Civil Participation for Peace and Reunification

- Report on 2012 Peace Activities of the Korean NGOs -
Civil Peace Forum English Booklet 2012

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Preface

The Civil Peace Forum has already come to present the fourth report after the establishment of the Civil Peace Forum. This is the second English publication. The issue that has been considered by the Civil Peace Forum the most importantly over the last few years is the production of discourse and policies for ‘citizens’ participation type unification processes’. It has originated in the expectation that existing unification movements should be connected to not only changes in perceptions related with unification but also changes in the attitudes and styles of daily living through ‘citizens’ participation’. For unification, ‘processes’ are more important than rightness or results not only because citizens’ participation can activate unification movements or enable preparation for problems after unification but also because citizens’ participation can make and implement the intrinsic meaning of unification.

However, ‘citizens’ participation’ and ‘the routinization of unification movements are never easy. In particular, the external environment where private exchanges and cooperative projects have been completely prevented since the 5.24 action fundamentally restricts not only ‘citizens’ participation’ but also environments and conditions surrounding unification movements. This has been also the case with the situation in 2012. The writings by Jeong Hyeon-Gon and Lee Wun-Sik included in this report well reveal the situation where social
and cultural exchanges and movements to support North Korea which are two major areas of unification movements have been minimized and stopped. The writing by Jeong Beom-Jin presents the situation where South Korea-North Korea economic cooperation has been shrunk and measures to activate South Korea-North Korea economic cooperation from the standpoint of the parties of economic cooperation and the writing by Lee Hyeok-Hui can be said to be a report on attempts to develop the movements to resume Geumgangsan tours into movements with citizens’ participation.

Meanwhile, since the launch of the Lee Myeong-Bak government, South Korea-North Korea reconciliation, cooperation and exchange and humanitarian assistance activities have been drastically shrunk while groups that publicize North Korean human rights and the issue of North Korean defectors and implement ‘North Korea democratization movements’ such as leaflet drops to North Korea and radio broadcasting to North Korea have continuously increased in the support of the government and overseas foundations. In this situation, the Civil Peace Forum has been emphasizing the necessity to prepare and practice progressive alternatives for North Korean human rights and the writing by Chung Hyun-Baek can be said to be a summary of discussions thus far on progressive discourses and policies in relation to North Korean human rights.

Discussions on citizens’ participation type unification cannot but be fundamentally combined with the issue of the reform
of Korean society and cannot but be grafted onto institutionalized and multi-layered education. Unification should not only exist as a matter of interest of some movement camps but should be positioned as a daily issue of citizens. Although these are too natural words to say, unification movements with citizens’ participation can be developed not only when discourses are produced but also life type issues are developed and development into a popular movement is made at the level of grass roots. In this respect, the process of development of peace movements that develop agendas of peace at the level of grassroots lives and popularize the agendas suggests not a few things for unification movements. The peace movements showed a possibility of development into popular movements through the movement to oppose against sending troops to Iraq in 2008 and the movement to oppose the installation of a naval base in Jeju-do was a monumental movement that grew from a peace movement at the level of a village into a global antiwar movement.

Yangeewonyeong shows how the effort of peace movements to go beyond struggles against nuclear waste sites and switch to popular movements to eliminate nuclear power plants after the Fukushima nuclear disaster. The writing by Jung Gyung-Lan focuses on the Current Status of women’s activities for Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in South Korea in order to increase women’s participation in the process of peacebuilding and conflict resolution.
The peace cultural movement and peace education movement intended to melt the antisociality and rigidity of the division system through the boost of receptivity to peace are some of the reasons why unification movements should be combined with them. This provides many implications in relation to the direction of unification education. Kim Seon-Hye summarized efforts to support the formation of peaceful school culture through peer adjustment education and Lee Jae-Yeong introduces NARPI that has promoted education and training on peace culture at the level of Northeast Asia where conflicts are heightened.

With the presidential election in Korea as the last one, the power orders in East Asia are revealing all outlines. The appearance of the Abe extreme right cabinet in Japan, the establishment of Kim Jeong-Eun system in North Korea, the birth of Shi Jin Ping system in China and the birth of the Park Geun-Hye government in Korea cannot be anything but very worrisome situations in relation to the future of East Asia. The worry that “the embers such as conflicts over the territory and the issue of past history can ignite a fire on nationalism and ultranationalism any time with a minor thing as a momentum” may be realized. The unification and peace movements in Korea may face the worst situation of the Park Geun-Hye government, confrontational South Korea-North Korea relationships and conflicting East Asia. In such case, thoughts and policies with citizens’ participation and the expansion of practices at the level of grass roots will
approach as more pressing tasks. The unification and peace movements should stand on the starting point again with a mind to lower oneself in order to grow further.

