the PAP will only increase the country's debt service payments will

further constrict budgetary allocations for counterpart funds.

The Manila Chronicle (27 July 1989) also notes that the proposed 1990 budget's "significant aspect is that it reverses the three-year trend when the government depended more on internally generated funds than foreign financing, as shown by the increase in external borrowings to P6.5 billion next year from zero level this year." As expected, debt servicing eats up the biggest portion of the budgetary pie—37 percent—compared to 22.5 percent for social services and 21.37 percent for economic services.

Another conclusion that can be deduced from the implementation of the Japanese-funded projects is the apparent inadequacy of the feasibility and other preliminary surveys conducted prior to the signing of the aid agreement. It would also seem that undue haste was taken in having the projects approved and the corresponding equipment immediately purchased from Japanese companies and hurriedly dispatched without first determining whether the Philippine government body involved was ready to receive the equipment and other goods donated. On this point, the Japanese government could be faulted for approving ill-conceived and poorly-planned projects.

A Broader View

Speaking from a broader view, UP Law professor Merlin Magallona stresses the need to look into Japan's industrial strategy as a way of understanding the interconnections between the PAP, Japan's ODA role, and Japanese trade and investments. (Magallona 19889, pp.29-31) he cites Minoru Kubota, Deputy Director General of the Economic Cooperation Bureau of Japan's Foreign Ministry, who, in a meeting with Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus in August 1988 on the PAP, said that "through the PAP, Japan would contribute to Philippine efforts to create a climate conducive to increased foreign investments and economic activities of the private sector in the Philippines."

Japan's industrial strategy has been characterized by a relocation of manufacturing facilities of a labor and energy-intensive nature to other countries. Several factors contribute to the growing importance of manufactures among Japan's import shopping list. These are a sharp rise in production costs since 1986 due to the higher value of the yen, pressure on Japan from the U.S., Europe, and Asian countries to reduce its huge trade surpluses, improved quality of Southeast Asian goods, and changing consumer tastes in

Japan as foreign products become more acceptable. (*International Herald Tribune*, 15-16 July 1989) The logical consequence, according to Magallona, is that:

To take advantage of lower labor costs and more favorable exchange rates in other countries, Japanese companies cut down production in Japan and increase their investment in Southeast Asia from where they import basic components and parts, or complete products.

Countries like the Philippines have been made "export platforms or springboards for penetration of world export markets such as the European Economic Community or the United States." Recently, Japan itself has been the target market of these relocated industries. Thus the volume of manufactured exports from ASEAN countries to Japan has increased greatly, produced mainly by Japanese subsidiary companies or joint ventures with local business persons.

Tsuda and Yokoyama (1986) quote a study published in 1983 by the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) which expounds on the concept of a "horizontal division of labor" in Asia:

The increase in the industrial production capacity in the last ten years or so in the newly industrializing countries in Asia (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) and four ASEAN countries (Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines) is remarkable. Due to this development, the division of labor between Japan and these countries is changing from a vertical one (raw material vs. industrial products) to a horizontal one (industrial products vs. industrial products), creating an environment for mutually stimulating further industrialization.

Of Japan's total 1988 imports of U.S.\$47.8 billion from South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and ASEAN countries, 48 percent (\$23 billion) was made up of manufactured goods such as electronic components, motor vehicle parts, air-conditioners, bearings, chemicals, food and beverages, garments, jewelry, furniture, plywood, glass, steel products, and business machinery. (*International Herald Tribune*, 15-16 July 1989)

Tsuda and Yokoyama (1985) however, caution against entertaining illusions about the type of industrialization that is being fostered by the new relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia. While admitting that "the old pattern of importing industrial goods and exporting raw materials has to

some extent already been replaced by the import and export of industrial products among Asian countries," the two scholars maintain that a clear look into "the contents of these industrial products" will show that "most of them are not really manufactured totally in these countries.":

For example, semiconductors and garments are produced in these countries on a sub-contractual or consignment basis, while ore and timber are only processed up to the intermediate goods level.

In fact, the JETRO study cited by Tsuda and Yokoyama concedes that the new economic relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia is far from equal. The report acknowledges that the division of labor between Japan and Asian NICs or ASEAN countries "cannot be literally described as horizontal in its true sense." Two tendencies are described by the study:

One is that Japan is specializing on the export of capital-intensive goods while other Asian countries are specializing on the export of labor-intensive goods. The other tendency is that Japan is specializing on the export of high technology goods, while the other Asian countries are specializing on the export of lower technology goods.

The phenomenon of international subcontracting has thus dawned upon the international economic order. To further increase the attractiveness of this strategy, the development of more export processing zones and industrial estates and the expansion of existing ones loom high on the agenda of projects for possible funding under the Philippine Assistance Plan, not to mention more infrastructure development. But since it is extremely difficult for a non-Japanese company to penetrate the Japanese market, "most of Japan's manufactured imports from Southeast Asia are from subsidiaries of Japanese companies in the region or from joint ventures established with local corporations." Prof. Magallona thus concludes:

In this light, manufacturing sectors of the Philippine economy which are dominated by Japanese capital and technology are virtually extensions of Japan's industrial system. Thus when the Japanese government applies public funds to Philippine infrastructure projects through its foreign assistance program, this is not much different from utilizing capital outlay in Japan's budget for the development of a segment of the Japanese economy.

Magallona, however, asserts that Japan's industrial strategy of relocating industries is already in place and that, while the PAP may facilitate its implementation, the Mini-Marshall Plan is not essential to the success of the economic blueprint. He argues that it is the United States that will primarily benefit in terms of goodwill gained with the Aquino government as the initiator of the assistance plan; goodwill which could be translated into eventual approval of the continued stay of the U.S. bases in the Philippines beyond 1991.

PAP or no PAP, Japan does need to considerably expand its foreign aid exposure in the Philippines in order to lay the infrastructure that would correct the recurring pattern of Philippine-Japan trade which has not yet departed completely from traditional practices. Philippine exports to Japan still include fresh bananas, shrimp, and prawns in significant quantities. Until a glut in the Japanese market occurred this year, a strong program for expanding prawn exports was taking place. As a proportion of total exports to Japan, manufactured goods from the Philippines comprised only 27 percent in 1988. Given this present arrangement, Japan would certainly have some use for the multilateral aid approach in order to speed up the fulfillment of its regional industrial strategy in relation to the Philippines.

Corporate Takeover of Government

The appointment of Roberto Villanueva as the Manila ODA czar is appropriate for the implementation of Japan's industrial strategy. Villanueva, although previously little heard of in public, is known in business circles as the archetypal manager and a shrewd businessman. He is the largest stockholder and former head of Atlantic Gulf and Pacific Corporation (AG&P). His entrepreneurial abilities were honed during long years of close association with the Lopez business empire—a prime victim of Marcos takeovers during the martial law period. He is credited with having engineered the masterful takeover of the giant Manila Electric Company on behalf of the Lopez clan during the late sixties.

Villanueva appreciates thoroughly the connection between foreign investments and ODA. Last April 1989, in his capacity as CCPAP chairman, he organized a dialogue between a visiting delegation of the powerful Japan Federation of Economic organizations (Keidanren) and the Philippine business community on proposals "to promote investments in export industries and expand Japan's imports of Philippine products." (*Manila Chronicle*, 7 April 1989)

Another recruit seconded by big business to the Aquino Cabinet is Monsod's successor as Economic Planning Secretary, Jesus P. Estanislao, erstwhile Chairman of the state-owned Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP). His previous positions in private business include the following: president of Associated Bank, chairman of First Pacific Capital Corporation, and executive director of the Center for Research and

If donor countries are able to appreciate this vision of an alternative economic order, then development assistance will necessarily be transitory activity that will gradually lose its present status as a source of mendicancy and a tool for the subversion of national integrity and sovereignty.

Communications (CRC). He is also one of the leading figures of the controversial and secretive religious congregation Opus Dei whose members include big names in the business community. Estanislao's entry into the select circle of top government economic planners completes the takeover by big corporate magnates and entrepreneurs of government economic planning and management and the dislodging of visionary and idealistic economists and academicians of the Monsod variety.

Estanislao lost no time in articulating his fidelity with the views of fellow businessmen in government. Three days after his appointment was announced, he declared his agreement with Central Bank Gov. Fernandez on monetary policy, particularly the policy of high interest rates. (*Manila Chronicle*, 12 August 1989)

In a position paper entitled "Life After Monsod," a group of faculty members of the College of Development Economics and Management, University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB) lamented that "big business interests are once more regaining the upper hand in charting our economic policies." The group criticized the new economic managers' "narrow

orientation based on the premise that *what is good for business is good for the economy* — an attitude which the UP faculty traced to training acquired in the business schools of Wharton and Harvard. They decried the departure from government of "professional economists who, by their very training, must equate aggregate economic welfare with the good of the greatest number."

In examining the documents of the PAP and the MEP-LOI, the UP group notes that the Aquino government "intends to merely adjust monetary and fiscal policies without reforming our age-old economic and political structures." Among the structures which according to them "beg for immediate reforms" are:

...the skewed land ownership system, heavily protected local industries, an over-centralized government machinery, and those structures which prevent the disadvantaged groups in our society from having equal access to and control of productive resources such as credit, education, communication facilities, energy, and marketing infrastructures.

The Alternative

With or without the Multilateral Aid Initiative, the Philippines does not seem to be in a better position to decide its own economic future for the benefit of its own people. It is safe to conclude that for many more years to come, there will be no substantial and meaningful change in the nature, strategy, and implementation of official development assistance. The result will be the aggravation of the foreign debt problem, the concentration of benefits in the hands of the business sector and the upper middle class, the further deprivation and marginalization of the poor and the powerless, and the exacerbation of land and income disparities.

To achieve its avowed goals of benefiting the poorest of the poor, ODA must ideally be redirected to projects that will create the conditions for self-generating and self-propelled development dependent mainly on local resources and tapping Filipino expertise. In order to benefit the host population, ODA must make itself eventually unnecessary.

How can foreign assistance be made compatible with the goals of a self-reliant and self-sustaining society? To start with, infrastructure development must concentrate on affordable and small scale to medium-scale projects that will not strain the financial capabilities of government and the people nor destroy the environment. industrial

development must be weaned away from over-concentration on the export market and made to focus on domestic needs. Development of the long-neglected agricultural sector must receive priority and rural development fostered through the creation of self-sufficient agro-industrial communities.

As economic planning and the implementation of projects have long been the prerogative of the elite, especially business people and technocrats, and the result of this has been the continued impoverishment of the Filipino people, it is now time to ensure the central participation of the people, through their popular organizations, in decision-making. Non-governmental development-oriented organizations (NGOs) can initially act as go-betweens who will ensure that people's organizations are in a position to determine the conduct of their lives.

The ultimate aim is to bring about a truly independent, sovereign, and economically progressive Philippines that participates in the global economy on its own terms and on an equal footing with other nations.

If donor countries are able to appreciate this vision of an alternative economic order, then development assistance will necessarily be transitory activity that will gradually lose its present status as a source of mendicancy and a tool for the subversion of national integrity and sovereignty. After all, irrespective of its results, dependence on foreign assistance is ultimately anathema to a nation's dignity and development.

It is, of course, wishful thinking to expect major ODA givers like the United States and Japan, who have long been used to promotion their national interests in the guise of "development aid" and "mutual security treaties" to suddenly execute and about face and stand their present strategy on its head. Their governments are necessarily beholden to their respective business sectors—the mighty Japanese *sogo shoshas* and the omnipotent American transnational corporations.

Given that, the only hope lies in people to people exchanges and international solidarity networking to exert pressure on governments to heed the demands of the greater number of peoples for a more humane and just national and global order. In many regions all over the world, this is already happening. But existing efforts are inadequate to achieve the goals and will always be wanting without the attainment of genuine people's power. Thus popular organizations must necessarily wage liberative struggles in order to attain this power and enable the people they represent to make the decisions that will direct the course of their lives.

Peoples Charter on ODA

We regret the fact that present Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) does not always bring about benefits to the lowest-income groups in recipient countries for their efforts toward improvement of life and self-reliance. We further regret that

- 1) ODA has caused increased debt to people in many recipient countries;
- 2) it has sometimes brought about destruction of life and environment, trampled on tradition and culture, promoted corruption among recipient countries, and played a reinforcing part in such recipient government as under militarism or with infringement upon human rights; and
- 3) while in Japan most process of formulating and decisionmaking of ODA has been handled by some statesmen, government officials and private companies, structurally allowing them to make their own profits and bring collusive relationship and corruption. Therefore, we hereby make a conception of what ODA should be and suggest as follows:

1. The sole reason for ODA's existence should be that it is a means for equalizing enormous economic imbalances existing between the South and North; dissolving the relation which the North has economically, socially, and culturally deprived of material and moral properties originally owned by the South; and enabling both sides to build a mutually even, equal, and self-dependent relationship. In the future, contribution shall be given to make the recipient people free from the 'donor-recipient' relation.

2. ODA shall be intended for the economically poorest and politically and socially most restrained areas and peoples, i.e., lowest-income nations, lowest-income groups, primary inhabitants, women, children, handicapped people, refugees, or unsettled people, etc.

3. ODA shall have certain guidelines which leads to break the existing structure in which lowest-income and most restrained groups have been deprived, and to realize economical, social and cultural independence. Therefore, it must not enhance further dependence on ODA in recipients.

4. ODA shall have no aspects in which donor's materialistic culture and mentality is unilaterally forced upon recipients, and shall respect their own traditional and cultural value. In execution of ODA, it is essential to make an agreement between donor and recipient peoples on the civil level.

5. ODA must not be formulated and implemented by such limited people among donor and recipient countries as statesmen, government officials, and private companies. Active participation with peoples in both countries shall be assured under an established system.

6. ODA shall keep such principles as peace, defense of human rights, democracy, and environmental protection. It must not cause to extend hostilities, strengthen infringement of human rights, and destroy of democracy or the environment.

7. ODA shall be formulated and implemented with an agreement confirmed by recipient people and shall have long-term prospects for continuous growth. Primary assessment of the program, monitoring and evaluation during the course of implementation and assessment after completion shall be fully carried out so that lessons can be fed back into future projects. Those evaluations shall reflect the recipient people's opinion and be according to fair assessment by independent third parties within both donor and recipient countries.

8. ODA programs, projects, and budget shall be approved in the donor's parliament through full and detailed assessment after, which shall be fully and widely reported both in donor and recipient countries.

9. Any information on ODA shall be open to the public.

10. ODA shall be carried out not only in inter-government relations but also through various sectors, such as non-governmental organizations. Particularly, the relationship between NGOs of which activities are intended for self-reliance in recipient countries should be highly regarded.

For Justice and Peace in Asia and the Pacific

Keynote Report by Kitazawa Yoko

The following is the keynote speech of the PP21 Kanagawa International Symposium, held in Yokohama on August 17-19 with 29 foreign participants from 15 countries and 800 from the local area. The symposium consisted of two parts: the first an international conference which adopted the Kanagawa Declaration (see p.) out of a two-day ardent discussion on the military, diplomatic and economic relations of the region, and the second an open public panel discussion on Japanese Official Development Aid which adopted the Kanagawa Appeal and People to People Aid Charter.

The symposium was made possible by the positive involvement of various groups and movements in the area: women, cooperatives, labor unions, professionals, environmentalist, etc. with support from the Kanagawa Prefectural government, Fujisawa and Kawasaki City Offices, UN University, and others. The active participation of labor unions in this conference was significant since Japanese union international affairs activities are known to often be negligent of South to North relations.

The charter, unanimously adopted by the participants aims at encouraging self-help at the grassroots' level in the recipient countries and raising citizen's consciousness in the donor countries about the unbalanced global economic structure. Based on the Charter, a People to People Aid Movement will be organized in January 1990 with the initiative of local people actively involved in the August symposium.

1. Birth of a New International Order

The 20th century has been called "a century of revolution and war" — and indeed this century has brought two world wars and two socialist revolutions, in Russia and China, which have shaken the world. But if we take a close look at the history of the 20th century, we can discern two very clear trends in the way the world has changed.

Firstly, the stage on which wars and revolutions have been fought out has moved steadily from north to south since the year 1945 which marks the effective middle of the century. The two great

struggles which preceded World War II — the Russian Revolution and the Great Depression — were both strictly limited in effect to the imperialist center. Four-fifths of the world's people were living in colonies, and at the time there was no way that such lofty ideals as peace, freedom and democracy could reach them.

After World War II, one colony after another achieved independence. For 500 years, ever since Columbus, the people of these colonies had been marginalized, dominated, robbed and their very existence denied by the forces of the center. Now, they finally rose up.

This was the start of the greatest, indeed the first serious rebellion against the old European order. From now on, all wars and revolutions would be fought out on Third World soil. Today as we approach the 21st century, that rebellion of the people is continuing, and nowhere with more intensity than in the Third World.

The second trend which deserves attention is that as the 20th century entered its last quarter, the old order started to dissolve and the embryo of a new order became discernible.

(1) Changes in the concepts of nation state at the United Nations

The mid-1970's saw a great change in the field of international politics. In 1974, a representative of the American Indian Movement spoke at the General Assembly of the United Nations in the name of "The Indian Nations." This was the first time the UN had recognized the aborigine states which had been wiped out in the course of the formation of the modern nation states. Since then the UN has held a series of international meeting of the world's various aborigine states. Last summer, even the Japanese government showed signs of progress, by letting into the country an American Indian representative carrying a passport issued by the American Indian state.

