

Promoting Human Rights in the 21st Century: Democratizing Regional Governance in East Asia

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| 요약 |

제가 이번 발표에서 상당히 폭넓은 주제를 부탁을 받았습니다. 바로 인권과 평화에 관한 것으로 21세기 평화를 어떻게 증진시킬 수 있을 것인가와 21세기에 인권을 어떻게 증진시킬 수 있을 것인가에 관한 주제를 부탁을 받았습니다. 제 발표에서 저는 특히 어떻게 이러한 민주화가 지역적인 조화를 끌어낼 수 있는지 초점을 맞추겠습니다. 사실 조화라는 것은 정부와 모든 사람들에 관계가 순조롭게 지속이 될 때 가능한 것입니다. 그렇다면 어떻게 하면 전 세계적으로 조화가 이루어 질 수 있는가 하면 시민사회라든가 NGO의 참여로 가능할 것입니다. 물론 국내적으로 봤을 때, 예를 들면 한국이나 대만이나 이제 모든 국가에서 점차적으로 이러한 민주화가 진행되는 것 같습니다. 그리고 이러한 민주화라는 것은 조화가 이루어 져야 가능한 것으로 보입니다. 이런 지역적 지배구조도 상관이 있는 것 같습니다. 지역적 지배구조가 무엇을 말하는 것이냐 하면 지역적 지배요소들이 더욱 더 중요성을 띠고 있다는 것입니다. 이러한 민주화, 지역의 여러 가지 조직들, 지역의 단체들이 아직까지는 충분한 답을 이끌어 내지 못하고 있는 것 같습니다.

어떻게 하면 이러한 지역의 단체들이 민주화를 잘 진행시킬 수 있는지 말씀드리겠습니다. 특히 동아시아에 있어서 민주화와 지역의 지배구조, 지역의 요소들을 어떻게 절충시키는지 말씀드리겠습니다. 첫 번째로 새로운 지

역에서 협력을 동아시아에서 어떻게 이루어 나갈지에 대해 말씀 드리겠고, 그리고 동아시아 지역에 대해 불안 요소에 대해 말씀 드리겠습니다. 세 번째로는 어떻게 하면 지역의 공공부분을 동아시아 지역에서 강화시킬 수 있는지 말씀드리겠습니다.

제가 사용할 용어들에 대한 정의를 먼저 시작하겠습니다. 시민사회라는 것은 결국은 사회에서 주권이라는 개념을 가진 사람들의 모임이 되겠습니다. 그리고 공공부분이라고 하는 것은 정부와 시장과 시민 사이에 상호작용이 존재하는 공간이 되겠습니다. 이러한 공간을 통해서 권력 소유자가 다른 기관을 조종하는 것이 되겠습니다.

이제 글로벌화에 대해 말씀드리겠습니다. 글로벌화라는 것은 국경을 넘어선, 다국적 기업의 움직임입니다. 결국 국경을 넘어서 자신의 시장을 확장시키기 위한 것입니다. 여기에는 자유화라든가 규제완화, 더 낮은 정부의 개입이 포함될 수 있습니다. 그리고 글로벌화는 전 세계에 유례없는 부와 번영을 가져다줍니다. 그렇지만 사회적 문제, 예를 들면 사회나 경제적인 격차, 그리고 빈곤, 이민, 차별, 환경파괴와 같은 문제도 동시에 저희들에게 안겨다 줄 수가 있습니다. 이제 민족 간의 갈등들은 전쟁의 형태로 글로벌화 시대에서 많이 두드러지고 있습니다. 그렇기 때문에 불안한 사회가 저희들 앞에 존재하고 있는 것입니다. 그렇기 때문에 자유무역협정 내지는 그런 협상을 기반으로 하는 글로벌화는 특히 WTO의 포럼에서 진행이 되었습니다. 더 큰 시장을 원하는 국가들이 전 지역차원에서 자유무역의 공간을 원하고 있는 것입니다. 지역주의, FTA나 EPA를 기반으로 하는 그런 지역주의라든가 아니면 지역협력체제를 창출하고 있습니다. 한일자유무역협정에 대한 논의도 나오고 있는데, 선진국과 개도국간의 관계가 이로 인해서 재정립이 될 수가 있습니다. 이제는 완전한 파트너십의 관계로 나아가고 있는데 경우에 따라서 일부 국가에서는 미국이나 아니면 또 다른 다국적 기업의 영향을 피하기를 원하고 있습니다.

동아시아에서 보면 특히 1997에서 1998년에 외환위기 또 경제위기가 있었습니다만 그 이후부터 지역주의에 대한 움직임이 더욱 더 부상하게 되었고

더 발전하게 되었습니다. 이후 동아시아공동체(East Asia Community)라는 그런 아이디어가 제안되게 되었고 또 동아시아 정상회의(East Asian Summit)에 대한 아이디어도 제안이 되었었습니다. 그렇다면 APEC은 왜 충분하지 못한 것일까요? 이것으로 충분하지 않은 것은 글로벌화를 주장하고 있는 바로 미국의 견제 때문에 그렇습니다. 지금 현재 두 가지 공식 간에 경쟁구도가 있습니다. 'ASEAN +3'은 이제 중국이 적극적으로 지지하는 것이고, 'ASEAN +6'은 적극적으로 일본에 의해서 지지가 되고 있습니다. 여기에는 인도와 뉴질랜드 국가들이 모두 포함이 되어있고 중국의 영향이 어느 정도 좀 낮습니다. 그렇기 때문에 두 개의 지역조직이 있는데 서로 경쟁구도를 가지고 있습니다.