Lee Seung-Hwan, Chung Hyun-Back, Nam Boo-Won, Kim Keum-Ok
(Co-representatives of the Civil Peace Forum)
1. Humanitarian Aid to North Korea by South Korean NGOs in 2012

LEE Woon-Ik (Secretary General, Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation, woon334@hanmail.net)

1. Introduction

North Korea has been suffering from economic meltdown and severe food shortage since the mid-1990s and North Korean people are under threat of their survival with starvation and poor medical conditions. Under these circumstances, NGOs in South Korea, with humanitarian spirit and philanthropic love, have been making efforts to improve the humanitarian environment for North Koreans through various humanitarian aid projects including emergency relief and development support projects.

Starting in 2008, however, with the inauguration of President Lee’s government, South-North Korean relationship began to turn sour, putting NGO activities in trouble and the 5.24 Measure that the Korean government announced after ‘Sinking of Chun-An warship in March 2010’ had South-North humanitarian aid as well as commercial trading completely suspended.
Since though, the South Korean government was forced to partially approve humanitarian aid by NGOs in March 2011, pressured under its burden of stabilizing South-North relationship, demand by religious groups and NGOs and the public’s criticism about severance of the South-North relationship. But the approval was limited to a handful of items including powdered milk, bread, flour and basic medical supplies whose supply had been stopped and resumed again depending on changes in the bilateral relationship and political issues of the South Korean government.

The Kim Jeongeun regime that was established in 2012 made it clear that it would not deal with the incumbent South Korean government whose term is only one year left and it has stuck to its position in cooperative projects with South Korea’s NGOs. The Korean government also is firm in its closed door policy toward North Korea, leaving South Korea NGOs’ activities for North Korea bogged down for a long time.

2. Status of aid to North Korea in 2012

As shown in the table below, aid to North Korea has dropped dramatically in Lee Myeongpark government compared to its predecessor, Roh Muhyeon government. Except for aid by private and international organizations, the only aid provided through authorities’ dialogues is KRW18.3 billion for emergency aid for flood relief and cure for Swine Flu in 2010.
NGO’s support for North Korea dropped sharply from KRW 90.9 billion in 2007 to KRW 13.1 billion in 2011 and to KRW 6.9 billion in Sept. 2012.

**<Table> Aid to North Korea by South Korean Government and NGOs as of Sept. 2012, now, (unit: KRW 100 mn)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aid by</th>
<th>'08</th>
<th>'09</th>
<th>'10</th>
<th>'11</th>
<th>'08</th>
<th>'09</th>
<th>'10</th>
<th>'11</th>
<th>Roh gov.</th>
<th>Lee gov.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gov. level</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>For free aid</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authority</strong></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Private org.</strong></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Int’l org.</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food(rice) borrowing</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td><strong>Private support</strong></td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>(free)</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**<Source> 2011 Unification White Paper & Materials by Ministry of Unification**

* KRW2.1 billion of private organizations’ aid in 2010 was carried over from 2009 and KRW 6.5 billion in 2011 was dedicated to support Unicef for infants and children.
Since 2010, NGOs in South Korea have worked to provide aid to North Korea even under restriction of taking goods out of the country by the Korean government, while persuading both South and North Korea. In December 2011, Kim Jeong Ill passed away and his successor Kim Jeongeun emerged as a new leader of North Korea.

In 2012, NGOs in South Korea have repeatedly proposed dialogues to North Korea for inter-Korean social and cultural exchanges and humanitarian aid. But North Korea refused it, citing condolences to the late North Korean ruler, military exercises by the South Korean government and its restrictions against NGOs as reasons for such refusal.

The South Korean government has also attempted dialogues with the Kim Jeongeun regime. It expressed such intention to the North Korean government on many occasions and officially proposed ‘Anti-insect Project for Forests’ for the area around ancient tombs of Goguryeo on Feb. 7, and reunion of separated families in both Koreas on Feb. 14. But North Korea refused them, too, citing hard-line policy of South Korean government and 5.24 Measure as reasons.