The United Nations followed its recognition of the aborigine states by recognizing the PLO in the same year. The United States and other Northern industrialized countries have long sought to dump the Palestinians into the general category of "refugee problems," but recently some European

countries have even come to recognize the State of Palestine themselves.

These developments signify an altering of the concept of nationhood which had been viewed as any entity fulfilling the three conditions such as territory, nation and a legitimate government.

Also in 1974, the UN General Assembly took up the issue of human rights abuses in Chile. Human rights had previously been considered an internal problem between a state and its people, and criticism of a state's human rights abuses from foreign countries had been viewed as an infringement on the sovereignty of that state. From now on, however, international frontiers would no longer count when it came to human rights.

(2) Towards the establishment of a new international economic order

In step with these changes in the superstructure of international politics, similar developments could be observed in the field of international economy as well. The UN General Assembly on Resources, held in the spring of 1974, adopted a declaration entitled "The Establishment of a New International Economic Order". The declaration aimed at changing the "unfair and outmoded" economic order which had survived the demise of the colonial era — an order which had employed such "lawful" means as trade, investment, international monetary system and technology to ensure the steady transfer of wealth from South to North by transnational corporations.

Of course, since the UN is composed of the governments of the multinationals' home countries, plus the ruling elites of the South, one can hardly expect reforms of any substance to come out of it. Even so, the very fact of the adoption of the declaration is of epoch-making significance.

(3) Women — the last remaining colony

In 1975 the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women was held in Mexico. This taking up of the women's issue in the forum of international politics carries a dual meaning.

For a long time, the issue of women, like that of human rights, was looked upon as an internal matter for each nation. Beside this, sexual discrimination and the social status of women were not discussed in most nations' domestic politics either. So in a sense, women, who make up half the world's population, jumped a double barrier, domestic and international, to appear on the stage of world politics.

The women's liberation movement within industrial society, which started with a

demonstration in New York in 1970, was quite different in character from earlier movements to demand women's rights. The new movement confronted male dominated society itself, and sought liberation from it. Taking up such themes as labor, education, development, militarization and the environment in relation to women, the movement homed in on the reality of discrimination against women. And it was precisely because women had been alienated, discriminated and exploited in an industrial society obsessed with productivity and the pursuit of profit, that the new feminism, with its focus on enduring feminine values regarding nature, life and reproduction, came to mount its challenge to established society.

(4) The end of the myth of military power

For several centuries after Europe entered the era of the great navigation, the principle of "domination by the strong" has governed international society. With World War II and the development of nuclear weapons, this has escalated into "domination through fear."

The Vietnam War destroyed this myth. The peasant guerrillas of Vietnam took on the U.S., the world's biggest military power, in a war of liberation — and won. Equally importantly, the U.S. was unable to make use of her nuclear weapons throughout the war. The reason the U.S. didn't use them was because one could not pull the nuclear trigger without a guarantee of victory in its war. The U.S. was not confident that it would win in Vietnam. One could say much the same about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

With the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the postwar system of nuclear confrontation between the two big power blocs effectively lost its meaning. Up till then, the Americans and Russians had been going all out to expand their respective spheres of influence, by invading rebellious Third World countries or quietly acquiring power in them through applications of "aid." Nuclear weapons were a means of threatening the other side to prevent interference in the process.

Military power, then, is already seen to have lost its effectiveness. But that hasn't stopped the United States and the Soviet Union from running further down the road of military expansion. Today, as a result, large-scale anti-nuclear demos such as those which have been seen in Europe have become more sophisticated. Instead of posing simple "guns or butter" type choices, they now frequently take in other movements, anti-nuclear or feminist movements for instance, and call into question the whole modern civilization which has

brought nuclear weapons into being.

The unlimited arms race between the superpowers has brought massive budget deficits to both of them and done crippling economic damage. No doubt because of this, the USA-USSR treaty on abolition of Intermediate Nuclear Forces was signed last year. At long last, humanity had taken a first step towards nuclear disarmament. Meanwhile in Europe today conventional arms reductions are also becoming a topic for debate.

Meanwhile, a new movement has started in the South Pacific too. I refer to the 1985 signing of the treaty to establish a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific by the member nations of the South Pacific Forum. It includes prohibition of nuclear weapons testing and dumping of nuclear wastes within the zone.

This Forum was originally founded on support for the independence of the colonies in the region. And this treaty conveys the anger felt in the region towards America, Britain and France for having transformed the South Pacific into a nuclear sea.

These movements towards nuclear disarmament and the establishment of nuclear-free zones signify a rejection of the principle of domination by the strong and the myth of military power, which together have controlled international politics for such a long time. The logic of peace, expounded by the common people, is on the winning track. In this case "peace" is predicated on national liberation and economic justice, and as we follow towards this peace, fundamental questions will be raised about the nature of modern civilization itself.

(5) A new concept of humanity

In 1966 the United Nations General Assembly adopted a historic verdict of censure against South African apartheid, which it described as "a crime against humanity." In doing so, the UN recognized that it is the duty of every member of international society to combat apartheid. This was a logical step to follow the definition of the warcrimes of the Nazis and Japanese militarists as "crimes against peace" at the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals after World War II. At present lawyers are preparing for the next step in this process — the establishment of a similar law against nuclear weapons. This international law would define as an international tort against humanity not only the possession and deployment of nuclear weapons but also policy makers and scientists involved in their development and manufacture.

During the 1970's, the UN Conference on Law of the Sea, dealing with the development of deep-sea mineral resources in high seas, defined these resources as "the common property of humanity."

This concept of humanity, transcending the framework of nationhood, wrought great changes on international politics, which till then had been focused on narrow national interest of state.

2. Approaching an Age of Fresh Upheavals

The world today is in a state of unprecedented change and crisis, and a rapid restructuring is underway. The leading role in all this drama is being played by the transnational corporations. For a long period the transnationals worked with the colonial authorities and were the most effective tool in robbing the South of her wealth. But since the mid-70's, the transnationals have gone global, becoming mammoth institutions no longer susceptible to control by the governments of their home countries. The long honeymoon between the state and capital, which had lasted ever since the formation of the nationstates, has come to an end.

(1) The crisis of the Third World

The current progress being made in science and technology — not just in industry but in every field — is something that humanity has never before experienced. This progress has made it possible to feed the 5 billion people living on Earth, and to supply them with adequate clothing, housing, education and prevention and cure from diseases. It has made it possible for the first time for every human being to maintain and develop the unique culture of his own people. Humanity should finally have been released from hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease.

However, the actual situation today is absolutely the reverse. The Third World faces the deepest crisis in its history. One billion people, 1 in 4 of those living in the Third World, don't have enough to eat. The shocking statistics of want continue: 100 million homeless, 1.3 billion people without access to clean drinking water.

The Third World has been suffering ever since the sixties from the constant decline in prices of primary commodities, and has been sacrificed by inflation and the protectionism of industrialized countries. And as a result of export-oriented industrialization fostered by transnationals, the Third World debt crisis reared its ugly head in 1982. Today, the accumulated debt of the Third World has reached \$1.4 trillion.

The transnationals' reckless incursions into the Third World and ransacking of its wealth is causing environmental destruction, desertification, exhaustion of natural resources and abuses of human rights. Minorities are falling victim to genocide and discrimination against women is

being strengthened. The ruling elite of the Third World has attempted to focus away from their internal contradictions to external "enemies," resulting in the eruption of numerous regional wars. This in turn has led to militarization and large numbers of refugees. Ten million blacks are being oppressed by apartheid in the so-called "homelands" of South Africa; they are hidden internal refugees. On top of all this, a huge amount of labor is flowing from South to North.

(2) Popular uprising in the Third World

In time with the deepening Third World crisis comes a popular uprising there of a scale and nature not previously seen.

The uprising which started in the black townships of South Africa in September 1984, and the subsequent gold-miners' strikes, opened a new front to the traditional anti-apartheid movement. What made it so new was the degree of continuity shown, with women and children becoming the major force in the struggle. The struggle has rendered the black townships ungovernable, resulting to create a new kind of liberated zones. The black workers' strikes, for their part, have struck a blow at the very roots of apartheid — the transnationals and the goldmines. The black

struggle has for the first time put the apartheid regime on the defensive, and has divided the white ruling forces. And that's not all. Their struggle has altered the international balance of power in respect to South Africa. In America and Europe the anti-apartheid movement has been invigorated, and at last we are beginning to see the withdrawal of the transnationals from South Africa. In a very literal sense, the struggle of black South Africans is changing the world.

One could say the same about the Intifada being waged by Palestinians in the occupied territories. Here too, with stones and boycotts as their weapons, women and children are standing in the front line of the battle. For the first time since the Six-Day War in 1968, Israel has been thrown into a state of crisis. The Intifada has brought further change to the Middle East situation, and has created the first real possibility of a comprehensive peace in the region.

Since the mid-eighties, large-scale popular struggles of a distinctively new character have broken out in many parts of Asia too. In the Philippines and south Korea, autocratic regimes have been forced out of power, while in Taiwan martial law has been lifted. In Burma and in China, the people have risen up to demand greater democracy.



News has never been like this...



EVERY MONTH NI takes one major issue — not necessarily today's news headlines but ongoing global subjects which affect us all. What is really happening in Latin America — with what ramifications for the West? What does monetarism mean? What is feminism and why does it frighten some men. Is the face of socialism changing?

We try to explain, precisely. With facts, figures, maps, graphics — not to mention good, informed writing by those in the know. NI's different presentation puts you in the picture in a way you won't forget.

RECENT ISSUES
 WORK • WORLD FINANCE • SEX • TERRORISM • CHINA • DRUGS • SOUTH AFRICA •

FREE MAP
FULL COLOUR WORLD MAP
 By cartographer and historian Dr Arno Peters, it challenges earlier colonial, Eurocentric projections of the world. Top quality reproduction it measures approx 2ft x 3ft and comes free with your first issue of NI.

YES I want to take advantage of your special savings.

I enclose payment for:

12 issues for \$22 (Save \$8 off cover price)

18 issues for \$30 (save \$11) and ask you to send my free world map

Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Prov _____

Postal Code _____

Please send payment to New Internationalist, 511 King Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5V 9Z9. US residents send to NI, P O Box 255, Lewiston, New York 14092.

The popular struggles spreading through Asia have the overthrow of autocratic government as their greatest common goal, and take the form of non-violent street demonstrations. But a look at the way that goal is pursued reveals the true depth and character of the struggle: workers of transnationals forming their own independent unions and going on strike; peasants fighting back against the governments who would sacrifice them in the name of industrialization or farm trade liberalization, and against the agribusinesses which have worsened their hunger; vast number of people, rising up against pollution, against foreign military bases, against nuclear weapons.

And here again, it's young people who are leading the struggle, and it's the power of women that is sustaining it. South Africa, Palestine and Asia are far apart in terms of geography and history, yet we can discern a similar and simultaneous new popular struggle being fought out in all three regions.

Elsewhere, too, the people of the Third World are rising up. People who can no longer bear the hunger — primarily women, children and minorities — are rising up against urbanization brought on by export-oriented industrialization; against inflation; against the growing debt burden; against the widening gap between rich and poor; against the destruction of the environment. The "price riots" which the western media reports from so many parts of the world today in reality constitute a resistance movement against the IMF, which has taken over the role of world policeman from American imperialism.

(3) The start of detente between the United States and the Soviet Union

The globalization of the multinational corporations has also brought changes to the economy of their main headquarters, the United States. As early as the mid-seventies, American industry had already hollowed out and lost international competitiveness. Thanks to the policies of nuclear-military expansionism pursued by the Reagan administration in the eighties, the U.S. has fallen further, suffering under the "triple deficits" — in the household economies of her people, in international trade and in government finances — and becoming the world's most indebted nation. By contrast, Japan and the 1992-bound economies of the EC have flourished. The decline of American industry has brought a corresponding fall in that country's political authority within the western bloc.

Gorbachev's Soviet Union has launched positive diplomatic initiatives towards Europe and the U.S.

along with her drive for perestroika. And so a new period of detente between the U.S. and the USSR has begun.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has renounced her doctrine of limited sovereignty towards her satellite countries, and has reopened relations with China after a 30-year freeze. There are signs, too, of change in the USSR's policy of seeking hegemony in the Third World. We note, for example, that the USSR has started to withdraw military aid from the liberation movements in southern Africa, and from Ethiopia and Angola. These moves seem to betoken an abandonment of the traditional Soviet policy of enhancing the USSR's influence abroad.

The U.S., by contrast, remains committed as ever to a policy of intervention in the Third World. Admittedly the U.S. has lost the ability to mount a large-scale, Vietnam-style military invasion; nor would public opinion tolerate such an act. But the U.S. continues to view the Soviet Union as "the Evil Empire," and has not abandoned her notorious "reverse domino theory." The U.S. continues to support the Contras in Nicaragua, in disregard of the Contadora Group's proposals for peace in Central America.

The U.S. also continues to promote Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC) strategy against guerilla liberation struggles in hot spots where they are making progress against governments sympathetic to the U.S., such as the Philippines and El Salvador.

After WWII the U.S., armed with a strong dollar and overwhelming military might, took upon herself the role of world policeman as a means of exercising imperialist domination. Her desire to play that role remains unabated, but the economic strength to support such a role is waning and the myth of military might has been exploded. With Gorbachev's Soviet Union steadily dismantling its "empire" and withdrawing within its own borders, there is no longer any conceivable rationale for American intervention in the Third World.

3. For a just and peaceful Asia-Pacific

Now is a time of easing East-West tensions, a time when the regional conflicts of the Third World are exhibiting promising movements towards negotiated settlement. But these positive developments do not necessarily apply equally to all regions.

Progress in East-West arms reduction talks is nowhere more evident than in Europe. Starting with the INF treaty, negotiations have now got to the point of covering conventional forces.

But in the Western Pacific, the area surrounding Japan, negotiations on arms reductions have not

even started. On the contrary, the U.S. is expanding her sea-borne nuclear forces, Japan is strengthening her defence capabilities, and these and other developments are heightening tension in the region. Things are moving in quite the opposite direction to developments in other regions.

(1) Japan's defence policy

For the last forty years and more, Japanese diplomacy and defence policy have been entirely subservient to the policies of the United States. It's a cliché to say that "Japan has lived in safety beneath the American nuclear umbrella," but the truth is very different. It would be more accurate to say that Japanese diplomacy and defence policy have constituted nothing more than a component of the United States' global strategy.

Let's look at defense first. By any standard, Japan's is a unique defence policy. Article 9 of the Japanese constitution expressly renounces the maintenance of military forces, yet Japan is now the world's seventh strongest military power. In terms of annual military expenditure, she ranks second only to the United States. Japan's three non-nuclear principles include a ban on the introduction of nuclear weapons to Japanese territory, yet the U.S. military is free to bring in as many nuclear weapons as she likes and keep them here, so long as she does not publicly acknowledge the fact. The potential enemy, we are told, is the Soviet Union; yet no-one believes that Japan's "Self-Defence Forces" have actually got what it would take to repel a serious offensive by the USSR with her vast military might. The government loudly protests of a "Soviet Threat," but close inquiry shows that in the end this involves no more than a rather vague territorial dispute over the small islands off Hokkaido known here as the Northern Territories.

With the conclusion of the Japan-U.S. Defence Cooperation Guidelines in 1978, Japan's military forces became a part of the U.S. global strategy; that strategy was expanded at a stroke to cover the entire Asia-Pacific region, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East conflict, and Japan took upon her shoulders the obligation to enhance her military strength. But Japan applied the "1% of GNP" limit to her defence expenditures, and is now raising that limit by very gradual installments. Meanwhile no-one seems interested in pointing out that 1% is still a huge amount of money when one's GNP is the second biggest in the world; or that in terms of population or land area, military expansion has left Japan with a gigantic force.

Besides, all that pious stuff about the 1% limit was never more than pie in the sky. In reality, military spending has been closely linked to

Japan's trade surplus with the United States. By pumping up the defence budget, and buying most of her weaponry from the States, Japan has sought to head off protectionist action against her U.S.-bound exports.

The coming of Gorbachev has destroyed the basis for the government's Red Peril argument, and with the new U.S.-Soviet detente getting under way, the U.S.-Japan Defence Guidelines are rapidly losing their *raison d'être*. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that nowadays Japan's military might exists purely for the sake of her exporting industries.

What this means is that when we seek to make arms cuts a reality, we must also discard the ideology of economic growth. The movement to abolish nuclear weapons must go hand in hand with the movement to abolish nuclear power, and this must start from a reduction of energy consumption in our everyday lives. Likewise, in order to get rid of tanks and jet fighters we must curtail exporting automobiles to the United States, and we ourselves must give up riding in cars and change to using public transport such as buses and trains.

(2) Japan's diplomacy

Japan is a country without diplomacy. For all the government's mouthings about "discharging Japan's duties as a member of the Western World," the fact remains that Japanese diplomacy is no more than a copy of American diplomatic policy — and its worst aspects at that. For instance, when the Carter-era U.S. started pursuing "human rights diplomacy," Japan carried on propping up blood-stained autocratic regimes in Brazil, Iran and elsewhere with economic aid on a large scale.

Far from respecting the new order, concepts and ethics which are already shared by the members of international society, Japanese diplomacy completely ignores these developments.

One might take as a first example Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA), the cash value of which overtook that of the United States two years ago to become the highest in the world. Japan has no independent ideology of aid, nor any legal limits or checks on its application. In quantitative terms the aid given is enormous, but its quality is the lowest among the countries of the OECD Development Assistance Committee. Japan even fails to meet internationally agreed minimum standards on grant element, untied aid, and aid for Least/Less Developed Countries.