그렇지만은 이 두 가지 체제가 이 지역에서 평화에 가장 중요한 정치적인 그리고 사회적인 이슈를 다루고 있지는 못합니다. 우리는 앞으로 동아시아에서 상당히 불안한 상황에 당면하게 될 것입니다. 동아시아는 매우 경제성장력이 높은 그런 지역으로 명성이 높습니다. 그렇지만 전 세계적인 빈곤과 환경파괴 그리고 자연재해 같은 이런 희생이 이 지역에 상당히 많이 집중이 되어 있습니다. 그리고 중국은 일본과 마찬가지로 사회적인 지역적인 격차가 계속해서 벌어지고 있습니다. 중국은 동서간의 격차문제를 가지고 있고 또 환경파괴, 사막화, 식수고갈에 대한 문제를 가지고 있는데 이것으로 인해서 사회 불안정이 야기되고 있습니다. 특히 후진타오 체제에서는 조화로운 사회라는 캠페인을 주장하고 있는데, 결국은 지금 현재 사회가 그렇게 조화롭지 못하다는 것의 반증입니다.

일본도 마찬가지입니다. 지금 격차가 네 가지 형태로 나오고 있습니다. 우선 첫 번째는 사회적인 격차인데 이것은 부자와 보통사람들 간의 격차가 되겠습니다. 두 번째 격차는 바로 지역적인 격차, 즉 국제화 되어 있는 동경과 시골지역간의 격차가 되겠습니다. 세 번째는 대기업과 중소기업간의 격차, 특히 지역사회에 있는 중소기업간의 격차가 되겠습니다. 네 번째는 이제 소득과 기회 면에서 성별간의 격차가 되겠습니다.

앞서 제가 이 문제에 대해 언급했습니다만 어쨌든 특히 많은 NPO나 NGO가 적극적으로 이러한 격차를 줄이기 위한 노력을 시도해나가고 있고,

또 사회기업이나 아니면 사회단체, 지역 기업들도 이러한 지역경제를 적극적으로 활성화시키기 위한 노력을 전개시켜나가고 있습니다. 그리고 시민사회단체와 여론이 정치적인 투명성을 더욱 더 증대시키고 있습니다. 수도로 집중되는 것을 분산시키자 하는 주장들이 적극적으로 이루어지고 있습니다.

그러면 동아시아지역에 있어서 지역에 공공부문을 강화시키는 세 가지 부분에 대해서 말씀을 드리겠습니다. 첫 번째는 국제적인 차원에서 그리고 국내적인 차원에서 지배구조를 민주화시켜 나가는 것입니다. 이것은 공공정책을 적극적으로 시민사회가 참여함으로써 논의하는 것이 되겠습니다. 특히 2000년대초 이후에서도 이러한 것이 진행이 되었었습니다. 그래서 유럽 의회의 민주화 과정에서 이러한 것을 채택을 했었습니다. 반면에 동아시아에서 시민사회는 민주화를 증대시킬 수 있는 행위자로서 그 역할을 충분히 할 수가 있고, 이제 환경이나 인권, 평화안보 사안에서 목소리를 높일 수 있을 거라고 생각합니다. 우선 환경부분에 대해서 말씀을 드리겠습니다. 오염과 환경파괴는 이제 국경을 뛰어넘고 있습니다. 그래서 정부나 또 지역 커뮤니티나 NGO 그리고 국제연구기관들이 함께 공조체제로 이 문제를 해결해야 될 것입니다. 제가 과거 아시아 환경에 대한 백서를 발표한 바도 있었고, 또 일본과 한국, 중국이 환경의 커뮤니티로서 역할을 해야한다는 내용을 발표한 적이 있었습니다.

그 다음 인권부분에 대해서 말씀을 드리겠습니다. 아시아 국가들은 인권 위원회를 설립했습니다. 이것은 비엔나 선언이 나오고 난 이후였었습니다. 그리고 인권그룹은 각국의 위원회를 증대시키기 위해서 노력을 기울여나가고 있고, 또 인권위원회가 정기적인 회의를 개최하고 있습니다. NGO들이 적극적으로 참여하고 있습니다. 일본에서는 '일본인권시민위원회'를 설립을 했습니다. 이것도 마찬가지로 정부와 지역단체에서 인권을 옹호하기 위해서 설립된 단체가 되겠습니다.

그 다음에 이제 평화와 안보문제에 대해서 말씀을 드리겠습니다. 우선 두 가지 그 구성요소가 있다고 볼 수가 있는데, 가장 중요한 이슈입니다. 우선 첫 번째 평화와 무장 해제 내지는 군비감축 문제가 되겠습니다. 이러한 것들

은 APEC 포럼에서 많이 논의가 되었습니다. 6자회담도 이 지역에서 비핵화 라든가 아니면 무장 해제 내지는 군비축소를 통합해서 이야기할 수 있을 것 이라 생각합니다. 비핵화라고 하는 것들도 동북아에서는 계속해서 논의가 되고 있었습니다. 이제 글로벌 파트너십을 형성을 해 이러한 문제에 대해논 의를 해볼 수 있을 것이라고 생각합니다. 인간, 그 안전 안보에 대한 문제가 되겠습니다. ODA의 기구는 자신들의 원조활동들을 NGO의 참여하에 진행 을 시켜서 이러한 인간의 안보문제를 해결하는 노력을 기울여 나가고 있습 니다. 특히 지역지배구조의 민주화를 통해서 이러한 것을 실시를 하려고 있 습니다.