Against this backdrop, NGOs in South Korea sent goods such as powered milk, basic medicines and clothing, irrespective of North Korea’s intension, via China routes such a ‘Incheon Port in South Korea→ Daeryeon Port in Chin→ Nampo Port in North Korea’ or ‘Incheon Port in South KoreaK→ Dandong in China→ Sineuju in North Korea’.
In July and August, as North Korea’s disastrous situation in the wake of a flood and typhoon was known to South Korea through North Korea’s media, flood relief aid for North Korea has emerged as a major issue in South Korea. Korea NGO Council for Cooperation with North Korea, KNCCK, a council among NGOs which have prepared for 'Campaign to Help North Korean Children', and Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation, KCRC, a public organization for unification, changed their campaign theme to ‘Pan-National Campaign for Flood Relief Aid and North Korean Children.’ They held a news conference on August 28, where they appealed to the general public about need for flood relief aid for North Korea and requested the South Korean government to take a forward-looking policy. And they also officially proposed flood relief and proceeded with working level discussions.

The South Korea government also made an official proposal of flood relief aid to North Korea on Sept. 3, taking advantage of demands from politicians and the general public as an opportunity to reopen dialogue with North Korea, to provide flour, instant noodles and medical supplies. But North Korea turned it down, arguing that their request for rice, cement and recovery equipment was neglected and that South Korea government held them up to ridicule. This is replay of 2011 when due to such difference in stance about aid items, flood relief aid foundered. From such experience in 2011, it was easily expected that North Korea would not accept only
flour and medical supplies, but the South Korea government stuck to its overly inflexible attitude, allegedly losing the last chance to help suffering North Koreans and improve South-North Korean relationship.

North Korea has been also half-hearted in cooperating with South Korea NGOs or attracting outside support as inter-Korean relationship tensed and they needed to re-define it anyways after a new South Korean government is sworn in early 2013. On Sept 21, World Vision supported 500 tons of flour and KNCCCK and KCRC sent 500 tons of flour on Oct. 5 and basic medical supplies and clothing on Oct. 25 but it is still not enough. NGOs in South Korea are required to follow the South Korean government’s restrictions on goods delivery to the North and its strict and unflexible guideline on distribution monitoring and to persuade a passive North Korean government.

In 2012, South Korea’s NGOs have made efforts on direct support for North Korea and expand consensus among South Korean people concerning humanitarian aid to North Korea. To this end, they held public discussions, seminars, survey to law makers and filed petition for adoption of ‘resolution by the National Assembly’ to insist South Korean government’s humanitarian aid to North Korea. And it is making efforts to lay stable ground for humanitarian aid to North Korea through law enactment but such efforts will not bear fruits in the near future as the ruling and opposition parties of South
Korea disagree each other on ‘North Korea Human Rights Act’ and ‘Act on Support for Humanitarian Aid to North Korea’.

3. 2013 outlook and challenges

With the presidential election on Dec. 19, strong presidential candidates announced their North Korea and unification policy. Both ruling and opposition party candidates argue for advancement of peace on the Korean peninsula and resolution of North Korea nuclear issue, development of inter-Korean relationship and economic cooperation through active dialogue and cooperation. Though there is difference in election pledges between candidates, the pledges have much in common. The reason is that the candidates share an understanding that the current South Korean government’s policy to suppress North Korea has failed to improve inter-Korean relations and humanitarian situation, ease military tension and encourage changes of North Korea.

They also promise that their humanitarian aid will be separated from political and military issues between the two sides. It is really encouraging to NGOs in South Korea but there are a load of challenges that the incoming South Korean government shall deal with to normalize inter-Korean relations. And there is still a high possibility that humanitarian projects are put at risk by external factors such as the attitude of a new South Korean government toward North Korea and the
public opinion of South Korean people about such aid. The following are tasks of NGOs in South Korea concerning such aid in 2013.

First, they should enhance autonomy and independency of their humanitarian activities for North Korea. It is 60 years since the end of the Korean war but the Korean peninsula is still in a state of armistice and it will take a significant amount time for a solid peace system to firmly take root. Under the circumstances, autonomy and independence of humanitarian aid to North Korea shall be promoted so that such aid cannot be interfered with by the policies of South and North Korea and their political and military situation. The 5.24 measure, in particular, shall be lifted since it is limiting inter-Korean exchanges led by NGOs and humanitarian aid to North Korea. The North Korean government needs to change its attitude to utilize exchanges and cooperation with NGOs in South Korea for its political purposes. Criticism about lack of transparency in distribution by South Korean NGOs shall be resolved by the NGOs for their sustainable activities going forward.