The bulk of Japanese aid has been spent on industrial infrastructure construction projects, and the main recipient countries have been

concentrated in the area covered by the old Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. To put it another way, ODA has been used to lay the foundations for Japanese enterprises to advance abroad. Putting it a little more strongly, aid has been used as an investment to secure economic profit.

Recently, however, there have been changes. Firstly, we've seen an increase in aid to countries outside the old Co-Prosperity Sphere — to the Central American countries, for instance, and to Egypt. Japan has also promised a huge contribution to the "Mini Marshall Plan" that the United States has proposed for the Philippines. Like the Japan-U.S. Guidelines in the field of defence, these developments show that Japanese aid, too, has taken on a distinctly strategic hue. To the countries of Asia, Japan's economic aid and industrial incursions are no different from a military invasion.

Generally speaking, Japanese diplomacy quite simply lacks ethics. Look at the promise made ten years ago to take in 100,000 visiting students from Asia, for instance. So far no kind of system has been set up to handle so many students, and there is no prospect of that promise being fulfilled. Again, the Japanese government recently pledged at the Paris Summit to "recycle \$65 billion from the Japanese trade surplus to developing countries." However, this signifies dollar investment funds accumulated by private sector enterprises; that is, the "recycling" is to take the form of private sector investment and loans. But the government's hypocritical advocacy of "a free economy" means that it cannot take legal measures to oblige enterprises to put money into the Third World — and private enterprise is not generally interested in investing in LLDCs, with the many risks entailed. There is, in short, no way we can expect the government to fulfill this pledge.

The Japanese government's position on apartheid is a classic case of actions bearing no resemblance to words. The government has condemned apartheid in the United Nations, but at the same time, in the name of the free economy, has allowed private enterprises to go about their business in South Africa and, claiming special license as a trade-based nation, has taken no action to staunch the expansion of trade with that country. While claiming to have forbidden sporting, cultural and educational exchanges with South Africa, the government has taken no legal steps whatsoever to enforce such a ban.

The UN has stipulated limited sanctions against South Africa, but since then Japan has rapidly increased her imports of one of the items forbidden by those sanctions — gold. Japan is now the world's number one importer of gold, and 80% of it is of South African origin. Gold alone accounts for

half South Africa's total export earnings, and those earnings are spent on secret arms imports and financing public enterprises. Japan alone buys 50% of all the gold exported by South Africa; as such, she has become the leading supporter of apartheid in the world today.

Moreover, by far the greater part of gold imported by Japan is being used for ornamentation or as a speculative investment. For the latter type of import to continue, the international gold price has to keep on rising. It may sound extreme, but even if worldwide economic sanctions are imposed on South Africa, Japan has to carry on importing South African gold to maintain her speculative market in the commodity. In short, one could say that apartheid has been co-opted into the Japanese economy. Now let's consider another problem of global concern — the destruction of the tropical rain forests. The Japanese government has promised to make tropical reforestation one of the objectives of her ODA program. However, the tropical rain forests constitute a global resource created over centuries; they cannot be brought back to life by human agency. What is required right now is an end to their destruction. Japan is the world's number one importer of timber, and 70% of those imports are culled from the tropical rainforests of Southeast Asia. Nearly all this timber is being casually consumed in the making of disposable cheap furniture and construction materials.

Japan does not have a single diplomatic initiative to be proud of. Her government's international pledges are being routinely broken. The truth is that since the war Japan's Asian diplomacy has consistently been undertaken by businesses, not by the government, which has merely ratified existing states of affairs brought about by private enterprise. Even economic aid to developing countries has been dictated by the need to protect those enterprises' interests.

Japan may have failed to bring about the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by force of arms, but since the war she has succeeded in realizing that concept through private investment, economic aid and other non-military means.

(3) What is to be done?

As I said earlier, the Western Pacific area surrounding Japan is today the only part of the world where not only are cold war structures being permanently preserved, but sea-borne nuclear arms are actually on the rise.

Moreover Japanese transnationals are rapidly pushing ahead the expansion and interlinkage of market economies in the Asian region. As a result

the number of people being robbed, being thrown into poverty and being marginalized, is steadily rising. Women and children are being left hungry and minorities find their very existence threatened.

We must change this situation.

We can learn much from the experiences of the South Pacific Forum. We can learn to strengthen our solidarity against nuclear weapons and military bases — a process already underway at the citizen level — and to shore up the international networks.

The first step towards realizing peace in Asia and the Pacific is to conclude a treaty to get rid of the American and Soviet sea-borne nuclear weapons in the region. The European experience shows us that this is possible. The Japanese movement has a major role to play in working for this treaty.

The next step is to expand the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Declaration to cover the whole Asia-Pacific region, as a move towards securing the removal of the U.S. military bases in Hawaii, Micronesia, the Philippines, Japan and south Korea.

Here we must pay particular attention to two topics: the demilitarization of Japan, and the reunification of Korea. It is clear that without resolving these two problems, it will not be possible to get rid of the U.S. bases in Japan and south Korea. We cannot tackle the demilitarization of Japan without revoking the Japan-U.S. Security Pact, and at the same time, as I stated earlier, we will have to renounce our dependence on economic growth and change our lifestyle on the basis of a new system of values.

In order to guarantee the unification of Korea, a five-party non-aggression pact needs to be signed by the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union, China and a unified Korea. After that one would aim for the scrapping of nuclear and conventional weapons on the peninsula. The repeal of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is of course also involved in this context.

Getting rid of sea-borne nuclear weapons; creating a Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone; and a unified Korea. All three of these objectives appear well-nigh unrealizable at present — and the major obstacle to all three is the American military strategy in Asia and the Pacific. It is a strategy that has lost its effectiveness now that Gorbachev's Soviet Union has renounced the politics of hegemony. We should demand that the United States abandon her imperialist policies; the time is

ripe for that demand to be won.

Another necessary condition for Asian-Pacific peace is the establishment of economic justice, which is the foundation and the guarantor of peace.

Let us first think about how to ensure peace in the Western Pacific, starting with the reunification of Korea. This can be achieved by economic co-operation between the same five countries I mentioned just now — the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and unified Korea. This economic co-operation must transcend differences in political system, and must be based on the principles of justice and reciprocity.

The transformation of the Asia-Pacific region into an area of peace is inseparable from the quest

*the number of people being robbed,
being thrown into poverty and
being marginalized, is steadily rising.
Women and children are being left hungry and
minorities find their very existence threatened.*

to a solution to the North-South problem, with the U.S. and Japan representing the North in this case. This means dissolving the old order created by the American and Japanese transnationals, and simultaneously re-evaluating the concept of "development." This shouldn't mean just industrial development, but development in the broad sense, embracing cultural and social development too. Development which takes account of human rights, environmental protection, and cultural, traditional and natural resources. Sustainable and democratic development in which ordinary people can participate. And in the course of development, the value systems and lifestyles that feminist, minorities' and aborigines' movements have brought about must be shared by all the people. I would like to emphasise that this kind of development is already being demanded by the citizens' movements spreading out across every part of Asia, and is starting to be a common feature of their activities. What kind of responsibility, what kind of role should Japan take in establishing economic justice in the Asia Pacific region?

The Japanese government lists elimination of the trade surplus, expansion of domestic demand, and market-opening as the three main requirements for Japan to fulfil her international responsibilities.

For a start, these objectives cannot be achieved under the present "free market economy." Besides, there is only one country in the minds of the

politicians proposing these measures: the United States. The measures certainly do not embody any kind of attempt to solve the Third World crisis.

Meanwhile, Japan's transnational corporations have been steadily advancing abroad. It started in the high-growth period of the mid-sixties, with the transfer to Third World countries in Asia and elsewhere of labor-intensive industries such as production of textiles, household electrical appliances and sundry goods. After the oil crises in the seventies, these industries were followed by energy intensive, polluting industries like petrochemicals and aluminium. The rise of the yen in the mid-eighties has triggered a third wave, with high-tech sectors like automobiles, VCRs and semiconductors being farmed out to America and Europe, while parts for those industries, along with a wide range of processed products like foods and

Getting rid of sea-borne nuclear weapons; creating a Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone; and a unified Korea.

All three of these objectives appear well-nigh unrealizable at present — and the major obstacle to all three is the American military strategy in Asia and the Pacific.

apparel, have been earmarked for production in the Newly Industrialized Economies. The speed and scale of this globalization drive are without parallel in world history. The transnationals' guiding principle is never ending competition for maximized profit; their activities are exacerbating the Third World crisis and run directly counter to the struggles of the common people.

Their efforts have helped make Japan a world economic power. But what is going on in this country today? The casino economy is in full swing, and the political authorities have become more pervasively corrupt than ever before. As for the common people, our quality of life has deteriorated. The people are exhausted by long working hours and commuting time, and suffering from sky-high prices. Welfare provisions for the weak in society are being cut, while education is falling to pieces. Elsewhere, too, the evidence of decadence and decline is all too plentiful.

As recent election results show, the seeds of change are beginning to bud among the people. After 40 years of monopolizing political power, the Liberal Democratic Party suffered its first, historical defeat in July's upper house election. The principle reason for that defeat lay in the government's "market opening" policy, specifically the liberalization of farm imports. This drew an

angry response from the nation's farmers, already beset by problems making it well-nigh impossible for them to live by agriculture. A second reason for the defeat was the anti-LDP rebellion by women. The reports of women voting against the consumption tax from their standpoint as consumers tell only half the story. The phenomenon at the polls was the outcome of a wide range of movements which women have been actively developing over many years. For it is the women of Japan who have created, expanded and sustained the anti-pollution, anti-nuclear, consumer, co-operative and environmental protection movements to name but a few. Recently women have started to emerge from these movements to participate directly in politics.

Through these movements, Japanese women are gaining a heightened awareness of the realities of the Third World, and especially Asia. We are also starting to realize the degree to which our lifestyle is founded on reckless waste of resources, excessive production and consumption, and an unwarranted level of exports and imports. We

are starting to notice, too, that this lifestyle is contributing to environmental destruction on a global scale. And these realizations are creating, for the first time, a common basis for considering the future in solidarity with the people of the Third World.

In keeping with the People's Plan for the 21st Century now being promoted across the nation, we are holding this three-day international conference, starting today, to discuss the diplomatic, military and economic problems of the Asia-Pacific region with people of the region. On Day 3 we plan to open an international symposium on Official Development Assistance.

Kanagawa Prefecture, where this conference is being held, is the center of the people-to-people diplomacy advocated by the Governor of Kanagawa, Kazuji Nagasu. Here we intend to take up the question of how to achieve peace and justice in Asia and the Pacific, and one of the most pressing current problems, that of Japan's ODA. In response to this huge, mountain of "aid," the biggest in the world, let us join hands at a grassroots level to start a more human, more practical form of aid for each other. Through this movement, we must change the hearts and minds of multitudes.

The Kanagawa Declaration

The present state of affairs in the Asia-Pacific region is one of great danger, but also great promise. The People's Plan for the 21st Century (PP21) convened an international meeting in Yokohama, Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan on the 17th and 18th of August 1989 to consider causes of the present situation, desirable future causes, and how these may be realized by the affects of the people's movements rather than by governments and business.

The conference reviewed recent political, economic, military, and environmental trends on a global scale. In the Asia-Pacific context, it was recognized that the need to promote transnational corporate interests is now determining military and political strategy of the major powers.

Politically, East-West relations have been eased primarily in Europe rather than in Asia and the Pacific. Meanwhile, North-South relations have deteriorated as repressive regimes continue to be supported by the governments of the rich countries.

Economically, growth in the region allows grounds for optimism. But international as well as internal inequalities continue to widen, as corporate transnationalization has been accelerated by governments and international agencies. In particular, the policies and practices of multinational corporations are detrimental to the lives and works of women.

Militarily, the encouraging trend towards detente and superpower disarmament has concealed the escalation of the nuclear arms race and low intensity conflict with their genocidal and omnicidal implications, in the Asia and Pacific region. This is done in pursuit of US government and corporate regional hegemony and in support of authoritarian regimes and against popular movements for democracy and human rights.

Environmentally, corporate greed and unbridled consumerism have wrought widespread, growing, and often irreparable ecological damage and exhaustion of natural resources across the region.

Japan's fast-growing economic power has brought with it unprecedented global influence, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. Growing economic activity, and Japan's highly advanced technology, gives great opportunities to use that influence for the benefit of the region. However, Japan's enhanced strength has not been accompanied by any greater sense of moral responsibility. Instead Japanese corporate

investments have been characterized by an all-consuming obsession with profit at the expense of the interests of the people, especially workers, consumers, women, and indigenous people, their culture and environment. Official Development Assistance (ODA) has been dispensed primarily as a tool of Japan-US regional strategy and also to advance Japanese corporate interests. The interests of the people of the recipient countries, except collaborating members of ruling elites, as well as the genuine interests of the Japanese people have been ignored.

*Solidarity and cooperation
between the peoples affected is
the only way to break the power
of the ruling elites.*

In our view, there is little hope for improvement and genuine democracy if government and corporate interests are allowed to continue to dictate international relations. Instead, popular participation and accountability must be the key to democratic equitable relationships. Solidarity and cooperation between the peoples affected is the only way to break the power of the ruling elites. The emphasis should be on ecologically sustainable development rather than on unbridled economic growth.

The meeting expresses its indignation and disgust over the huge involvement of Japanese and other East Asian New Industrial Economies' (NIE) corporate investments, trade relations, and collaboration in supporting the Apartheid regime of South Africa that suppresses the just aspirations of the indigenous black majority. We demand total sanctions and isolation of the Apartheid regime and a boycott of its products worldwide.

We appeal to the people of the world:

1. Oppose the growing militarization of Japan and others, and the subordination of their foreign policy to transnational corporate interests and US government's global hegemonic designs, and work towards peaceful and equitable relations based

on mutual respect;

2. Curb the activities of Japanese and other transnational corporations to reduce the harmful effects of their activities around the world;

3. Evaluate the effect of ODA on donor and recipient countries at a grass roots level and increase the people's control over public funds for development assistance to ensure that they contribute to the people's activities for self-reliance.

4. Develop a people to people system of cooperation based on an awareness of the impact of affluent first-world lifestyles on the people of the Third World and their environment

Already the people's struggle for a just, democratic, ecologically sound and non-violent society are underway in every corner of the world. We express our solidarity with those struggles and our determination to bring about a just and peaceful world.

The Kanagawa Appeal

(adopted at the Public Meeting of the People's Plan 21st Century: Kanagawa International Symposium.)

On this day, August 19, 1989, we, the 400 participants of the People's Plan 21st Century: Kanagawa International Symposium for Living Together with the Asian Peoples - Today's ODA, including 29 representatives from 15 countries, declare the following:

With each passing day, the role that the economic giant Japan should be playing is growing. One aspect of this role is its Official Development Assistance (ODA). Through searching for the ideal form of ODA and identifying the actual situation involving Japanese companies, we have gathered here to think, hand in hand with the Asian peoples, about what true humanistic prosperity is.

Japan's ODA equals about ¥11,000 per capita, with a total reaching up to ¥1,400 billion. Together with military expenditure it has been removed to an inaccessible precinct, and the Japanese government is intently aiming to increase it. It is as if aid is acting as an acquittal for Japan's trade friction. We have learnt from the overseas participants' reports on Japan's aid that it is not being used to support the self-help movement at the grass-roots level.

Essentially, ODA is cooperation in the development process. It has no meaning unless it is thoroughly discussed with the recipient countries

and used effectively. Japanese aid, however, first establishes the framework of the budget and then decides upon the suitable projects. With a shortage of staff and insufficient preliminary assessment, these projects tend to be left in the hands of the trading companies.

The truth of the situation is that the government is concentrating only on the amount of aid without any principles or ideals. Aid given to large projects seems, rather to be aggravating the serious problems of environmental destruction, poverty, human rights, and food which we have learned from the participants of Asia and Africa. Is it not true that Japan is taking something much greater than what it is giving? While speaking out on what this aid should be, we think we should also listen to the voices of the people who receive aid more humbly.

The time has come for us to insert a surgical knife into the structure of the governments's ODA. At the same time, we will stand up, and although it is very small, this will be our action as citizens of this earth. This action is grassroots aid which adheres closely to the lives of the people of Asia and Africa. We have given this aid the name People to People Aid.

We confirm here as an appeal of this gathering from Kanagawa that we will carry on our activities as proof of our solidarity with the people of the Third World.

Charter: People to People Aid Movement

Having gathered at the People's Plan for the 21st Century: Kanagawa International Symposium for Living Together with the Asian Peoples -- Today's ODA, on August 19, 1989 in Yokohama,

we decided to launch a movement of 'People to People Aid'. The reason why we call it a movement is the following: this is not a campaign to unilaterally send money to 'help the poor people of

the Third World' while we enjoy such an affluent lifestyle in Japan. We must recognize how our lives discrimination against women, which are prevalent in the Third World. We must acknowledge how much our lavish extravagance has caused the destruction of the environment and has threatened the very existence of national minorities in the

It is up to the people of the Third World to decide on the kind of Development and type of social transformation that they want.

Third World. We must understand how much wealth of the Third World we have plundered so far. We have to see the structure through which this has been done.


Today, in many places of the Third World, people have been carrying out a variety of self-help movements at the grassroots level. Their concept of Development is very different from the Development which the World Bank and the Japanese government has been waving around as if it is a magic wand. Their Development is one which serves people in a true sense.