결론부분에 대해서 말씀을 드리겠습니다. 전세계가 글로벌화가 되고 있기 때문에 점점 많은 그런 지역사회 체제들이 제한이 되고 있고, 또 확산되어 나 가고 있습니다. 이러한 것들은 경제적인 사안을 가지고 있는 FTA라든가 EPA를 기반으로 구성이 되고 있습니다. 시장의 확산, 확장이 결국은 가장 이 익을 많이 낼 수 있는 부분에 집중되고 있기 때문에 인권침해가 아직까지 횡 행되고 또 사회갈등과 환경피해가 계속해서 존재하고 있습니다. 동아시아 지역에서 현재의 불안한 상황은 두 가지 타입으로 분류될 수 있겠는데요, 첫 번째는 냉전에서 파생된 국가분단, 그리고 두 번째는 글로벌화하에서 생겨 나는 구조적인 폭력가중입니다.

사실 일본도 완전히 이 문제에 대해서 벗어날 수는 없습니다. 소득이 높다 할지라도 사람들이 사회적인 지위나 어떤 기회가 박탈이 되었다고 했을 때 사람들이 불안을 느낄 수 밖에 없습니다. 왜냐하면 이제 사회에서는 경쟁이 나 효율성만 집중적으로 찬양을 하기 때문입니다. 이러한 불안한 상황은 국 가 간의 경쟁과 사회불안 그리고 사람의 불안을 초래할 수가 있습니다. 시민 사회는 지역 지배 구조를 민주화를 시킬 수 있는 역할을 담당할 수 있고, 공 공지역부분에 있어서 민주화를 충분히 시행할 수 있는 역할을 담당할 수 있 을 것이라고 생각합니다. 이것을 위해서 환경과 인권, 인권보호와 비핵화, 인 간 안보에 우리가 좀 더 노력을 기울여야 할 것입니다.

I. Introduction

In today's East Asia, several regional cooperation schemes are going on., such as East Asia Community or East Asia Summit. We will examine in this article, first, the rationale of regionalist policy in the age of globalization and its implication on peace and human right issues in the region; second, we will see various regional/social gaps and exclusion of weaker people which have become apparent with the progress of globalization and the means by which regionalist policy can tackle with these "failures" of globalization.; and, thirdly, how we can strengthen the peace and human right in East Asian scene.

Our hypothesis is the following. In recent years, in East Asia, the civil society has appeared as major promoter of democratization. The civil society, groups of NGOs/NPOs and other civic groups including churches, foundations, cooperatives, etc. , enlarging the public sphere, which can exist among interaction of the government, market and civil society, can promote further human rights and peace in the region. Already, the democratization has strongly progressed in Korea, Taiwan, and to some extent, in Japan. How the civil society can enlarge regional public sphere? This is through their networking activities in the area of human right, environment and peace.

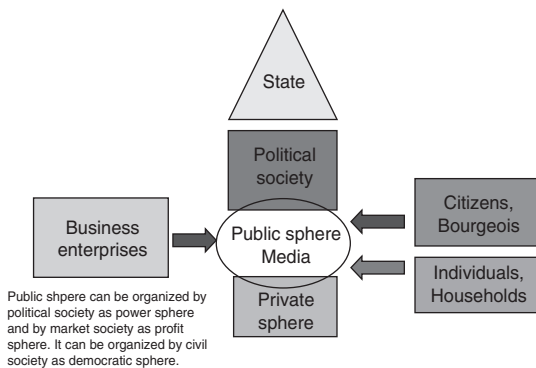
Before entering in our discussion, we would like to define key terminologies used in the article.

- Civil society: gathering of citizens who have the notion of

sovereignty over society.

- Public sphere: the space which can exist between interaction of the government, market and civil society. Through this space, the power holder can manipulate other agencies, however, at the same time, the governed citizens can act on the behavior of other agencies: government and private business. (See Figure 1)¹⁾
- Globalization: move of transnational corporations to expand market across the state borders. It involves liberalization, deregulation and lesser state intervention. Expansion of market economy, competition, efficiency and generalization of the market criteria are characteristics of the globalization
- Governance: state/manner of governing; the relations of governing and governed parties

Figure 1 Public Sphere



Now we will discuss our hypothesis.

1) This notion was first proposed by *Prison Letters* written in the early 1930s by Antonio Gramsci(1975). He emphasized the possibility of democratizing

II. Progress of globalization and appearance of new regional cooperation schemes

We live today in an age of globalization which has been promoted by development of multinational enterprises across the national borders.

It is well known that the signs of unpeacefulness have spread all over the world in recent decades.

A small part of the humanity have been enjoying certainly unprecedented prosperity, but the third quarter conduct unstable and often deprived life. There are constant wars caused by hegemonic superpowers in the Third World countries, who seem to be not obedient to the world order dictated by the formers. There are wars and conflicts among various ethnic groups in Afghanistan, Burma, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, ex-Soviet Union, Sudan and other places.

The rivalry between the states to exercise the control over natural resources, raw materials and different type of food seems to have started with the tremendous progress of industrialization all over the world.

At the same time, it seems that various regional and social gaps have been enlarging, resulting in poverty and exclusion of socially weaker people. The major reasons of this can be interpreted as follows: after the 1980s-90s, the globalization

public sphere under the fascist regime. Habermas (1988) poited out that, through this sphere, the power elite can manipulate citizens, transforming them into the amorphous mass.

which was promoted by multinational corporations, has rapidly evolved. The freer economy, lessening the governmental intervention, promoting deregulation and marketization, has progressed. Everything today tends to be seen by market consideration and to become pure merchandise. The efficiency and competition prevail, in which weaker people were left behind and even excluded.

The environment has also been deteriorated: pollution, deforestation, desertification, destruction of ecological system including global warming, water and resources depletion are most accused phenomena . The recent increase of natural disasters, or even transmitted diseases, new and recurrent, seems to be based on this progress of world-wide progress of marketization. All these hit harshly deprived people and, in return, increase of deprived and vulnerable people amplifies the effects of calamities and NTD/RTD.

We count also many refugees due to war, conflicts, political oppression, added by environmentally and economically displaced people. The refugees and displaced people

have increased the number of socially weaker population. There are also a huge flow of

migrant workers, both domestic and international, whose social status is uncertain everywhere.

The globalization is accompanied by freer trade. In the globalizing regime promoted by IMF, World Bank and WTO, free trade emphasizes the gaps between the North and

South, Rich and Poor. That is why, the Doha round which is

being negotiated at WTO forums is confronting serious deadlock. It has confronted criticisms and opposition raised by both civil society of the world and the countries of the South.

This blockade in the global trade liberalization led to increasing negotiation of Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in various parts of the world. It is true that together with the progress of industrialization, more numerous countries want to have more freer trade between themselves and between them and developed nations. The increase of regional cooperation scheme has its root in this necessity to enlarge the state trade.

There is another reason to promote regional cooperation scheme. In the age of globalization, the globalism is promoted by multinational corporations and the international organizations and superpower which are associated with the formers. There are some middle/small scale countries who are fearful of the domination of international politics by the superpower. Originally, the European Community was formed on the basis of such concern. ASEAN was also formed to countervail the impacts caused by the USSR and communist forces. In 1991, the then Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia proposed to form an East Asia Economic Caucus (EAEC) to assure the intervening power of middle/small nations in South East Asia in international scene. EAEC was the first proposal to associate South East Asian nations to those of East Asia (ASEAN plus Three²⁾ scheme)..

2) Japan, China and South Korea. In Asia-Pacific scene, the APEC (Asia-Pacific Cooperation) has been instituted since 1989 as a regional cooperation body.

We see there are both economic and political reasons to promote a regionalist policy in South East and East Asia.

Now, what is the effects of such proposal on Peace and Human Right issues in the region?

ASEAN has its own concern to distribute equally benefits from regional integration to member countries and institute preferential measures for underdeveloped member countries. For example, it sets different goals to achieve trade liberalization for advanced countries and backward ones in the region.

However, it is true that ASEAN emphasizes the cooperation with East Asian countries, starting from FTA (this they call Equal Partnership Agreement-: EPA) and then the financial cooperation which would be very necessary in a world where excess US dollar liquidities flow and one country's currency can be easily targeted for the benefits of financial speculators such as Hedge Fund and organized investors.

It seems that economic concerns precede the other, that is why, in East Asian cooperation schemes, different national interests appeared and amplified, which led to the two types of regional cooperation schemes which compete each other: one is East Asian Community (ASEAN plus Three) and the other is East Asia Summit (ASEAN plus Six) backed by Japan.³⁾

However, ASEAN does not seem to trust on this organization, in which U.S. influence is very strong.

3) In December 2004, in the Special Summit of ASEAN-Japan meeting held in Tokyo, the then Prime Minister Koizumi endorsed the proposal of ASEAN

Why this different proposal? The original idea of ASEAN plus Three (Japan, China, Korea) was promoted by ASEAN and then was supported by China. But, Japan, who was fearful of the increased influence of China in the region, proposed at the time of concretization of EAC scheme and of convocation of an East Asia Summit (EAS), which was originally conceived to be the governing body of EAC, to include India, Australia and New Zealand in this EAS forum. That is why, today, we see the parallel starting of two regional bodies, EAC and EAS.

This fact shows how national rivalries, which seem to have been amplified under the globalization, are accused even in the forums to negotiate regional cooperation.

Why national rivalries seem to have been strengthened under the globalization? The globalization, promoting market economy and competition/efficiency mind, brings various gaps and exclusion of weaker people both in international and domestic scene. In China, appeared huge gap between developed Coastal

plus Three cooperation scheme, and the necessity to form an East Asian Community (EAC) was pointed out in the Declaration of the ASEAN-Japan Special Summit. Then, in December 2005, the ASEAN-Japan Summit meeting appealed to convene the East Asia Summit to discuss concretely the formation of an EAC. However, at that time, Japan proposed suddenly to include India, Australia and New Zealand to be invitees in EAS. It is widely reported that, inclusion of India constitutes the counter balance to China, which might exercise hegemony over EAC and that of Australia and New Zealand was made to show U.S.A. that EAC is not anti-U.S./West regional body. Since then, EAC (ASEAN plus 3) and EAS (ASEAN plus 6) have been convened in parallel. For more detailed examination of the history of EAC and EAS, see Nishikawa (2007C).

part and backward Interior part(the East-West problem) or the gap between the Rich and Poor, Urban and Rural area. This has brought social and political instability. That is why, the Hu Tao-jin regime launched in 2006-7 the policy of “Harmonious society”. In Japan too, the gap between internationalizing Tokyo and other area, that of multinationalizing big firms and locally based middle/small enterprises have become enormous, which led to the recent defeat of the ruling coalition of LDP/Komeito in the Upper House election, held in September 2007.