The People to People Aid movement seeks to establish solidarity with these movements in the Third World. We have to stress that this is a solidarity movement. It is up to the people of the Third World to decide on the kind of Development and type of social transformation that they want. We are not in a position to interfere. On the contrary, we have much to learn from them. As a result, we will be obliged to rethink our way of living and particularly to alter our ideology of putting economic growth above everything else. Therefore, this movement of People to People Aid is a joint undertaking of mutual aid between the people of the Third World and ourselves.

We are proud of the fact that we have begun this movement in Kanagawa where People to People Diplomacy is being promoted by the prefectural government. We appeal to as many people as possible to join us, and we also urge the prefectural government as well as other cities and towns in Kanagawa to support this movement. Finally, we wish to spread this Kanagawa model of our aid movement to the rest of Japan.

We would like to establish the following as points of mutual understanding and agreement to direct and spread our movement:

1. The support and funds of People to People Aid will come from people who agree with and approve of this Charter.
2. We will establish solidarity with the self-help movements of the people of the Third World. In practice, we will cooperate with the network of these movements.
3. We recognize that people of the Third World will choose their own kind of Development and type of social transformation.
4. We respect the traditional values and culture of Asia and the Third World countries and pledge to preserve their environment.
5. We look for an appropriate and effective amount of aid. We will keep the spirit of 'small is beautiful' in our mind.
6. We will learn much from this movement and rethink our present lifestyle. Ultimately, we will try to change the relationship between Japan and the Third World.
7. We will not rush the process or expect to get quick results. we will not mix our Japanese style of competitiveness and way of thinking into this movement.
8. We work as volunteers. A Steering Committee will be organized to carry out this movement.



MIDDLE EAST UPRISING

IS NOT OVER
NEITHER IS OUR
COVERAGE

Subscribe now to *Middle East Report* for the very low price of \$15.95 and get one issue FREE. Ask about our special offer on back issues about the Palestine-Israel conflict, too.

YES! I want to subscribe to Middle East Report Enclosed is \$15.95. (Add \$5 postage outside the US.)

Please send me FREE (check one) The Uprising The Next Phase

I don't want to subscribe now, but send me a copy of

The Uprising The Next Phase (\$5.50 each, postpaid.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send your check or money order in US dollars only to: MERIP, P.O. Box 43445, Washington DC 20010.

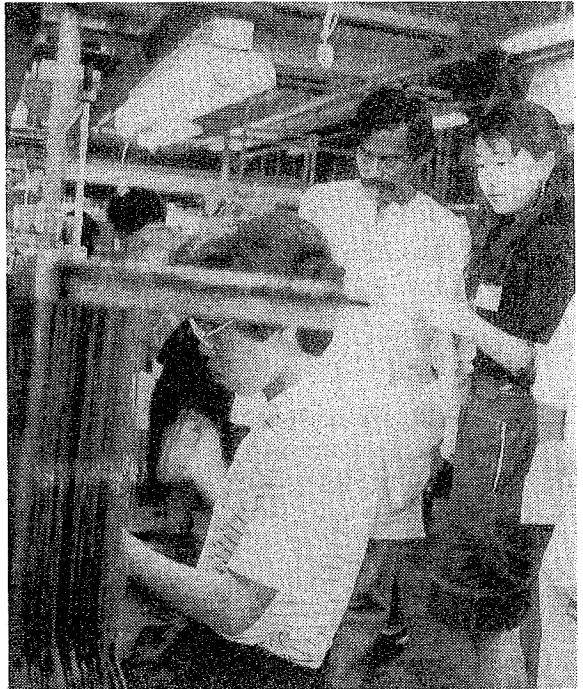
Workers' Program:

For an Alternative Labor Movement

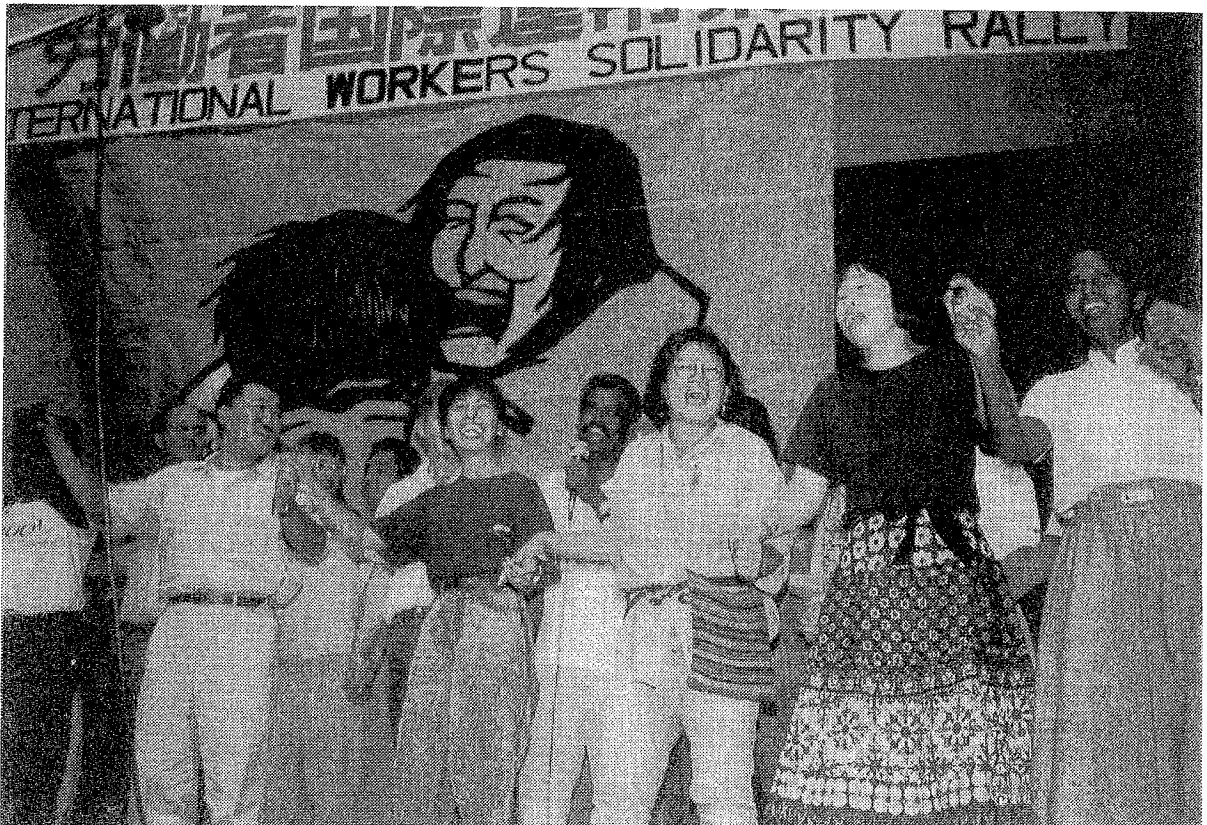
Another active PP21 program was the Workers' Program: For an Alternative Labor Movement held on August 7-15, consisting of two parts, in Tokyo and then Osaka. About 40 foreign participants from 18 countries and 300 labor activists from Japan participated in the first part. The latter part was a General Meeting of Asian Workers Solidarity Link (AWSL—an Asian regional workers' solidarity organization).

Country reports were presented and discussions deepened during the group session where participants were divided into 4 groups with different themes; the Japanese management system and corporate unions, women and the labor movement, international labor organizations and organizing the unorganized. The following resolution reflects the fruitful results of each group discussion.

The program promoted active interaction between foreign delegates and workers in Japan through field trips and home stays between meetings. Visits to day-laborers' sites and progressive unions in Japan and sharing with workers there brought an alternative face of Japanese workers and their labor movement.



Bangladeshi participant visiting a textile factory at Senshu, Osaka



Resolution of International Workers Conference

Introduction

In most countries of Asia/Pacific the economies are thriving. Cities are growing, factories are increasing production and trade is increasing. In the process capabilities are accumulating hundreds of millions in profits while workers are receiving an ever-decreasing percentage of the wealth they are creating.

We have heard reports of decreases in real wages for workers, increases in production speeds which are causing more injuries and deaths, long hours of work, unsafe working environments and dismissal of workers, with little compensation. We have also heard of the plight of rural workers in their struggle for survival. It is not difficult to conclude that the increasing exploitation of workers is the reason why the rich are increasing their profits.

Another phenomenon hurting workers is the reality of "runaway shops." Companies in Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and south Korea are closing factories and moving to Asian countries which offer -- even advertise -- "cheap labor." Pro-capitalist governments continue to change labor laws to such an extent that the laws have really become anti-labor laws.

In the past, when faced with such attacks by both employers and government officials, workers turned toward their unions for support and leadership. Unions provided the collective strength and leadership in the struggle to achieve and protect workers' rights.

However, today many unions are not only not helping workers, they are actually assisting capitalists to further exploit workers.

Yet, in spite of all the problems we have seen signs of hope for workers and the workers' movement. In countries throughout the Asia/Pacific region there are trade unions and groups of workers which truly represent the interests and aspirations of workers.

We plan to build better links between these groups and to take actions which will contribute towards building solidarity between countries to enable workers to be more united in the struggle to build a more just society -- a society in which workers will benefit from all the hard work they

do.

Organizing the Unorganized Workers

The reality for workers in Asia/Pacific is that large numbers are not organized into Trade Unions. In many countries it is only the core workers in large factories who are organized. But in many cases these workers are organized into "Yellow Unions."

Unorganized workers are found among peripheral workers. These workers include part-time or casual workers, women workers, migrant workers, out-workers, young workers (including child labor), disabled workers, unemployed workers, racial minorities, bonded labor, senior workers, and supervisory/semi-management.

Many unorganized workers suffer severe discrimination throughout Asia/Pacific. For example, minimum wage laws are ignored by capitalists and governments; unpaid overtime or forced Q.C.C.'s in workers' own time; unfair dismissals; contracting out work from organized plants; anti-trade union labor laws; and establishment of Free Trade Zones.

It is imperative that Genuine Trade Unionists make every effort to organize the unorganized work force in their countries. New and innovative methods of organizing need to be used along-side traditional forms of Trade Union organizing. Some methods discussed include:

- *establishing labor information and advice centers in worker communities, available at convenient times and using the first language of workers;
- *establishing community unions to help organize workers on a territorial level;
- *using a variety of forms of delivering information to workers, e.g. leaflets, exhibitions, drama, music, etc.;
- *holding education classes on labor law, literacy, language skills, political analysis;
- *linking organized and unorganized workers;
- *campaigning on issues of concern to unorganized workers;
- *promoting solidarity with workers in other countries;
- *establishing Welfare Associations to draw in

unorganized workers;

- *campaigning for governments to ratify and making use of ILO conventions in order to secure the rights of unorganized workers, especially in the area of child workers and hazardous work.

Young workers constitute more than half of the active population in Asia/Pacific. Therefore special attention should be given to organizing young workers who are at a vital formative stage of their lives.

We particularly note the serious condition of child bonded laborers who have lost their freedom of movement. They are subjected to work and live under most hazardous and sub-human conditions.

It is stressed, however, that it is only through day to day living with, working with and organizing unorganized workers can we help them establish genuine unions and other worker organizations to protect and promote their rights.

Women Workers

The common themes emerging from our discussion of women workers' experiences and struggles in the Asia/Pacific region were:

- *the reasons why women are not fully and equally involved in Trade Unions;
- *the need for women to increase their solidarity with other women's groups -- middle class, feminist, all races;
- *ways of increasing women workers' involvement in Trade Unions, e.g. women taking leadership roles, asserting the use of and the benefit of women's ways of organizing, and the recognition of the crucial need for women to address women workers' issues and problems;
- *equal pay between men and women is important as is the need for traditional types of "women work" to be valued as much as traditional "male" occupations (women's work also includes unpaid child-bearing and domestic work);
- *common work experiences are low wages, gender discrimination, penalization in the labor market when re-entering after maternal duties, social pressure on married women not to work, double duty for women workers of domestic labor and paid labor, women's work seen as less important than men's, failure of trade unions to seriously address women workers' problems, use of women as cheap labor, experience of the women's sector of the work force as the most exploited and the least organized;
- *the increasing problem of sexual exploitation of women throughout the region;

- *the agreement that worker liberation cannot happen without women's liberation.

We call for the development of a charter for Asia/Pacific working women. This must aim to ensure that women workers will have enough time to organize within the union, through concrete methods such as the provision of child care.

Women-only meetings within trade unions have been recognized as valuable and necessary in addressing some of the current problems which women encounter in their work. When women-only meetings occur at international worker meetings every effort should be made to also have women interpreters.

Japanese Labor Management Control, Privatization and Deregulation

Japanese Labor Management Control is nothing less than the most sophisticated method to date of the exploitation of labor by capital.

In many ways the term "Japanese" Management is a misleading description of this form of worker exploitation. It is called "Japanese" management only because it has been perfected in Japan. It should more approximately be called "Management by Stress," "Just in Time Management" or "Totalitarian Management."

Through the "Just in Time" method both materials and the human element are exploited to perfection. The genius of this form of management is its synchronization, i.e. highly coordinated, efficient and productive workplaces. But it is also vulnerable. If part of the system breaks down then the whole system breaks down. This potentially means that workers have the power to bring the system to a halt.

But most vulnerability is in favor of the management. In particular, fear forces workers to submit to this totalitarian management. These management practices call for complete flexibility in assignment of work, the absences or subversion of collective bargaining. Wages are related to company evaluated performance and Health and Safety standards are dramatically reduced. Peer pressure ensures workers police each other.

A yellow or company controlled union is essential for this system of management to survive. All delegates were able to provide examples of such management techniques operating in their countries. Also, some successful struggles against these methods were reported, e.g. Nissan strike in Auckland, New Zealand.

If totalitarian labor management has become the tool for exploitation of workers within the company, **PRIVATIZATION** and **DEREGULATION** are the tools which capitalist

governments are using to further exploit the working class.

The notorious privatization of the Japanese National Railways was discussed. It was noted that the IMF and World Bank are demanding that all debtor countries introduce privatization or Government Asset sales. Privatization further increase the wealth and power in private capital's hands.

Deregulation is proceeding hand in hand with Privatization. Deregulation sees the tearing down of laws and regulations that proscribe economic activities within nations. Some of these regulations especially in the labor law area have been attained by workers after many years of struggle by unions. Other regulations which were demanded by capitalists during the developing stage of capitalism are being pulled down at the demand of international monopoly and finance capital to enable monopolization to increase even faster.

A Free Trade Zone is the highest example of a deregulated economy, but now capital is pushing to deregulate entire countries and pull down the barriers for capital between countries. Left unchecked, this will further increase the power of capital over workers.

International Organizations

There exist numerous international contacts between workers and unions in the region. A number of national labor centers are affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Also numerous national labor centers are affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). There are also several other organizations which are active, e.g. Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI).

In many cases these international labor organizations have a negative impact on the development of genuine independent democratic trade unions. These organizations promote a union philosophy which tends to be bureaucratic and which supports management to the disadvantage of workers.

However, progressive unionists in a number of countries which have been able to persuade their center and individual unions to support some independent genuine trade unions and centers in the region.

There are also networks of workers based around several regional organizations, which are Committee of Asian Women (CAW), International Young Christian Workers-Asia Pacific (IYCW-AP), Asia Monitor Resource Center (AMRC), Labor Program of the Center for the Progress of Peoples (CPP-LP), Urban Rural Mission of the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA-URM) and of course, Asian Workers Solidarity Links (AWSL). These organizations are not based on traditional

Progressive workers and unions in Japan fear that RENGO and JILAF will continue in the work of undermining genuine independent democratic unions and workers movements in Asia/Pacific.

trade unions but rather on links between progressive individuals, groups and trade unions. These organizations promote international solidarity amongst workers, precisely because traditional national trade unions are usually pro-government or pro-management.

In Japan, the formation of two new organizations has caused much concern. A new national labor center, RENGO, was organized in 1987, representing 5.5 million workers. This labor center is the largest in Japan with a pro-management perspective. It aims to export Japanese-style industrial relations which help Japanese investments and management, not Asia/Pacific workers.

The second organization is the Japanese Institute of Labor Foundation (JILAF), which was set up by several large trade unions affiliated to RENGO. JILAF receives a yearly grant from the Japanese government and trade unions. JILAF has organized training sessions in Japan to which to which Asia/Pacific workers are invited. It also donates money and equipment to trade unions, and has begun organizing similar training sessions in the region.

Progressive workers and unions in Japan fear that RENGO and JILAF will continue in the work of undermining genuine independent democratic unions and workers movements in Asia/Pacific. Therefore, there is a need for research in such organizations like RENGO and JILAF. This research should be conducted in Japan and other countries, and there should be a continuous

exchange.

Multinational Companies (MNCs)

Two papers were presented on problems of multinationals in Asia/Pacific. Japanese MNCs are expanding their activities in Asia/Pacific countries. Some of the reasons for the expansion of MNC activities in these countries are the access to cheap labor, the generous facilities offered by host countries, and controlling the union activities in parent countries.

The other presentation emphasized the need for workers for the same MNC to be entitled to equal treatment as one of the basis for unifying the workers. To implement this idea it was suggested to increase the exchange of information more systematically and on a regular basis.

Monitoring activities of MNCs, building data banks on MNCs and encouraging unions to apply a principle of International Comparability for their collective bargaining activities are some suggestions to enhance solidarity and linkage among the workers.

Migrant Workers

As workers increasingly seek better lives for themselves and their families, they often leave their home countries and immigrate to a foreign country to seek work. In most countries of Asia and Pacific these migrant workers face problems of racism and discrimination.