If we analyzed more carefully the recent rivalries among East Asian nations (China and Japan, Korea and Japan) seems to be rooted on this social instability due to the progress of globalization and the change of traditionally protectionist regime in these countries.

Now the problem is the following: if actually proposed regionalist scheme can appease these state rivalries or they rather tend to amplify them?

Unfortunately, the response seems to adhere in the latter, as it is already shown in the different interest in forming EAC and EAS.

In addition, actual regionalist schemes seem to have confirmed more economic concern than other concern.: solidarity, good neighborhood, peaceful regional order, etc. ,since they do not touch on the major political issues of peace in the region.

There are two aspects of peace in East Asia: one is the remains of the Cold War, the problem of the division of nations.

This is the problem of two Koreas in Korean Peninsula and of the rivalries between Taiwan and the Continent China. There is the problem of nuclear development in DPRK and militaristic tension in the Taiwan Strait.

However, the actual regional consultation in the form of EAC/EAS does not handle these problems which are directly linked to peace and security issues in the region. For Korean unification issue, perhaps, in the future, actual negotiation of six parties concerning abolition of nuclear development in North Korea should be evolved further to promote regional peace issues. As for, the tension across the Taiwan Strait, there is clearly rivalries between Beijing government and Taiwan, though the latter's investment in the Continent has tremendously been progressing in recent years. The tension is seen in the continuing fast expansion of military budget and deployment of missiles in the coastal area of China, as well as negotiation of purchase of most recent jet fighters by Taiwanese government from U.S.A. Here, regional talk of disarmament will be useful for every concerning party. A possible regional cooperation/integration body should cover not only constitution of a common market, but also promote talks on peaceful cooperation based on disarmament to further peace and security atmosphere in the region.

Another area concerning regional peace is related to various gaps progressing under globalization. These gaps can be further widened in the progress of regional free trade.

We will see this issue in the next section, as it is related to

structural violence issue in the region.

III. Gaps and Peacelessness in East Asia

Asia has the reputation of being “high growth” area and rapidly industrializing and urbanizing area. Asian countries, starting from China, then Japan, Taiwan, Korea, have

been accumulating enormous foreign exchange, accounting for eighty percent of total foreign exchange reserved in the world. In this sense, Asia is the richest region in the world.

However, in Asia, three quarter of the world poor population live. Asia counts constant natural disasters and accounts for eighty percent of victims from natural disasters in the world between 2000-2006. This region is also constantly hit by various transmitted diseases, such as AIDS/HIV, SARS, bird flu, fish herpes, etc.

Another sign of the shadows of high economic growth is the deterioration of ecological system and environment. Deforestation, due to commercial crop development, denudes the primary forests in Southeast Asia. Desertification has been progressed starting from major deserts, Takramacan, Gobi, Ordo plateau, Rajasthan and West Asia, The pollution of rivers and lakes, increasing difficulty of getting clean water for low income people, fast decrease of biodiversity, and sales of toxic food/toys in the market are all signs of environment problem based on the progress of profit-oriented market economy.

It is true that, in this region, various social and regional gaps are going on and generate deprived and underprivileged population who are vulnerable for disasters, ecological worsening and transmitted diseases.

We will see the example both in China and Japan.

China has been experiencing an economic growth rate of 7~8% each year since the mid-1980s. This high economic growth has been led by high rate of export growth in the world market. However, the income gaps between the Coast and interior part has enormously been widened through economic growth. In 2005, the per capita income of Shanghai reached to 3,500US\$, while that in interior rural area remains one tenth of that level, the national average of 1,200US\$ does not tell much on this huge discrepancy.⁴⁾ The prosperity of the coastal area has been supported by two factors: one is the capital inflowing from both abroad and domestic world; another is the labor power and natural resources coming from the interior. The advantage of coastal big cities is that of forming growth pole where various factors of production were concentrated. However, this export-oriented industrialization policy has caused huge discrepancy between big cities and rural area: in China, it is called “Three problems related to Agriculture, Rural Area and Farmers”. These three factors, which can be the pillar of the national economy, were left behind the high economic growth

4) *China Statistical Yearbook 2006 edition*. The indication in Renmin yuan was converted to USdollar by the author.

and supported, on the contrary, this growth from the base, providing labor power and natural resources/raw materials to developing pole.

That is why, there are constant uprising of deprived farmers who protest against the “development policy” and related relocation and/or pollution issue. Thousands of uprising, protest, attacks of the local administration, accusation and denounce of corruption, monopoly and usurpation of common property are reported every year.⁵⁾

In urban area, where millions of people migrate each year, the discrimination, unfair treatment, violation of human rights including housing, education, labor and associational right, have become preponderant. That is why various NGOs started, in recent years, their activities of human right protection, legal help and information provision in urban area.⁶⁾

High growth China is not necessary socially stable China and that is why the Beijing government is obliged to launch a “Harmonious society” policy as we pointed out earlier.