It is imperative that trade unions and community groups make every effort to assist the entry of these migrants into the general population so that they can retain their identity and culture while being part of the new country.

Some methods discussed to achieve this aim include:

- *making information available in the respective mother tongues of migrants;
- *to provide para-legal aid to these workers by host country trade unions and community;
- *to check any kind of cheating and exploitation in the process of recruitment in sender countries and deportation in receiver countries; and
- *campaign against racism and exploitation against migrants.

We hope that bridges can be built between local and migrant workers so that their common problem can be addressed.

Conclusion

The participants in the International Workers

Conference having held discussions on the above topics and having participated in exposures and symposia with Japanese workers firmly believe:

- 1.that the struggle of workers to control and defeat the power of capital must continue -- Japanese and other Asia/Pacific workers must be united in this struggle;
- 2.that Japan is becoming the dominant capitalist power in the Asia/Pacific region;
- 3.that finance and monopoly capital seek to place even greater burdens on workers in the future through their labor control methods;
- 4.that women workers suffer an even greater burden through receiving lower wages, less secure jobs, working a second shift at home and still suffering from chauvinist male practices at work and home;
- 5.that migrant workers are also suffering extreme exploitation in host countries; and
- 6.that government and company controlled "yellow" unions are being used by capital to control workers in the interest of capital. And co-option and co-operation amongst yellow unions is growing through Asia/Pacific.

This conference endorses the platform of the conference to build an alternative trade union movement in Asia/Pacific to stand on the side of the oppressed and exploited workers of the area.

Participants at the conference commit themselves to return to their countries, unions and work places to put this program into effect. In this regard, we must:

- 1.combat yellow unionism and promote genuine organization of workers in our countries;
- 2.oppose the spread of "Japanese" Labor Management methods in the region;
3. struggle for equal role of women in the labor movements;
4. unite the workers movement with other progressive social and cultural movements in each country;
5. continue to build international solidarity and linkages between workers of all our countries; and
6. take concrete steps in our own countries and throughout the region to work towards the creation of a genuine alternative labor movement that will provide strength to the struggles of workers throughout Asia/Pacific.

The 21st Century has been described by many as the Pacific century. In the Asia/Pacific region, let us make it a century for workers.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!!

Striking Back at the MNCs

The farewell party of The Asia-Pacific Consumer Conference, held on August 21st, was full of songs and toasts from the foreign delegations and the participants from Japan. It was too quick an ending to ten months of long, hectic preparations.

In the first two days of the previous four-day conference, which was attended by 25 foreign delegates from various consumers' organizations in Asia and the Pacific and 23 people from Japanese consumers' movements, participants shared the major problems faced by consumers in the Asia Pacific region in a round table discussion with slides and resources brought by the foreign delegations. Most of the major problems involved human rights violations by multinational corporations in the region and the discussion focused on those by Japanese corporations. Many of the issues raised during the conference were not known to the Japanese themselves.

On the third day, participants divided into 7 groups under different themes: 1)MNCs activities and Environmental Impact, 2)Environmental Disruption and Consumers' Responsibility (A); Conservation of Ozone Layer, Greenhouse Effect, Destruction of Tropical Forests, Waste Disposal, 3)ditto (B);Detergent and Water Pollution, Pollution in Japan, Asbestos Disasters, Environmental Pollution Caused by IC Plants and other, 4)Agriculture and Food Culture, 5)Food, 6)Energy and 7)Health.

In Group 1 on MNCs, Julia A. Amargo from the Philippines spoke on the destruction of Filipino lives and the environment because of economic domination by foreign multinationals, especially from the United States and Japan. She pointed out with anger that MNCs involved in financing have a strong relationship with the World Bank and the IMF and have made decisions about investment and corporate projects without consulting the Philippine government.

Reports from Indonesia revealed another kind of destruction by foreign MNCs. Indonesia is the Third World country receiving the largest amount of direct investment from Japan. There are more

than 150 Japanese companies along the coast of Jakarta Bay. Those producing batteries and glass have polluted the area with mineral wastes such as mercury, and other heavy metals and organic compounds, bringing about a "Jakarta Minamata Disease." In addition, deforestation of the vast mangrove forest has deprived Indonesians in many parts of the country of their livelihood.

Lee Song-ok from south Korea spoke on Japanese investment in her country. A number of Japanese corporations in south Korea have caused environmental pollution and violated workers' rights. It was not until this February that the court ordered them to start adopting certain compensation measures. The Ong Sang Industrial Zone, where many Japanese companies are located, is known to pollute the sea nearby, but products from the sea are still exported to Japan. With little available information, some Korean people have become active protesters against the pollution. In order to go further, Lee pointed out, an international information network on pollution will be needed.

Hatae Hiroshi, a lawyer and member of the Japanese Lawyers Committee to Monitor the Export of Pollution, reported on the case of Asian Rare Earth (a chemical joint venture located in the Lahat Industrial Estate in which a Japanese multinational, Mitsubishi Kasei Corp. has a 28 percent share). ARE dumped radioactive waste in Papan, a neighboring town where residents have consistently and strongly protested against the dumpsite since 1982.

In Group 2, a delegation from Indonesia pointed out fake advertisements for a Japanese company producing agricultural chemicals. The company set a double standard of safety for its products: a strict one inside Japan but a lower standard overseas. One of the ad's lines says "This product is effective on noxious insects but safe for beneficial ones." A Resolution was adopted to halt Japan's wasteful usage of paper because of its devastating effect on rain forests in the tropical zones of Asia. A total ban on nuclear power plants was also agreed on.

In the third group a report on synthetic detergents by a Korean delegation became the

focus of attention. In south Korea, they pointed out, those who speak out on the bad effects of these chemicals have become the targets of attack by the companies.

In the fourth group, on agriculture and food culture, a delegate from Indonesia reported on the transformation of local agriculture after "Green Revolution" policies were adopted by the government. Farmers make up 60-70 percent of the total population of Indonesia, and 80 percent of them are tenant farmers. Many have been forced to change their crops from those for their own use to cash crops. Farmers' interests have been deeply threatened by agribusiness in the United States, Europe and other parts of the world. They stressed in the discussion that liberalization will not bring benefits either to farmers or to consumers.

In Group 5 on food, a Malaysian delegate made a critical analysis of the sales of MSG (monosodium glutamate) especially by Ajinomoto, which has tried to divide and rule the consumers' movement. A Korean delegation presented a search finding that poorer families use more MSG. The bad effects of MSG, the disordering of taste

and the destruction of food culture, are seen as an issue everywhere in Asia. Thawee Kanjanapoo from Thailand severely criticized a Japanese company's violation of the WHO international standard for powdered milk. Participants agreed to take actions against governments and food trade companies by demanding a ban on the irradiation of food.

In Group 6 a south Korean delegate described the growing anti-nuclear power movement in south Korea which now consist of 19 different groups.

In Group 7 on Health, a Thai delegate spoke about what was happening in the country. For instance, there is a drug act in Thailand but it is not observed. Syrup for children containing 7 percent alcohol is sold in the markets. The participants also strongly criticised tobacco exports from Japan and the United States.

Discussions culminated into the following declaration which includes 83 proposals for action. Another fruitful outcome of the conference has been the start of networking between the foreign participants and the Japanese participants, especially the supporting staff for the event.

The Ohmiya Declaration on "Creating our Future Now"

1. We, the participants of the Asia-Pacific Consumers Conference gathered in Ohmiya City, Japan from 18-21 August, 1989, having deliberated on the concerns and aspirations of all Asia-Pacific consumers proclaim this Declaration, which we address to the governments, the transnational companies, and the citizens of the Asia-Pacific region in general and to the Japanese nation in particular.

Realities in the Asia Pacific Region

2. The Asia-Pacific region has come to be identified as a fast developing region with a vast potential to be the fastest growing and largest market in the world. To a large extent, Japan has played a key role as the crucial actor in this development. All signs point to the fact that the Asia-Pacific region is going to be the focus and arena for further competition, expansion, and development in the coming century. This explosion of so-called progress and development will no doubt be led by Japan and dictated by the huge Japanese financial and industrial empires based in this region. Japan's per capita GNP is the highest in

the world. It's annual foreign investments, trade surpluses, and annual overseas economic aid is the largest in the world. The world's top ten banks are all Japanese for the first time. Japanese TNCs are penetrating all continents -- the Americas, Europe, Asia-Pacific, and even Africa.

3. TNCs from Japan are constantly searching hungrily for new profits. When they find themselves unable to meet the strict environmental standards in their own country, they move to the Asia-Pacific countries where pollution control is weak or absent. Collaborating with governments there, they exercise undue influence and, in the process, they destroy the environment, exploit natural resources, violate human rights, disrupt local lifestyles and culture, and even endanger the lives of the people there.

4. The Japanese people have a unique and harmonious philosophy that we need to draw on to create our sustainable future together now. There is the Japanese tradition where all things are seen as part of an infinitely complex interrelationship, and the tradition where the earth is seen as our mother

and we are the ones who take care of her. All of us would like to see a world built on such traditions.
A New Vision is Needed

5. To change the current reality of the Asia-Pacific region, we need a new consumer society where people consume products and services with a conscience. Producers and their products should no longer be just judged on quality, durability, performance, price, and after sales service, but also, people must be given the [u]information and [u]choice to decide [u]to buy or not to buy[u] on three more important criteria:

- a) Is the production [u]ethical -- does the company engage in business practices which take advantage of lenient legal, social, and environmental regulations in Third World host countries as compared to the strict regulations existing in the company's home country? Does the company engage in malpractices like bribery and corruption?
- b) Is the production [u]ecological -- does the production process care for the environment?
- c) Is the production [u]equitable -- is it fair to the traditions and economics of local communities and vulnerable Third World societies?

6. Business enterprises, both government and private, can be judged for their social responsibility by such criteria, for example:

- a) respect for the environment
- b) support for the South African regime
- c) sensitivity to Third World cultural diversity
- d) public accountability through disclosure of information
- e) advancement of women's rights and position
- f) impact on local community-based industries
- g) employment policies and fairness to workers including health and safety standards in the work place

7. Ecological or 'green' issues are particularly important and consumers should have the information to use their power of [u]not buying products that are likely to do the following:

- a) endanger the health of the consumer or of others
- b) cause significant damage to the environment during exploitation of natural resources, manufacture, use, or disposal
- c) consume a disproportionate amount of energy during manufacture, use, or disposal
- d) cause unnecessary waste, either because of over packaging or because of an unduly short product life

- e) use material derived from threatened species or from threatened environments
- f) involve the unnecessary use of or cruelty to animals, whether this be for toxicity testing or for other purposes
- g) adversely affect other countries and communities, particularly in the Third World

A Call to Action

8. We demand that all governments in the region establish measures to encourage socially responsible production processes and consumption patterns as described above. Governments should ensure that:

- a) aid policies are directed towards that end, and
- b) that business enterprises which engage in socially irresponsible production and marketing are punished.

9. Because of their economic power and dominance, the Japanese Government and Japanese TNCs have a special responsibility for this in the Asia-Pacific region and in the Third World.

10. We call on consumer groups in the region to join with other citizens' groups especially those working on environment, women's issues, workers, youth, alternative and ecological enterprises (like organic farmers and Third World Shops) to work together and create networks to secure this new vision of a consumer society based on ethics, ecology, and equity. Because of the dominant role of Japanese TNCs, special monitoring of their malpractices must be undertaken on a systematic basis and widely published. Such monitoring should also be done for socially and ecologically irresponsible overseas aid projects of the governments in the region.

11. We also call for the full implementation of the United Nations "Guidelines on Consumer Protection" and the urgent adoption of the "UN Code on Transnational Corporations." We believe that these measures will help to create a better future for the Asia-Pacific region now.

12. The boycott of companies and products -- the power of consumers not to buy -- is our most powerful weapon. We should use this power individually and collectively in a much more assertive manner to give full effect to the ideas contained in this declaration.

*Asia-Pacific Consumers Conference
August 18-21, 1989
Ohmiya, Japan*

—Action Responsibility Agenda—

1. Japan should cease its involvement in driftnet fishing and adhere to the Tarawa Declaration adopted by 14 countries of the South Pacific. Groups in Japan should lobby parliament and expose those companies involved in the exploitative fishing. (CUJ/IDEA/CCF/Greenpeace Japan)
2. The victims of Bhopal must be supported to get a fair settlement and quicker relief. The present settlement is a miscarriage of justice in that it prevents the continuation of criminal and civil actions. (CERS/IOCU/Bhopal Disaster Accounting Group)
3. Japanese groups should investigate the violation of the FAO Code of Conduct on the Distribution and Use of Pesticides and double standards by Japanese pesticide companies in the advertising and labeling of pesticides in Indonesia. (CUJ/PAN INDONESIA/PAN JAPAN)
4. "Transfer pricing" by TNCs is a complex crime that needs more attention by citizen's groups. The business operations of CALTEX in Indonesia / Philippines should be investigated. (YELKA/KMPI)
5. Japan should be lobbied to follow the example of Australia to prohibit the export of hazardous products which do not meet domestic standards of health and safety. (CUJ/IOCU)
6. All other countries should lobby their governments to have similar legislation, as above, in their countries. (All)
7. The Report of the UN sponsored World Commission on Environment and Development "Our Common Future" should be more widely publicized. (Shodanren/All/IOCU)
8. Japanese ODA should give priority to aid based on three principles:
 - a) Promotion of self-reliance of people in the Third World.
 - b) Participatory practices be established to involve citizen's organizations in the decision making process for giving aid.
 - c) There should be genuine transfer of technology. (CUJ/ODA Study Group)
9. An "anti-disposable chopsticks" movement should be launched vigorously in Japan. (Japan Housewives Association/other Japanese NGOs)
10. The "Consumer Interpol" service of IOCU has been providing a very important information service in health and safety, and should be more widely available and expanded. (IOCU)
11. The UN consolidated List on Banned and Severely Restricted Products was a very important tool in making changes in pharmaceutical and pesticide company malpractices. The UN should actively continue this important work and more citizens' groups should use this list. (All)
12. Activities of Japanese companies in South Africa should be exposed and opposed vigorously, as these companies are supporting the sickness of apartheid. (Japanese NGOs)
13. The activities of TNCs in bribing and influencing public interest and other social organizations and governments, should be exposed. (All)
14. Japan Tobacco Inc.'s recent aggressive entry into the Third World tobacco market is reprehensible and should be opposed. (Japanese NGOs/IOCU)
15. Mitsubishi Chemical's Asian Rare Earth factory in Malaysia should be protested for their irresponsible disposal of radioactive waste and demanded to make compensation for the victims. The residents should be supported in their court struggle. (CUJ/Watch Pollution Export Commission of Japanese Lawyers)
16. The Japanese Ministry of Finance should use the power of the Foreign Exchange Act to require Japanese companies to have adequate environmental standards, similar to that being done to discourage new investments in South Africa. (Watch Pollution Export Commission of Japanese Lawyers/Japanese NGOs)
17. More information needs to be disseminated on the role and influence of TNC auditing and accounting firms. (KMPI/IOCU)
18. "Alternative tourism" that helps developed world tourists see the forests and the real lives of Third World people, should be supported. (All)
19. A network of "Third World Shops" and other such alternative businesses or community based activities should be supported. A clearinghouse for information should be established. (All/IOCU)
20. More "Development Education" should be done among young people in Japan to show them the true facts of life and struggle in the Third World especially in the area of the environment. (Japanese NGOs)
21. There should be a lobby for more ODA assistance to go direct to NGOs both in Japan and in the Third World. (Japanese NGOs)
22. Action should be taken against video games for children which promote aggression and waste time. Most of these video games come from Japan. (CCPN Thailand/Japanese NGOs)