5) There are many testimonies related on peasant uprisings written by Chinese and translated abroad, including Chen Guidi and Wu Chuntao, *Chugoku Nomin Hokoku* (Report on China's Peasantry). published by Bungei Shunju, 2006 (English edition is published by Public Affairs, under the title of *Will the Boat Sink Water? The Life of China's Peasants*, 2006), .Li Lianjiang and K.J.Oblien, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*, Cambridge University Press,2006.

6) See Oji Hiroko, *A Study of Takung Mei's House" in Beijing and Its Role in Empowering Immigrant Female Workers* (written in Japanese), M.A. thesis submitted to Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, February 2006.

However, the effects of that policy remain to be seen and should be confirmed by the facts..

The problems of social and regional gaps are also visible in Japan. This country had the reputation to be one of the most egalitarian societies, due to the economic and land reforms and recognition of democratic rights after WWII.

However, in recent years, the problems of the “gaps” have become widely spread all over the country.

First, the gaps are visible between rich people and ordinary people. GINI coefficient which has been long time around the order of 34 has increased several percentage point in the years 2000 and becomes closer to the U.S. figure of 43.⁷⁾ Together with globalization and structural reforms, the income earners on property have increased rapidly their income investing their assets in bonds and stocks. Stock owners of growing firms connected with IT technologies and the world market have gained very much, while many wage earners could not expect increase of their salary/wage with productivity, as it was the common practice in the previous growth period. In particular, agricultural and rural population were left behind with the progress of agricultural liberalization and inflow of agricultural

7) The Ministry of Welfare and Labor (Kosei Rodo Sho), *Kokumin Seikatsu Kiso Chosa*(The Basic Survey of Nation's Life), 2006 edition.. The U.S.figure is quoted from the World Bank, *World Development Report* 2007-8 edition. Nihon Bengoshi Rengokai (Japan's Lawyers' Association) ed. (2007) summarizes well various arguments and data related to increasing economic and social gaps progressing in Japan in recent decades.

products from abroad. Women, though their legal position was supported by Gender Equality Law, tend to be marginalized in the labor market, as the majority of contractual work and part-timer work are occupied by women. That is why, the income gap between men and women is 100 to 44 (UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 2008 edition), which decreased from the level of 56 in the high growth era. The age of globalization did not bring any progress to the majority of Japanese women. In a competition-oriented society, the sorts of aged people, disabled, indigenous and minority people are not stable, as they are facing fierce competition based on the efficiency criteria. There are problems of school bullying/violence and consequently there are thousands of youth who stay indoors in their teenage. These practices of social segregation are reflected in widening income and opportunity gaps between small number of elite people and the majority of populace.

Second, the gaps between internationalizing Tokyo and locality/countryside are widening. Tokyo, where many foreign capital and technology flew in with the globalization, shows constant development shown in increase of high rise buildings and redeveloped areas. On the contrary, in middle- and small-scale cities, the depression is very visible, as their central commercial area turns into “shut down” streets where many shops just closed their shutters due to the decrease of local purchasing power. In fact, many Japanese big firms just shifted their factories from Japanese localities to abroad, South East Asia or China. The localities are left behind. Actually, Tokyo’s per

capita is 36% higher from the national average⁸⁾, however, the real gap, including living facilities and cultural conditions, must be much higher from this figure.

Facing these problems of social and regional gaps, in Japan too, various activities of NPOs/NGOs have been developing. They appear promoters of social inclusion, social enterprises, and new ventures emphasizing employment and human right concerns. There are examples of local cooperatives to set up wind power generation system and providing electricity both to their members and electric company (starting from Hokkaido, the movement was expanded to Aomori and Akita prefectures). In fact, since 1998, when the NPO law was in effect, in ten years the number of NPOs have increased rapidly and actually are counted as over 30,000. Among them, there are NGOs who are specialized in the help of foreigners who work legally or illegally in Japan and who are engaged in hard, dirty and dangerous (3K) works. These NGO activities will be valuable to open Japan to the world and to realize more harmonious life between the Japanese and foreign residents in this country, which is precondition of the regional and domestic peace.

On the other hand, in rural area, one village one product movement has developed and entered in a new stage. Originally, this movement started in early 1980s to escape from rice monoculture protected by the government to diversify products and increase crops. From rice to fruits, vegetables, cattle

8) Yano Kota Kinenkai ed. (2006), Data demuru Kensei (Prefectural Development seen by Data), Published by the Editor.

breeding, members diversified considerably products. In the 1990s, when the Japanese economy was said to be stagnant, this promotion of local economy movement entered in the new phase where they increased value added by developing organic culture, transformation of raw materials to final and more refined products, and, using IT technology, started to direct sales and networking with urban consumers, providing to the latter an opportunity of home stay, enjoying home garden, ecotourism and beautiful environment, and encountering local events, curiosities and even local currencies. This is the endogenous development of local economy which does not rely no more on subsidies economy by the central government.⁹⁾

These are the examples of the pronouncement of civil society in the public scene and enlargement of a public sphere in Japanese context. In fact, their movement has promoted various structural reforms in recent years, including the Law of Regulation of Political Donation which emphasized political transparency, the Decentralization Laws, which endow local government with more autonomy, Law of Recycling Society, which emphasizes reduce of wastes, and their reuse and recycle, etc.¹⁰⁾

Now let us see, how this new move of local and civil society, which are keen to fill in gaps generated by market economy

9) Nishikawa (2004). For one village one product movement, there are a lot of literature. In recent years, this movement spread over in Asian countries, including Thailand, Laos, the Philippines, China and others.