23. An inventory of malpractices of Japanese TNCs should be compiled together with suggestions for action as part of the proceedings of the conference. (CUJ)
 24. A clearinghouse on information on Japanese TNCs should be established in Japan, in order to assist Third World groups/NGOs. (PAN Japan)
 25. Japanese infant milk companies should be made to comply with the WHO Code on the Marketing of Breast-Milk Substitutes, and their malpractices stopped. (Japanese NGOs)
 26. More efforts should be made to train young NGO activists so that our campaigns can be multiplied. (All/IOCU)
 27. The UN Guidelines on Consumer Protection can be an important framework for getting better deals for consumers. The efforts of the Australian government to establish the Asia-Pacific Consumer Policy Forum should be supported. (All/Australian NGOs)
 28. To urge the Japanese government to establish a legal procedure which enables it to punish the parent company of a Japanese TNC in case that its overseas subsidiary does something to infringe Japanese law. (Watch Pollution Export Commission of Japanese Lawyers)
 29. To urge the Environmental Agency to send technical staff to the embassy in major Southeast Asian countries to conduct a study of environmental destruction by Japanese TNCs. (Watch Pollution Export Commission of Japanese Lawyers)
 30. To urge any kind of Japanese finance institutions including the Export/Import Bank, the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, JICA, as well as private banks to establish environmental guidelines for their lending policies and practices. (JATAN)
 31. To boycott Mitsubishi products world wide in order to stop logging and log imports from Sarawak and to protest against the ARE case in Malaysia. (World Rainforest Movement, Rainforest Action Network, JATAN)
 32. To call upon Japanese citizens, central and local governments, and big business offices to stop the wasteful use of quality paper such as computer, FAX, advertisement, and wrapping in order to protect mangrove and other forest areas. (JATAN/Japanese NGOs)
 33. To stop the use of wood pulp in so-called "diaper paper". (JATAN/Japanese NGOs)
 34. To boycott Scott tissue to support Indonesian people's struggle against Scott's huge tree plantation project in West Papua. (JATAN/Japanese NGOs)
 35. To return tissue paper packages which are given free as advertisement by many Japanese companies. (JATAN/Japanese NGOs)
 36. To urge Japanese diet members to set up a special committee to review the adverse impacts of Japanese TNCs activities on the people in other countries, especially in the Third World. (JATAN/Japanese NGOs)
 37. To make a pamphlet on the know-how of lobbying for the benefit of Japanese grassroots groups. (PAN Japan)
 38. To have a rock concert to attract youth to our causes. (Japanese citizens groups)
 39. To study the ecological backgrounds of the products marketed by cooperatives so that they won't sell anything ecologically harmful. (Cooperatives)
- The activities of TNCs in bribing and influencing public interest and other social organizations and governments, should be exposed.*
40. To encourage grassroot business, workers collectives, and ecobanks to cope with the market control of TNCs. (Japanese NGOs)
 41. To encourage boycott or any other powerful action to stop TNCs producing and exporting bananas, pineapples, and other agricultural products by infringing on farm workers' human rights in the Third World. (NCPC)
 42. To stop the use of chemicals to treat exported products. (PAN Japan)
 43. The information on the environmental pollution due to, biological toxicity of, and the movement against synthetic detergents should be provided to other countries. (CUJ)
 44. To collect and disseminate information of antisocial behaviors that Japanese Detergent TNCs have done in other countries. (Environmental Monitoring Laboratory)
 45. Farmers and consumers should develop mutual understanding of each other to ensure that agricultural produce is safe and is sold at a price high enough to maintain a sustainable agriculture. (CUJ/Association for Rice Self-Reliance and Review of Food Control System)
 46. Our eating habits should be changed so that we can build a simpler lifestyle independent of

commercialism and mass media advertisement.
(All)

47. We should firmly oppose the theory of 'free trade' of agricultural products promoted by TNCs for their own profits, and maintain a sustainable agriculture as organic farming without environmental and social damages. (CUJ/Association for Rice Self-Reliance and Review of Food Control System)
48. We should stop eating lobsters and shrimps to oppose TNCs overfishing that causes damages

*Think globally,
Act locally,
Live ecologically.*

to the environment and people's lives in Asia.
(CUJ/PARC)

49. MSG (monosodium glutamate) should be boycotted. (CUJ)
50. 'No MSG Please' campaign should be made against food processors or restaurants that use MSG in preparation. (CUJ)
51. We should demand the five MSG producers and their local companies in the Asia-Pacific region to stop promotion and advertising of MSG immediately.
52. All governments in the Asia-Pacific region, including the Japanese government, should be asked to enact a national act based on the WHO's International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes. (CUJ)
53. Protesting the fact that Chernobyl-contaminated skim milk and other foods remain in distribution, we should ask governments to monitor the contaminated food strictly, and not to allow their distribution. (CUJ/Citizen's Nuclear Information Center)
54. Daminozide (alar or benign), suspected for carcinogenesis, should be banned. (PAN Japan)
55. Junk food or fast food such as hamburgers, destroying our traditional eating habits, should be boycotted; remaining instead with indigenous eating habits. (CUJ)
56. In-shore and coastal fisheries should be reviewed, and fish caught by fisheries symbiotic with nature should be eaten. (CUJ)
57. We should refuse food irradiation, and demand WHO to withdraw its allowable level of one million rad for food irradiation and to ban food irradiation completely. (Food Irradiation

Network/CUJ)

58. We should demand the Shihoro Agricultural Cooperation in Hokkaido to stop irradiation of potatoes. (Food Irradiation Network/CUJ)
59. In cooperation with FINI (Food Irradiation Network International), we should demand governments, irradiators, food companies, and import-export traders not to irradiate seafoods and handle irradiated foods. (Food Irradiation Network/CUJ)
60. Japan and Korea should exchange more information regarding nuclear issues and anti-nuclear power movements and strengthen the solidarity between the two countries. (CUJ/Japanese NGOs)
61. We should express our opposition to the construction of Korea's Yeongkwang reactors No. 3 and No. 4 (Korean Atomic Energy's No. 11 and No. 12). (CUJ/Japanese NGOs)
62. We should demand the Japanese government to spend its ODA fund for R&D on solar energy in the Third World at research centers designated by us. (IOCU/CUJ)
63. We should demand the Japanese government to use all the tax which being spent for the promotion of nuclear power on R&D of alternative energies. (CUJ/NGOs)
64. We should deepen the relationship with the people at nuclear power plant sites and try to support them in various ways which are adequate to each region so that all nuclear plants will be abolished as soon as possible. (All)
65. We should demand an end to all nuclear testing and dumping of nuclear wastes in the Asia-Pacific region and urge all governments and related industries to review and reexamine policies relating to the use and operation of nuclear installations in view of achieving a nuclear-free Asia-Pacific.
66. We should force the pharmaceutical industry and governments to realize "Ethical Criteria for Medicinal Drug Promotion" adapted by the 41st World Health Assembly in 1988 in all countries. (ICADIS)
67. In all countries, diagnosis should be separated from drug dispensary in order to eliminate harmful effects caused by physicians dispensing drugs to patients. (ICADIS)
68. Promotion in the form of financial or material benefits should not be offered to influence physicians in the prescription of drugs. (Article 8). (ICADIS)
69. Medical representatives should be pharmacists

- only (Article 17). (ICADIS)
70. Physicians should give adequate information on the use of drugs to patients (Article 29). (ICADIS)
 71. Contents of package inserts of drugs exported by pharmaceutical companies or sold by their subsidiaries in the Third World should be the same as ones in exporting developed countries (Article 31). (ICADIS)
 72. Mechanisms should be established by governments to evaluate safety and efficacy and to regulate promotion and pricing of drugs and to be represented by consumers. (ICADIS)
 73. Effective information of banned or severely restricted drugs in each country should be exchanged to help activities in other countries. (ICADIS)
 74. Governments should be demanded to develop and implement a rational national drug policy including use of generic names instead of brand names. (ICADIS)
 75. World Health Organization should give priority to the Essential Drug Program and Primary Health Care. (ICADIS)
 76. No patent protection should be permitted for drugs in developing countries. (ICADIS)
 77. We should force governments to ban any kind of tobacco advertisements and sales promotion activities. (Lawyers' Organization for Non-Smokers' Rights)
 78. Tobacco vending machines should be withdrawn. (Lawyers' Organization for Non-Smokers' Rights)
 79. Tobacco should not be exported to other countries. Developed countries should not threaten other countries with trade sanctions to promote their tobacco export. (Lawyers' Organization for Non-Smokers' Rights)
 80. We should demand governments to require much stronger health warnings on the package as follows:
 - "Smoking might cause lung cancer, heart trouble, pulmonary emphysema and a complication of pregnancy."
 - "If you stop smoking now, you can substantially reduce serious health risk."
 - "Smoking during pregnancy might cause birth defects, premature delivery, or a baby of less weight."
 - "Cigarettes release carbon monoxide in fume." (Examples from the USA)
 81. Anti-smoking education should be promoted in all countries. (All)
 82. Anti-smoking education should be promoted in all countries. (All)
 83. Think globally, Act locally, Live ecologically. (All)

Asia-Pacific Consumers Conference
August 18-21, 1989 Ohmiya City

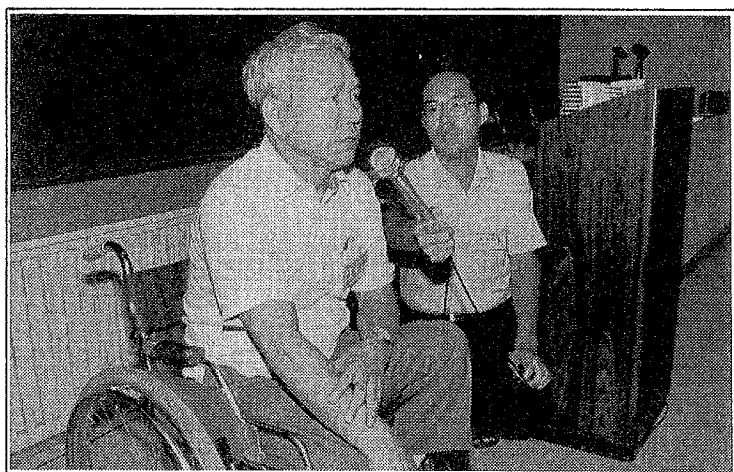
NOTES

Bhopal Disaster Accounting Group
 Center for International Development, Education, and Action (IDEA, New Zealand)
 Citizen's Nuclear information Center
 Consumer Education and Research Society (CERS)
 Consumer Council of Fiji (CCF)
 Consumers Union of Japan (CUJ)
 Coordination Committee for Primary Health Care of Thai NGO (CCPN)
 Food Irradiation Network
 Greenpeace Japan
 Information Center Against Drug-Induced Sufferings (ICADIS)
 International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU)
 Japan Housewives' Association
 Japan Tropical Forest Action Network (JATAN)
 Lawyers' Organization for Non-Smokers' Rights
 Nagoya Center for Philippines Concerns (NCPC, Japan)
 Overseas Development Aid Study Group (ODA Study Group, Japan)
 People's Action Network to Monitor Japanese TNCs (PAN Japan)
 Pesticide Action Network Indonesia (PAN Indonesia)
 Philippine Consumers Movement Inc. (Kilusan ng Mga Mamimili ng Pilipinas Ink, KMIP)
 National Liaison Committee of Consumers Organizations (Shodan-ren, Japan)
 Watch Pollution Export Commission of Japanese Lawyers
 Indonesian's Consumers Institution (YELKA)

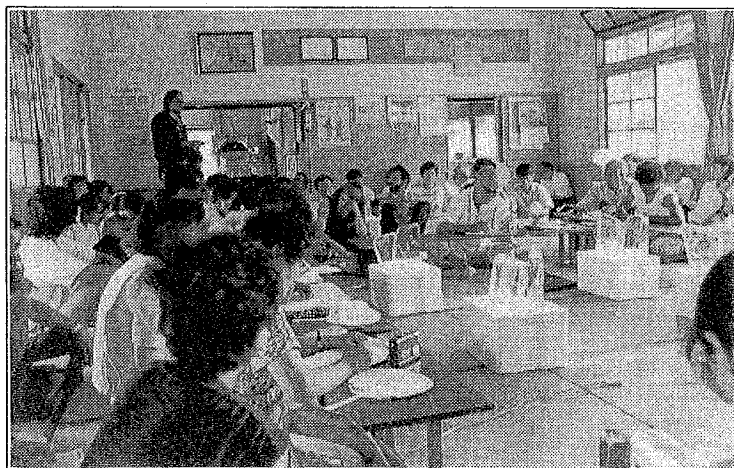
Transborder Exchange — From Minamata to Janakashaba



Visiting Minamata Disease patients.



Hamamoto Tsuginori speaking at the Minamata Gathering.



Heated discussions in cooled room with ice.

Minamata is a symbol of the disastrous consequences of industrial society. In the 1950s inhabitants of the city became victims of mercury poisoning from the Chisso Company.

A hundred and sixty overseas participants together with 1000 people from the local community and other parts of Japan joined in the Minamata program which consisted of two parts: the Minamata gathering on environment organized by the local movement and the synthesis meeting of the previous PP21 programs. The former started with an opening speech by Hamamoto Tsuginori, chairperson of the Minamata working committee and himself confined to a wheelchair, a victim of the poisoning. He has been struggling against the irresponsibility of the Chisso Company and working for solidarity with other peoples in similar situations for more than thirty years.

"Janakashaba", a word created by Tsuginori, means a "a world standing not like this." The word became very popular among the participants of PP21 and became a kind of symbol for the creation of an alternative world in the 21st century.

The latter half of the program was a synthesis of the entire program. The discussion was built around the five PP21 themes - 1)Humankind and nature, 2)Liberation from oppression, 3)Changing the state and changing international relations, 4)Bringing the economy back to the people, and 5)For a common future - ethics and spirituality of people's solidarity.

The following is the keynote speech delivered by Muto Ichiyo and prepared by the PP21 coordinating committee, comprising Lawrence Surendra, Murai Yoshinori, Mizuhara Hiroko, and Muto Ichiyo, with the collaboration of Douglas Lummis. The important concepts of the speech are transborder participatory democracy and inter-people autonomy which underlie the Minamata Declaration.

Keynote Speech: For an Alliance of Hope

by Muto Ichiyo, National Coordinator, People's Plan 21

THE HOPE AND SPIRIT OF OUR TIME

The slogan at the beginning of the 20th century was progress. The cry at the end of the 20th century is survival. The call for the next century is hope. It is impelled by that hope in the future, and with a keen sense of urgency, that we begin our Gathering of the People's Plan for the 21st Century in Minamata.

It is significant that we meet in Minamata, a place in the world which symbolizes to all of us development at its most murderous. As it did to the people of Bhopal and Chernobyl, a giant organization with advanced science, technology and production methodology brought to our hosts at Minamata fear, sickness, and death, and brought to their beautiful bay deadly damage that may not be repaired for decades or centuries. These three disasters — Minamata, Bhopal, and Chernobyl — can be taken as benchmarks of our time. At Minamata, the industry of a capitalist country poisoned its own citizens. At Bhopal, a huge Northern multinational corporation poisoned people of a country of the South. At Chernobyl a socialist government spilled radiation out over its land and people, and beyond its borders to the whole world. There is no need here to repeat the long and mounting list of ecocatastrophes. These three tell the story: there is no place to hide.

We know that the 20th century, the Age of development, brought us many things which we value. But we also must be coolly realistic. The 20th century has brought us more, and more murderous, wars than any time in history. The technology of killing has advanced beyond the wildest imagination of any previous era. The state, which was supposed to be our great protector, has turned out to be the greatest killer, killing not only foreigners in wars, but also killing its own citizens in unprecedented numbers. Economic development, which was supposed to raise the world out of poverty, has so far only transformed undeveloped poverty into developed poverty, traditional poverty into modernized poverty designed to function smoothly in the world economic system. The 20th century has added two grim new words to our vocabulary: genocide and ecocide. The practices that gave birth to these

words have all grown out of advance science and technology. And they have occurred in the name of what we have called "progress" and "development." We must ask, is there not something profoundly wrong with our understanding of historical progress, with our picture of what to fight for, with our image of where to place our hopes?

Mr. Hamamoto taught us a beautiful word in the Minamata dialect, Janakashaba. Literally it means, "a world that does not stand like this." It is an exciting word, that tells us there can be a quantum leap, a break, from what we are, what we have, what we are resigned to accept as our fate. This is precisely what is being acted out before our eyes today by millions of people in the Pacific Asia region. They do not accept what has been foisted on them as their fate, they are ready to take the leap, and they are taking it. We witness wave after wave of people's movements emerging, spreading, cutting across state boundaries, complementing with each other, and sharing an increased sense of contemporariness fostered by new networks of communication. The major struggles of the Korean, Philippine, and Burmese people have shown explosive power. Recently they have been joined on a tremendous scale by the new democratization movement of the Chinese people. In these big countries and in the smaller ones, in every prefecture, town, and village, the people are on the move. And they are aware of each other as never before, watching each other, communicating, joining in unprecedented ways. All of this is new. It is the main force defining our situation and the main reason for this conference. Janakashaba is the spirit of the people in our time. This is why we do not hesitate, despite everything this century has brought us, to declare that the 21st century will be the century of hope.

STATE OF OUR REGION

These new movements are growing up within the context of a peculiar contradiction that is appearing in the role of the state. Our region is being organized by transnational capital, which is bringing together far-flung and heterogeneous areas and peoples into a single, vertical division of

labor. The state is serving as a vigorous promoter of this, as the agency which mediates the entry of transnational capital within the national boundaries. At the same time transnationalization of the economy undermines the basis of the state, placing its claim to sovereignty and its pose as protector into question, and weakening its legitimacy. The state seeks to protect itself through intensification of repression and violence as we are seeing today in a series of "developing" countries including China, or, as in the case of Japan, intensification of the attempt to implant statist ideology into the minds of the people.

In this same process the engine of development has overheated in Japan and is running wildly out of control, producing a saturation economy. Japanese work an average of 2200 hours a year, mostly in heavily managed situations in which they are virtually powerless. They are bombarded with advertising that urges them to compensate for frustration by consuming. At the same time, virtually every human activity and every bodily function has a whole shelf of consumer goods or commercial services associated with it. The manner in which one combs one's hair, wipes one's nose, and scratches a mosquito bite, are all the subjects of intensive market research and intense product and service competition. The commodification of every aspect of human life includes the commodification of sex, which has produced a huge sex industry where hundreds of thousands of women, many imported from other Asian countries, are made to serve to satisfy Japanese male taste for alienated sex. The world's most powerful economy does not empower its citizens, but rather seeks to make them powerless and fragmented. And it has also reproduced within its boundaries a "north" and a "south." The "south" includes millions of poorly paid women part-timers, subcontract workers, day laborers, and increasingly guest workers from South and Southeast Asia as well as farmers who are being rapidly marginalized.

Here too the system has begun to undermine itself. The economy has pushed itself to such absurd lengths that more and more people are simply fed up with it, and are beginning to search for a different way of living.

NEW APPROACHES

In this turbulently changing situation we need new maps. We need a new picture, a new paradigm, of the society in which we can live together in dignity. But we need not go far to find this new paradigm. We can partly see it already, emerging out of the people's movements

themselves. This is no romanticism: we are referring here to specific new concepts emerging from certain of these movements.

First let us look at the Asia-Pacific people's movement itself, as it has emerged in the last couple of decades. Everywhere we see the patient, dedicated efforts to promote empowerment — of community people, ethnic groups, women, labor groups, urban slum dwellers, people organizing themselves against "development" imposed from above, or to assert their independence and autonomy. The major national explosions of popular will are in most cases prepared in these small-scale accumulated efforts of empowerment and "conscientization." It is here that the notion of the people as sovereign is being nurtured in concrete form. In the face of this new movement of the people many grass-roots thinkers, religious and intellectual, have drawn on the liberating elements in their teachings to shape them into new forms through which the people can express their anger and hope. The various people's theologies and practical philosophies developed in recent years and indigenous values found in folktales and traditional popular arts are given new light to rebuild people's identity.

This grass roots movement for empowerment points to a new form of democracy, a democracy which we have never seen before, and whose outlines are not yet clear to us. But we can say for certain that it is something more than "democracy" as a form of state. It is a kind of "democracy on the spot," a community-based democracy through which the people build real power over the things that matter in their lives.

Then there is the indigenous people's movements. The revitalization of their struggle of survival and self-determination has enabled us to re-read the history of modern civilization since Columbus. We find the conquest of peoples and nature have proceeded as a single process through the entire course of modern civilization originating in the west. At the same time, it has revealed to us the whole history of Japan's invasion of Ainu lands. Also, their struggles and values show us a different way of living in harmony with nature, of which we also are part.

Women's movements and feminist ideas have also contributed to new ways of reviewing history and understanding the present. They showed, for instance, that the dominant notions of politics, economics, organization and culture have been profoundly characterized by their structural domination of women by men. They showed that social sciences dedicated to revolutionary change by and large ignored the all-important process of reproduction of human beings and thus

misconceptualized work and labor and the importance of human life itself. They showed that male dominated values have done violence not only to women but also to nature. And they offered a profound and exciting new alternative — that a society reordered on the basis of harmonious and equal relations between men and women would naturally tend to move in healthier, less destructive, ways.

Ecological movements since the 1970s of course addressed the issue of establishing a harmonious relationship between human being and the environment. They have shown us that unlimited economic and technological growth cannot be sustained on this planet. They also project, and partially practice, a social relationship with minimum domination, which corresponds to their human being-nature model.

There is a striking concurrence of views among those new movements of different origins in that the social, historical, and ecological approaches are integrated in a single context. It is important to note now that though some of them started in the west, the issues they address are becoming life-or-death issues for the most marginalized populations in the Third World where the very basis of their subsistence is being destroyed at the hands of transnational corporations and their agents.

COMMON THEMES

In order to aid our search for an alternative model of society of tomorrow we designated five areas as common agenda for all the conferences of PP21. They are, (1) Humankind and Nature — From destruction to harmony, (2) Liberation from Oppression — Creating new society and culture, (3) Overcoming Rule by the Strong — Changing the state and changing international relations, (4) Taking Back the Economy — From a relationship between things to a relationship between human beings, and (5) For a Common Future — Ethics and spirituality for people's solidarity. The subtitles indicate what we wish to counterpose to the existing realities in each area. Let us briefly introduce the items (except the last which covers all the rest and so is discussed in the concluding part).

1. Humankind and Nature — From destruction to harmony

By now, nobody denies that nature on this planet is in danger. Even big powers now talk about conservation; even the Japanese government has offered a lot of money for preservation of world environment. But such abstract conservationist cries sound hollow when nothing is

said about who is causing the destruction of nature and for what.

Bringing our civilization into harmony with nature is difficult, yet urgent. It brings us straight to the question of an alternative model of development. It is no longer a matter of how effectively to continue to exploit nature, but how to drastically change our relationship with nature.

Here we have among us people rich in wisdom on just this question. Indigenous people from Hokkaido, Canada, Sarawak, Australia, Aotearoa and elsewhere, considering nature their partner and source of life, have been protesting for years against its exploitation and plunder. Here, the bottomline may be that no exploitation of nature should be allowed without the affected people's consent, and that what the indigenous people say on these matters is given the greatest weight.

Also, the way science and technology have been developed should be called into question. The techno-utopia solution is even now proposed by governments and business, but that is absurd: it is precisely the arrogance of technology that has wounded the world. We should begin by renouncing patently harmful technologies and their applications, nuclear weapons and nuclear power among them. Soil-killing use of agricultural chemicals also must be stopped. We notice that big technology which aims at the so-called "conquest of nature" tends to disempower the workers and farmers who use it. What are the technologies and modes of work which both empower the worker and reestablish harmony between humans and nature?

There should also be a clear recognition that we, human beings, are part of nature. Doesn't violence against nature, regarding it as a mere object of exploitation, entail and justify treatment of human beings and human bodies in the same way?

Last, are harmonious relations with nature possible within the prevailing capitalist system which is unable to survive without endless accumulation?

2. Liberation from Oppression — Creating a new society and culture

The task is to dismantle, nationally and transnationally, the vertical integration that predominates and to replace it with a horizontal integration of individuals and groups.

By vertical integration we mean the socio-economic class structure and other forms of hierarchical formations where individuals or groups are judged and treated by criteria chosen by those at the top and to the advantage of those at the top. It also means the division of the human

community into the rich and powerful North and the poor and suppressed South. Pyramidal formation have entrenched themselves all over the world in government bureaucracy, corporate organizations, and military systems. Society itself has this kind of division, by status, profession, gender, caste, alleged physical and mental capacity, birthplace, religion, and other criteria for discrimination.

Aside from the state, the most powerful vertical formation is the business corporation, particularly transnational corporations which exploit the fact that the people remain divided. How can we deal with them? Here, our response should also be cross-border.

To overcome this discriminatory system, we should demolish the social, institutional, and economic systems that generate or benefit from discrimination. For that to be done we need to create new egalitarian values. Underlying these egalitarian values are what can be termed "simple

Transborder participatory democracy is the name both of a goal and of a process. As a goal it means world-wide democracy practiced by the people of the world.

personhood" or "peopleness" which we refer to later. In this way we all work to reorganize the vertical integration into a horizontal cooperation of individuals and people's groups. It is important here that horizontal cooperation encourages diversity as a source of wealth of society, while vertical integration imposes uniformity.

3. Overcoming Rule by the Strong — Changing the state and changing international relations

Here we deal with the state and inter-state relations. Our main concern is how we can overcome the state, which no doubt still remains the strongest entity in the world today. We have to dualize our approach: never losing sight of our long-term goal, we should also fight to make the state and its policies more accountable to the people and to transform regional international relations in favor of peace and justice. We shall come back to this duality later.

A new fluidity in the global international situation seems to have created a space in our region for the people to intervene. The regional

political situation is turbulent, and diverse factors and actors are at work — declining U.S. power, perestroika and resultant foreign policy changes by the Soviet Union, the rise of Japan as the world's most dynamic economic power and Japan's military buildup as part of the U.S. strategy, provision of huge Japanese ODA funds, rampant intervention by the U.S. with Japanese help in the Philippines under the LIC strategy, New Zealand's nuclear-free policy, China after Tienanmen, confrontation on the Korea unification issue, and moves toward an Indochina solution, to name only some.

How can we jointly intervene in this regional situation to weaken the rule by the strong? What are our action programs? What should our priorities be?

Concerning Japan, the Japanese state is emerging as a strong force managing the rest of Asia and the Pacific for the interest of transnational capital. Internally it is a state with an emperor system of discrimination and domination, a state based on corporate supremacy, discrimination against "aliens," minorities, women, and the weak, and negation of the people's independence. The state falsely claims that Japan is a mono-ethnic country and negates even the presence of Ainu as an minority. There are also 70,000 Korean people living permanently in Japan, who, or whose parents or grandparents, were taken to Japan against their will to be put to hard labor or had to move to Japan as the result of Japan's colonialization of their country. Instead of being compensated, they are subject to blatant discrimination in all aspects of life. Okinawa with its distinct historical identity is treated practically as Japan's internal colony. All this is related to the fact that the Japanese postwar state has never truly admitted the crimes the country committed to other Asian peoples as well as the minorities within its territory since the Meiji period. All these injustices should be confronted and overcome.

We in Japan need to strive to go beyond Japanese statehood, ultimately overcome this state from within, and establish ourselves as people who can live together with our neighbors, in a confederation of the peoples of the archipelago.

4. Taking back the Economy — From a relationship between things to a relationship between human beings

How can we remake this world economy which for its survival keeps billions of people starving or undernourished, landless, poor and overworked in the South, and makes waste and saturation consumption a necessity in the North?

However difficult this task may be, it is obvious

that we cannot go on like this much longer. An economy that can operate only through infinite growth measured by GNP will soon enough bump into the wall of the limited capacity of this planet. Nor is it sustainable in an historical period where the people's power is on the rise, for the majority in the South will not tolerate the continued disparity. We who live in Japan should refuse to contribute toward further increasing GNP and further increasing production. We should slow down our activities and reduce productivity and efficiency of the most "advanced" sector of our industry. If we are told that such would invite disaster, then it is the system that has to be replaced.

It is important that we begin with basics — what we need for a decent living and how those needed things should be produced, distributed, and consumed. Value added (GNP) should cease to be the measure for economic activities. Instead, satisfaction of human needs in a human way should be our yardstick.

Economic activities should be reintegrated with the life of the people — people in the community. Production and consumption should be organized as material aspects of communities. On this basis, communities need to be horizontally linked so as to exchange their surpluses. This is not an image of subsistence economy, nor is it a call to go back to pre-modern society. It is an image of an economy of a new affluence made possible by accumulation at the grassroots level, by people themselves. Here, people-to-people relations regulate the economy, and not vice versa. This is what we mean by "taking back the economy."

It is here that we must examine the role of counter economic systems. Now a variety of such movements are developing, cooperatives linking organic farmers to urban consumers, workers' production collectives, people-to-people trade, buffalo banks, and credit associations. How far and in what way can these people's economic systems be a basis for our future economic systems?

Another major problem is how the relationship between agriculture and industry, between the city and countryside, should be transformed. Concentration of power and wealth has caused concentration of population in huge urban centers like Tokyo, Seoul, Bangkok, and Shanghai. Can our envisioned decentralization of power and wealth lead to more or less smooth dispersion of the pathologically aggrandized metropolises?

TRANSBORDER PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Now we have sketched what kind of alternative

model of development we have in mind. But isn't it a utopia?

As we have said, our alternative model of development is not a utopia. It is rooted in reality — in the reality of the world today, in the reality of the people, and — most importantly — in the reality of the people's movement. Even so we also must not naively conclude that because of the growing power of the people we can expect someday to wake up in a changed world. We cannot reach this new world without a serious search. We need to identify in the people's struggles of today, those facets which reflect the new realities of the world, and in particular those facets which point to a liberated future. And we need to find ways to consolidate these elements and relate them to the 21st century which we aspire to. In other words, we need bridges.

As one such bridge, we propose a new concept of political right and political action, which we provisionally term "transborder participatory democracy." We present this as the specific people's alternative, the counter-system to stand against the particular formation that oppressive power has taken in our time: the state-supported globalization of capital.

Transborder participatory democracy is the name both of a goal and of a process. As a goal it means world-wide democracy practiced by the people of the world. It is a picture of a world order clearly distinct from the conventional idea of world government or world federation, which presupposes states as the constituent units. Yet as our goal it still remains a remote vision of the future.

As a political process, transborder participatory democracy has two aspects. First, it is a practical method for criticizing, confronting, intervening in, and changing the power formation of globalized capital. In this sense, it is a form of action that corresponds both to present socio-economic reality and to the logic and necessity of the people's movements. Second, in the process of transborder political action, the people's groups and organizations gradually form themselves into transborder coalitions, eventually leading to the formation of a transborder "people," by which the division of the world into North and South can be overcome.

The dominant tendency in the Asia-Pacific today is regional integration by state-backed globalization of capital. I have already touched on the destructiveness of this process. The point here is that in this system, most of the major decisions which affect the lives of millions of people are made outside their countries, without their knowledge, much less their being consulted. Even

those decisions made inside the country are made outside the affected people's communities, in the power centers in cities. Most of the decisions are made in the core countries, by their governments, by transnational corporations, or by collective agencies such as IMF, the World Bank, big power summits, or international business bodies.

For a time there were high hopes that it was the state which could rectify the growing international inequalities. In the 1950s the Bandung Spirit prevailed, and the people expected the coalition of the newly emergent independent states to work on their behalf, promoting import-substituting programs. For some years in the 1970s UNCTAD, bearing the banner of the New International Economic Order, seemed to be effectively pressing for redistribution of the wealth of the world in favor of the majority. Both failed. Illusions about the state as the tribune of the people have faded as we said earlier as almost all of the Third World states — including China — have made a definite shift to the position of promoter of the logic of multinational capital and mediator of capital globalization within their own territories.

The situation calls for the declaration of a new right of the people: the right of the people to intervene in, to modify, to regulate, and ultimately to control any decisions that affect their lives, no matter where those decisions are made. This should be established as a universal right which recognizes no borders. It means that the people's action is no longer confined within the bounds of the state territory, nor to acting only through the state political structure. Transborder participatory democracy is a new principle, by which not the state, but the people themselves can emerge as the chief actor in determining the course of world politics and economics. "The people" here means first of all, the people directly affected by external decisions. But transborder participatory democracy goes beyond this. It operates to form a transnationally coalesced people who emerge as the principal actor.

Take, for instance, a decision by a giant publishing company in Tokyo to inaugurate a new, glossy, useless magazine printed in millions of copies to gain advantage in the competition among publishing houses. This will further increase Japan's pulp demand. It will lead to accelerated plunder of tropical forests in Sarawak and mangrove trees in Papua New Guinea, in turn further destroying the basis of the lives of the people there. We say that the people who live there have just the same right to intervene in this decision, as they would if it were being made in their own village. It does not matter where, or by what agency, the decision is being made.

What matters is that the people's lives are being affected by that decision. We declare that there exists no artificial right — neither the right of private property nor the right of state sovereignty, nor for that matter the treaty-based rights of international agencies — that can take precedence over the natural democratic right of people to speak and act directly against decisions that are destroying them, no matter where or by whom those decisions are being made.

Direct intervention by people from the rain-forest countries is not only a way of protecting themselves. It would also have an important effect on Japan. There are people here already who have their own reasons for questioning the outlandish waste of paper for junk magazines with their people-fooling messages. There are people who work for those magazines, who feel the dull despair of knowing they are devoting their lives to producing a bad product, over which they have no control. If these people can learn directly what disastrous consequences the publishing industry has on far-off people, they have an opportunity to see what this "publishing industry" is in a new perspective, and to join with the affected people in protesting and intervening.

Transborder participatory democracy leads toward transborder coalitions of people, and aims ultimately at the formation of a transborder "people." In particular we can expect to see this process having an effect on the people of the northern or core countries. In Japan, for example, people engaged in this process will move away from their identity as "Japanese," in the sense of identifying with the so-called Japanese national interest — which is often synonymous with corporate interests. For years, movement people in Japan have been saying that we produce, consume, and waste too much. Some argued that in principle we should fight to lower the standard of living, but that such a strategy would be political suicide. This argument is abstract and is an expression of guilty conscience. And it misses the point, which is not a general, abstract lowering of the standard of living, but finding the specific ways in which the country can be changed to allow us to coexist with our neighbors. And as our neighbors begin demanding their legitimate right to participate in those decisions made in Tokyo which affect them, those ways will begin to become clear to us. If accompanied by a paradigm change, can't this be a way to begin to first narrow and finally to eliminate the gap between the South and North?

Transborder participatory democracy does not mean participation in the exclusive decision-making process of monopolies. It is not like the

company union's 'participation' in management decisions. On the contrary, it aims to abolish that exclusivity of decision making.

Take the Japanese automobile industry, for instance. Today it is producing 12 million cars a year. By any standard, this is too many. But no one outside the closed rooms of the corporate directors has any say in this. And to gain advantage in the fierce competition, they are going to make more and more. Now we say that affected people both in and outside Japan — the regular employees of the manufacturers, and also subcontract workers, subsidiary assembly workers overseas, users, city dwellers, and all who are concerned about excessive motorization — can and should assert themselves in determining what should be made, how many, for what purpose, how it should be sold and with what kind of advertisements. Imagine what "Toyota" or "Nissan" would be in such a situation. They could no longer operate only for profit. The purpose of production would have to change. They would be forced in the direction of becoming publicly responsible and accountable. We can see how this would lead toward structural transformation of the profit-oriented nature of production.

I repeat, this is not the model of a utopia. What we describe here grows out of tendencies that already exist in the world. For some time now it has been widely accepted that in the matter of human rights there is no such thing as "intervention in internal affairs." At Berlin last year the IMF-World Bank conference — where governments had gathered to negotiate on the Third World debt — was met by a huge mobilization of people from all over the world, trying to intervene against the imposition of a rich-power solution. Again, several years ago when the Japanese government announced its plan to dump nuclear wastes into the Pacific Ocean, the Pacific Island peoples sent powerful delegations to Japan who, in collaboration with Japanese movements, effectively stopped it. Transborder participatory democracy begins in this way as a movement. The experience of acting together situates them in a new universal context in which each individual action acquires new meaning and direction.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVES

Here short-term and long-term perspectives must not be confused. In many Asian and Pacific countries it is the immediate task of the people to establish their democratic, national states. The great struggle of the Korean people for national unification, as their path toward liberation from the

big-power intervention which keeps them divided, is a case in point. The people's struggle in the Philippines aimed at establishing a national democratic government accountable to the people is another. In many of the Pacific islands, where foreign powers are keeping the people subjugated for colonial or strategic reasons, independence through the establishment of people's own states is essential. And at a time when most of the Third World states have degenerated into agencies for joining the big core capital interests with the interests of the local rulers, it is important to continue to try to "internalize" the state, to make it into a barrier against the dominant powers. In this sense a new alliance of people-oriented states, if such could be resurrected again, would broaden the people's opportunities.