10) Nishikawa (2007A)

and globalization, promoting people's participation and democratization, can strengthen human right and peace on the regional scene.

IV. Three Ways of Strengthening Regional Public Sphere in East Asia

Until today, the public sphere has been discussed mainly on domestic scene in relation to domestic and national governance. However, in the age of globalization, in both global and regional level, the interaction between the government/international/regional organizations, transnational corporations and civil society should become important as their relation might determine the degree of democratization in international and regional sphere. Already, since the decades, with the progress of industrialization and globalization, in the forums of the United Nations system, more and more global governance issues have been discussed. We see in this controversy, the civil society represented by international NGOs has become very positively involved (Nishikawa 2007B).

In the discussion on international conventions of human right, or on global warming , Global Millennium Goals, etc. , we know how actively international NGOs were involved and contributed to the positive outcome.

In the 2000s, a World Social Forum was constituted on the initiative of different NGOs/NPOs groups and started actively to

advocate to global issues, including North-South relations, human right issues, regulation of transnational corporations, protection of environment, multicultural social relations, etc. They criticize the purely market-based relations and free trade concept. Thus they contribute to the constitution of a public sphere in international scene, thus democratizing remarkably the global governance, which has been dominated up to now by international governmental organizations (IGOs) and transnational corporations.

How about on the regional scene? Unfortunately, in today's initiative of forming regional cooperation body in Asia (APEC, EAC, EAS, etc.), involvement of civil society is still very marginal. Only in ASEAN gatherings, civil society groups started to be more and more involved as advisory groups, observers, executers or contractors.

However, in East Asia, as we saw already, civil society organizations have become very active in recent years and started cooperation of their own across the borders.

These activities include environment, human right (historical examination) and peace areas. We will see how regional cooperation has started in these areas among civil society groups of each country and what is its implication on the perspective of forming regional governance.

First, environment area. Today, as productive power increased tremendously, pollution transcends easily national borders and international cooperation is urged in Asia where pollution and environment degradation have become very serious with high

economic growth in the region.

Already, yellow sand dusts coming from China pollute heavily Korean and Japanese sky from March to May every year and the degree of dusts arrival as well as acid rain has been intensifying every year. The Meteorology Agency of Japan announced that , in 2006, over 120 days, the yellow dusts reached to Japan's sky and their amount reached to 15 tons per km² . The pollution in the Pohai-Yellow sea area has become also serious and Korean scientific organization started to conduct detailed survey..

A Japanese NGO, Nihon Kankyo Kaigi (Japan Environment Council) started to publish since 1998 a "White Paper on Asian Environment" (Nihon Kankyo Kaigi 1998~), in which JEC monitors pollution and deterioration of environment in Asian countries, country by country and on the regional scene. In 2006, a Japan NGO, the Institute of Information and Dissemination on East Asia Environment, published a report entitled: "Japan, Korea and China as Environmental Community" (2006) Based on such scientific survey, regional cooperation of environment protection and even revival should be promoted.

Second, the area of human right is very promising area of regional cooperation. At the time of the 1993 U.N. Vienna conference on development and human right, there was arguments among Asian counties that, in Asia, there is an Asian type of human right, which emphasizes collective (or the state) right to development and that the right to autonomy and economic development precedes the civil and political right of freedom. However, after fourteen years from that controversy, it

seems today that the majority of the regional members (except Myanmar where military government excludes all discussion concerning human right) accept the Vienna declaration which states clearly that all human rights are based on individual rights and freedom/civil rights and economic/social/cultural rights are inseparable (Kawamura 2007). Most of ASEAN countries and Korea have set up own human right commission and, in Japan, setting up of human right commission has become the agenda of parliament. ASEAN itself decided to institute a human right machinery in coming months.

Therefore, in each country, civil society groups, in particular, human right related NGOs can strengthen its daily contact with the human right commission and advocate for the institution of regional liaison network of human right commissions and NGOs. Already in Japan, the Citizens Council for Human Rights was formed in 2006 to advocate to the government to include views from various underprivileged social groups in the agenda of the coming Human Right Commission.

These activities of concerned NGOs in East Asia will strengthen considerably the regional governance on human right area and its monitoring ability of human right situation. It will, at the same time, contribute to make progress of democratization of regional governance in social development field.

In the human right related field, we have to note that, in the area of school textbook on history which has become crucial issue in Japan-China, Japan-Korea antipathy in recent years,

there is initiative in the private field on the basis of NGO advocacy. Firstly, concerning the “comfort women” issues, in 2000, Japanese NGOs took initiative of holding an “International tribunal to judge war crimes committed against women” where over one thousand (in which foreign 8 country NGOs accounted for 40% of participants) people gathered and judged responsibility of Japanese government in war sexual crime, that the latter has been denying, collected testimony of victims and recommended the state compensation for victims. The three large volumes of the records of the Tribunal constitute a monument of regional cooperation based on the proper survey of civil society on past crimes committed by the state (The International Tribunal to Judge War Crimes related to Women Committed by Japanese Army, *Records*, Asia-Japan Women’s Resource Center)

Secondly, in the area of school textbook of history, historians from Japan, Korea and China started to meet to discuss to write a common textbook based on mutual exchange of views on the past history. The product: “History to create the Future in East Asia” was published in 2005 in these three countries (in Japan, Kobunken Publishers, in Korea, Hangyore Newspaper, Inc., and in China by the Academy of Social Science)¹¹⁾. It will contribute undoubtedly to the deepening of mutual understanding among three nations in East Asia. In the future, it might include

11) The Committee to Write a Common History Textbook in Japan-China-Korea, *Mirai wo Hiraku Rekishi* (History to Create the Future in East Asia), Kobunken, 2005.

historians of Taiwan, where the revision of history has been rapidly progressed as democratization progresses.

These examples of joint partnership of civil society groups to revise their own history should contribute to the good basis for regional governance of cultural field.

Lastly, there is an area of regional peace and security. Until now, the security was the area where the state monopolized its administration. However, with the progress of globalization, more and more human security issues have been raised and international cooperation has become urged by international society. As we pointed out already, in Asia, human security issues have become very crucial and cooperation of NGOs, local governments, ODA and business enterprises should be effective in tackling with huge regional problem of human insecurity.

As for peace and disarmament field, there is an initiative of the United Nations to promote the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflicts: GPPAC. This initiative is being promoted in 15 regions in the world and, in North East Asia, since 2001, starting from the gathering of Korean and Japanese NGOs, China, Far East Russia, Taiwan, Mongolia and other nations' NGOs joined and they launched together GPPAC Process in North East Asia to urge denuclearization of the region.

In the future, GPPAC Process-NE Asia might coordinate their action with South East Asia-GPPAC Process organization where regional denuclearization was already realized, and to act, as strong lobby of civil society in the region, either on Six party

talks on Denuclearization of DPRK or on regional disarmament talks in the Geneva U.N Disarmament Commission.

As we have seen, there are strong move of NGOs/civil society in East Asia to promote cooperation between civil society groups and to advocate for an efficient and democratic

regional governance in the region. Here, the regional public sphere can be constituted

on the basis of regional organizations., government, transnational enterprises, local firms and civil society organization, including media. In this last area, leading newspapers of the region started to exchange columns, commentary and other articles among themselves. This kind of exchange initiative of views will undoubtedly promote and deepen mutual understanding of the public across the borders. Also, a recent extension of Korean civil media, Oh My News, of their activities in Japan will be welcome to develop cultural civil governance in the region.

V. Conclusion

In a globalizing world, more and more regional cooperation schemes are proposed and materialized in the form of FTA/EPA. However, these trials of regionalist schemes have until now been based on market liberalization and economic concern. East Asia is not the exception.

This type of regional cooperation might aggravate human right

violation and peacelessness situation already visible in this region, which has the reputation of high economic growth and prosperity.

In fact, in Asia, two types of unpeaceful situation exist: remaining Cold-war originated division of the state and nation, and the structural violence which has been aggravated through economic growth.

Asia, which has concentrated the majority of the world foreign exchange reserves, could not have succeeded in using effectively this tremendous wealth for the benefits of the peoples' lives both in the region and the world. This sad situation derives from the lack of imagination on the part of the governments and transnational corporations which took the initiative of regional free market formula in forming regional cooperation.

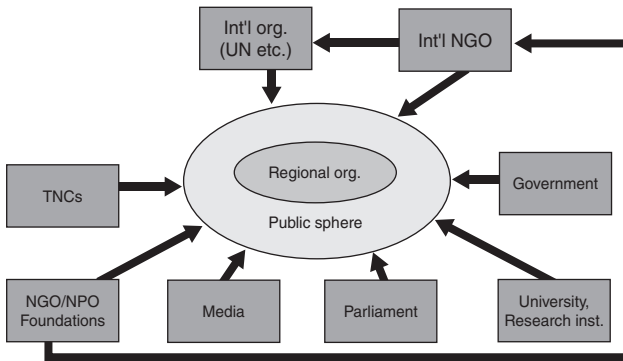
On the contrary, regional and social gaps have been widening through globalization, freer market, privatization and smaller government system. These gaps appeared in the form of social instability, environment deterioration and spiritual instability of people which led to national rivalries in the age of globalization.

However, in each country, the move of civil society to democratize politics and society is also going on. The civil society appeared as major actor for democratizing public sphere, strengthening advocacy both to government and transnational corporations. The democratization is accompanied by strengthening of human right which acts as good remedy for increasing structural violence under the globalization and

regionalization.

The possible regional governance with participation of civil society can be drawn in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Regional Governance



In this Figure, regional organizations can be formed by governments. How to develop the public sphere surrounding regional organizations. The governments often represented the interests of TNCs originated or acting in the region, forming FTAs and capital liberalization area. International organizations (IGOs) and NGOs can exercise pressure on the regional organizations. However, regional NGOs/NPOs, media, parliament, university and research institutions, and, in general, regional public opinion also advocate for democratizing behaviors of regional organizations. These are sources of public sphere on the regional scene, constituting factors for democratic regional governance.

How to democratize the regional and global governance? As we have seen here, the role of civil society is crucial. They have been appearing as strong actors for tackling with regional problems of structural violence and conflicts. In East Asian scene, they acted as networking force to survey environmental deterioration, to disclose officially hidden history of war crimes and oppression committed to weaker people, to promote strengthening human right issues and to advocate for regional nuclear disarmament.

These efforts of civil society will undoubtedly contribute to strengthen regional democratic governance, which is very crucial for realizing more humane like world in this materialistically-oriented part of the globe, East Asia.

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