In a slightly different context, changing and

The situation calls for the declaration of a new right of the people: the right of the people to intervene in, to modify, to regulate, and ultimately to control any decisions that affect their lives, are made.

improving state policies is also important for people in the core countries. In Japan, major policy changes are needed in the field of commitment to US military strategy, in ODA, and in the entire stance of the country towards the Asia-Pacific region as well as in the area of domestic accountability. As we said earlier the postwar Japanese state has never clearly disavowed what Imperial Japan had done against the neighboring Asian countries since the Meiji Era, and it is essential for the Japanese people to fight for a set of clear principles, based on a thorough review of the past history of national arrogance, which the Japanese state must follow.

Crucial as these struggles are, they should not be separated from the long-term perspective. Given the fearsome degree to which the region is being integrated, we cannot expect national solutions to stand by themselves as we could several decades ago. The times call for transborder solutions, and the only means for such solutions is the transborder participation of the people themselves. There should be a constant interaction, a dialogue, between the long- and short-term perspectives. The moments of history overlap in our time. Against

colonialism, the people struggle to establish their national states. Against the development-dictatorship state, the people struggle to establish democratic accountability. Against state-supported global capital, the people begin to marginalize the state, and carry the fight directly to the centers of capital wherever they are. This is not a formulation that divides the people's movements into more- and less-advanced. Transborder participatory democracy means that we join in all of these struggles together. If we can begin the dialogue between our dreams and realities here, we are already on our way to the shaping of the people's future.

PEOPLENESS AND INTER-PEOPLE AUTONOMY

The key to transborder democracy is the people. But what is "the people?" Cynics whisper, are you not romanticizing the people? Are you not setting them up as a god? Let us clarify.

We can begin by defining the people as we always do in this kind of discussion: they are the oppressed, the exploited, the manipulated masses. This is so, yet such "people in general" do not exist. The people are divided into a multitude of groups with their respective identities: gender, ethnic, religious, geographical, cultural, class, nation-state. These groups overlap, and individuals belong to more than one. But today, these groups are being forced to live together under conditions imposed upon them. State-supported global capital is organizing all these groups into a system of international and hierarchical division of labor. This new order is lauded as the world of interdependence. Interdependence, yes. But it is an interdependence forced upon the people and permeated by hostility and division. The dominant system perpetuates itself by organizing internal division, and setting one people's group against another. National chauvinism, religious fundamentalism, machinated communalism, cultural exclusivism, sexism, and the whole varied panopoly of racial and ethnic prejudices all serve the ruling elites well in their efforts to establish a great organization incapable of its own unity.

The struggle of the people begins on this terrain, in this divisive structure. It does not begin as the full-blown struggle of the people the world over. It begins rooted in each group's identity, and asserts the group's dignity as well as immediate interests. Or movements may begin as single-issue movements.

Thus each struggle nourishes its seed of liberation. But for the seeds to germinate, they must interact with other struggles and movements.

Suppose a Japanese workers' movement regards their fellow workers from other Asian countries who are underpaid because of their illegal status as merely a threat and show no concern about their conditions, then the movement is no people's movement. It is operating within the borders of the compartmentalized structure which perpetuates mutual hostilities. However "militant" its action may have been, it has allowed its seed of liberation to be poisoned and eventually die.

All movements start in this compartmentalized terrain; the point is to fight our way beyond it, to destroy the whole divisive structure and replace it with a spontaneous alliance of the people's own choice and making. In this process the movement can free itself from captivity. Experience shows that interaction with other movements transforms the movement, helping overcome its narrowness and oppressive practices inside it, if there are such.

In this process, what Xabier Gorostiaga once called "the logic of the majority" should of course be the guideline. "The majority" here means the global majority, that is, the most oppressed. They have the prerogative. In the hierarchy of the 20th century world, each stratum of the people has its own interest not only to assert against the immediate above, but also to protect against the immediate below. Whenever the lower is forced to concede to the higher, that strengthens the existing order. It is the part of the higher to be prepared to concede to the lower. And our new ethic for the 21st century must include a way of seeing such renunciation as entailing a gain, and not a loss, in dignity.

Is this alliance, which we call the Alliance of Hope, possible? Let us call that which makes it possible "peopleness."

Peopleness manifests itself most dramatically when people risk their lives in struggle. When the people take to the streets, fight the police, expose themselves to danger, and help each other, the people's spirit becomes visible. We have seen this in Rangoon, Seoul, Kwangju, Manila, Beijing, Bangkok, and even Tokyo. Men and women, young and old, many meeting for the first time and by chance in the tear gas fog, find each other comrades. If one falls, others help, braving gunfire. There is natural equality and compassion. People transcend their immediate self-interests. A strong human bond is forged that leads people to make extraordinary sacrifices.

But this extreme expression of "peopleness" should not be separated from its roots in daily life. Here, we are alike in what really matters. Each of us was born a helpless infant, each has a life to live, each faces death. Some of us have privileges, but no one is so privileged as to be exempt from

these basics of human existence, or from the constant exposure to the risks of living. We all alike eat, excrete, sleep, love, many of us bear and rear children; we hate, celebrate, enjoy, toil, ponder life, fall in and out of confusion, weep, get sick, express ourselves in our own cultural ways, grow old if we are lucky, and prepare to die in dignity and repose. These simple aspects of human existence are common to all of us, and should give us a basis for relating to each other in compassion in equality. Yet so often this simple common peopleness is hidden from us by centuries-long relations of domination. Or, in this century, it is plastered with the fetishism of money, ambitions for promotion, avarice for commodities, and craving for power. If plastered too thick this simple personhood, peopleness, is lost, and with it the capacity to relate to others. Japanese society today is one where this capacity has been lost to a pathological degree. But if the cult of "things" is a burden, then the rediscovery of peopleness is a path to liberation.

Peopleness is not an idealistic construct. It is what is actually at work in the existing solidarity movements among seemingly very different groups of people. It is what is behind the real sympathies and compassions for other people's struggles. It is what is behind the self-sacrifices being paid to the people's cause everywhere. Denying the working of peopleness would be to deny the reality of these movements — or to render them incomprehensible.

Peopleness represents our radical equality and our equal radicality.

By recourse to peopleness can we expect to overcome internecine conflicts between people's groups and imagine the formation of the people worldwide as the subject of transborder participatory democracy. This is a dynamic process of action and counteraction, and not like signing an agreement in a ceremonious atmosphere.

When people's groups thus begin to regulate their mutual relationships spontaneously and for themselves, destroying the system of forced mutual relationships, then we shall have inter-people autonomy cutting across the state barriers and replacing the interstate system. The inter-people autonomy will represent the people of the world collaborating with each other while developing all their rich diversities.

Inter-people autonomy thus is an affair of billions of people, and it is still a vague picture of the 21st century. But one thing that is certain is that the alliance of hope of billions should be preceded by an alliance of hope of tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands, an alliance based on inter-movement autonomy, an arena and network where people's movements from different concerns and backgrounds meet and recognize each other's peopleness, and enter into a dynamic process of interaction. This is what PP21 in 1989 in Japan is up to. Let us together engage in this task.



The Road Ahead

by Douglas Lummis

The following are some thoughts, fragments of thoughts, and questions that still remain rattling around in the head of this participant in PP21. I set them down here in the hope that they may stimulate further discussion on the notion of an alternative vision of the 21st century—a discussion which has, after all, only just begun.

1) The People's Plan is not a "plan." In some of the first PP21 planning documents, the expression "blueprint" was several times used. This metaphor was opposed as being utopian and unrealistic. But without a "picture" of the people's alternative, what can the People's Plan mean? "Plan" gradually came to mean, not a fixed picture, but a process. At one point it was even suggested that PP be written without the possessive "s" to indicate its active character: "the people plan."

2) New development principles. The 20th century was also not built on a blueprint; it did, indeed, "develop." But the direction in which it developed is not the only possible direction in which human societies can develop: there are no "iron laws." A development process is a principle, or set of principles, unfolding through time. We need to identify the set of principles out of which Western industrialism developed during the 19th and 20th centuries, and produce an alternative set of principles which, set in motion, can unfold into an alternative future.

3) New words, new values. The value system of development economics has been implanted deeply into our souls. We need a massive transvaluation of values. This will be hard, and will take a long time. Many words which have seemed to have absolute, universal meanings in the context of development economics, will turn out to have different meanings in a different context. What is "efficient" depends, after all, on what effect you desire, and what is "productive" depends on what is worth producing. What is "success" depends on what you attempted, what is "well-educated" depends on what you need to know, and what is a "good parent" depends on kind of future you expect.

"Prosper" (Latin *pro sperere*) means "according to hope," and so what counts as prosperity depends on what you hope.

4) New work ethic. Some have argued that the "work ethic"—the ethic that judges the hard, uncomplaining worker to be the best person—was the backbone of industrialization. What is our alternative work ethic? Not a no-work ethic surely; people will always work, and there is plenty of work to be done. We don't need a work ethic that finds value in the asceticism and masochism of work, but one which demands good work, genuinely valuable work, work in which the worker can take pride and pleasure. Though workers in the North and South are separated by a huge gap in wages, they are alike in being deprived of good work.

5) New "law." At one of the planning sessions for PP21, someone suggest that what PP is attempting to do is to make a new form of "law," transcending the state. Something like this idea found its way into the Minamata Conference keynote speech, and the Minamata declaration, in the notion of Transborder Participatory Democracy, the assertion that people "have a natural and universal right to criticize, oppose, or prevent the implementation of decisions affecting their lives, no matter where those decisions are made."

6) New "people." According to democratic theory, the people are sovereign. Their power is prior to the power of the state. The state and its laws exist by their consent. This means that it is up to the people, not the state, to determine who "the people" is. There is no reason why the people cannot form itself into a body transcending the state, capable of developing "law" and asserting rights which states must honor. But this transborder "people" is powerless and without legitimacy if it exists only as an abstraction. It must be formed concretely, in a long process of practical action. But this is exactly what is happening, as the people's movements weave networks of communication, friendship, and solidarity. Surely this is at the center of the People's Plan: the weaving of the people's movements, and the peoples, together into a body capable of claiming an authority higher than that of the state.

7) Law and nature. In the West, from ancient times,

there has been a notion of "natural law." The words are deceptive, however, since natural law said little about, and learned little from, nature—in the sense of land, rivers, forests, seas. This natureless natural law helped set the stage for the vain Western project of conquering nature, beginning a war which it is now clear that human beings, and not nature, are going to lose. At the Hokkaido Indigenous People's Conference participants from the industrialized cultures were given a strong reminder that there are peoples whose laws have long been grounded on a recognition of the profound moral dignity of nature. If justice means giving each one's due, for many indigenous peoples this has included giving the rivers their due, the mountains their due, the forests their due, the seas their due, the birds, fish and animals their due. The new law must be founded on a peace treaty with nature, and make clear that rampant destruction of nature is wrong not simply from the standpoint of human-based pragmatism (e.g. if the forest are gone we humans will suffer for it later) but is wrong in itself.

8) Counterdevelopment? it would be good if we had a word for this process of creating an alternative future. "Counterdevelopment" is not so very attractive: it has the word "development" in it, and it doesn't sound much different from "alternative development," which has been around for a long time. Still, it may be useful, at least until a better term comes along. It offers a framework wide enough to contain a variety of actions and intentions, and to allow for debate and disagreement about what it "really means." And it suggests at least the following three aspects:

i. Cases where development should be countered, that is, altogether prevented. Clear examples are nuclear weapons and nuclear power technology, bacteriological and chemical warfare technology, biotechnology. People in these industries ought to go out and find honest work for themselves. Other examples are specific development projects—dams, canals, logging, etc.—that ought to be stopped.

ii. Cases where development should be set on a countercourse. This includes cases where an industry is producing a product that is not harmful in itself, but is overdeveloped. Examples might be the automobile, computer, communications, and advertising industries (though it could be argued that the last should be included in the first category). The automobile itself is not an evil, but if the automobile industry succeeds in its goal of selling a car to every family in the world, there will be no more world. The automobile and automobile culture need to be developed down to a smaller scale.

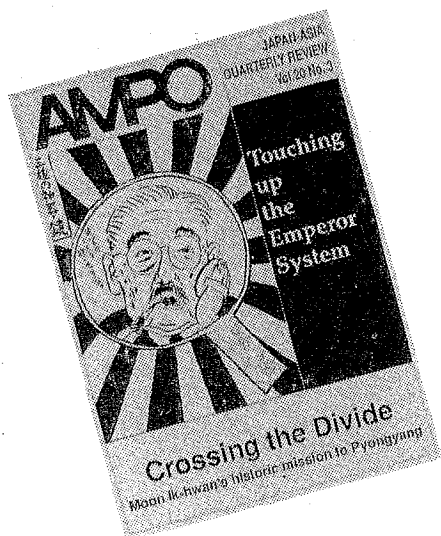
iii. Development of things which counter the mainstream trend of "development." This includes movements which are already going on, movements for alternative technology, alternative trade, alternative agriculture. It includes development of working and living arrangements which men and women can share equally. It includes traditional projects: development of workers' power and democracy at the workplace (the turn towards "democracy" by the people in the Socialist countries makes this task even more urgent in the "democratic" countries). It includes the whole process indicated by Transborder Participatory Democracy: development of international solidarity, based on concrete links of friendship and cooperation, with the eventual goal of rendering international exploitation and international warfare impossible.

Counterdevelopment, then—unlike "development" and "alternative development"—indicates a process that must take place not only in the Third World countries, but also—perhaps mainly—in the overdeveloped industrial countries.

Of course, everyone can think of other examples to include in these three categories of counterdevelopment. That's what is interesting about the term.

9) Dignity. This word, which is not included in the vocabulary of development economics, was heard often in the PP conferences. Judged from the standard of dignity, the gap between the North and South narrows sharply. Against the insulting formula of the World Bank, etc., that all people in the South want is fulfillment of their "basic needs" (food, shelter, medicine), the people themselves have made clear over and over that they demand not mere life, but life with dignity: an end to the indignity of poverty, of oppression, of exploitation, of cultural devastation. At the same time it would be a mistake to think that there is much dignity in the life of meaningless work compensated for by the third-rate joys of consumer culture offered in the rich cities of the North. The ideology of "development" has made us blind to this fact—as it was designed to do. The Irish poet Oscar Wilde once said about war, "As long as war is regarded as wicked, it will always have its fascination. When it is looked upon as vulgar, it will cease to be popular." The same could be said of the life of aimless overconsumption made possible by ravaging nature and by standing on the backs of the poor. The wickedness of this life has been known for some time. It is its overwhelming vulgarity and indignity that now needs to be shown. Think this esthetic transvaluation of values is part of PP21's cultural project. Perhaps people who do not flee from guilt, will be ready to flee from ugliness.

RECENT BACK ISSUES

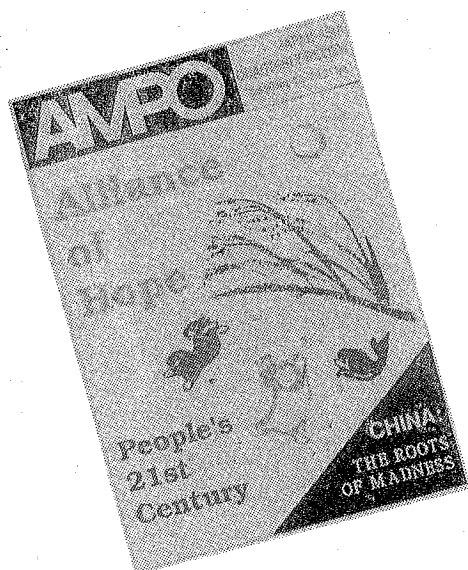


TOUCHING UP THE EMPEROR SYSTEM

The Emperor System: The Limit of Post War Democracy
The Roots of Subservience: Historical and Cultural Look at the Japanese Emperor System
Imperial "Amnesty": Strengthens Their Controls for Koreans and Chinese
The "Chrysanthemum Taboo" in the Japanese Mass Media
Film Review: Tearing out the Truth—Okuzaki Kenzo's Crusade

Crossing the Divide—Moon Ik-hwan's Historic Mission to Pyongyang

Vol.20 No.3



ALLIANCE OF HOPE : PEOPLE'S 21ST CENTURY

<PP21 Dialogue>
Interviews with Japanese Farmers
Interviews with Ainu
Toward a Mutiracial Republic in the Japanese Archipelago:
A Working Proposal for an alternative program

A Filipino Day Laborer's Diary
Wantana's Case: Down by Law

Overview: The Japanese Labor Movement
Women Workers vs. the MNCs

Plundering the Amazon: Greater Carajas Program

China: The Roots of Madness

Vol.20 No.4-Vol.21 No.1

A complete list of the contents of available back issues will be sent to you upon request for US\$4.00 from countries abroad or ¥500 within Japan. Please send your subscription request together with money order to Pacific-Asia Resource Center.

¥2000-