Secondly, in addition to emergency relief projects for North Korea, cooperation for development shall be pushed for in parallel. Given severe economic distress and food crisis in North Korea, systematic and efficient support for vulnerable social groups such as infants, children, pregnant women and elderly people is extremely important. And support shall be extended to less developed areas including agricultural or
non-Pyongyang areas rather than big cities or Pyongyang. Besides, cooperative development efforts need to be pushed for emergency relief activities because the latter alone cannot improve structural problems of North Korea, such as food shortage and poverty, only increasing North Koreans dependency on South Korea and weakening their motivation for self-sufficiency and capabilities. To this end, South Korean NGOs need to expand and advance their experience in agriculture and livestock, health and medicine and forestation.

Thirdly, governance of various parties in aid to North Korea shall be improved including the government, the parliament, local governments, media and NGO, in diverse areas such as unification policy, multilateral diplomacy, economic cooperation, socio-cultural exchanges and education on unification. Humanitarian aid to North Korea, in particular, is an area where NGO activities are the most active. The government’s role is important but close cooperative relations between local governments, NGOs, media and the national assembly who are leading formation of the public opinion are equally important. This initiative shall start by normalizing 'Private-government Policy Council for Aid to North Korea,’ a policy council run by Ministry of Unification and NGOs from 2005 to 2009.

Fourthly, consensus needs to be built in the South Korean society concerning humanitarian aid to North Korea. So far, aid to North Korea has been a source of political controversy,
affected by change of the governments, their policies and inter-Korean relations. The South Korean government’s large-scale food and fertilizer support for North Korea, in particular, was made in return for North Korea’s support for reunion of separated families or for the purpose of peaceful control of inter-Korean relations. It was hard to secure transparent distribution and allocation of such food or fertilizer and it caused criticism that such aid is just ‘showering the North with gifts in vain’. This represents that unnecessary controversies were brought about because aid to North Korea failed to be based on humanitarian spirit and utilized for political purposes.

Humanitarian aid to North Korea shall be strictly based on its humanitarian principles. Separated from political and military issues, it is needed to evaluate humanitarian aid to North Korea, improve North Korean environment for humanitarian aid and strengthen competency of beneficiary groups, to prevent unnecessary controversies and enhance consensus in South Korean society toward humanitarian aid to North Korea. The South Korean government’s support for North Korea for political reasons must be clearly differentiated from humanitarian aid to North Korea.

Lastly, South Korea’s NGOs working for aid for North Korea shall expand their exchanges and cooperation with NGOs in the global societies, to share experiences and information, seek for ways to band together to resolve common problems they face in the course of emergency relief
and development cooperation and to initiate joint projects. This will be extremely helpful in overcoming fatigue after their elongated aid activities and boosting effects of their projects.


<Wheat Flour Aids on North Korean Flood, October 5, 2012>
2. Did We Find Exit to South–North Korean Relations in Deadlock?

- Looking back on South and North social and cultural exchanges in 2012

JUNG Hyung-Gon (Co-head of Executive Committee of South Korean Committee for implementation of 6.15 Joint Declaration, jhkpeace@empas.com)

There is a Korean saying that 'It is as rare as bean sprouts in drought.' This refers to few dry bean sprouts in dry fields which can be likened to South and North social and cultural exchanges this year.

Early this year, there were expectations of South and North social and cultural exchanges. Incumbent Lee Myongbak government of South Korea is coming to an end and there was hope that the government may not want to leave ‘South–North Korean relations roaring with gunfires’ behind to the coming one. And there was the general election scheduled. It was expected that the ruling party would be crushed then. As the general election is supposed to mirror popular sentiment which seemed to support easing of the tightened political situation through South–North Korean exchanges in the private sector.
But the result of South and North social and cultural exchange turned out to be dismal in 2012 and nothing has changed for that matter.

Unfortunately, North Korea announced the launch of an artificial satellite early this year, which triggered anxiety about national security among South Korean people. North Korea’s intention was suspected since an artificial satellite can be converted to a missile any time. Back then, the U.S.A. was discussing this matter with North Korea but it decided to break its agreement of nutrition support for North Korea because of the satellite launch. Then the South Korean government and the ruling party took advantage of this, being conscious of the election. They made a big issue out of this and scared South Korean people with it. The South Korean military continued to voice their concern about military threat of North Korea and North Korea repeatedly voiced stout statements to make matters worse. This development of events was concentrated in March and April and after the 4.11 general election, and the South and North Korean stand-off passed the point of no return.

Eventually, South and North Korean social and cultural exchanges hit a setback. But it is not that nothing happened. Under direction of Director Myonghoon Jung, Galaxy Orchestra of North Korea and Radio France Philharmonic Orchestra held a joint performance in Paris (March) and a joint Buddhist service by Buddhists from South and North Korea was held at
Shinge Temple in Guemgang Mountain (October).

**Dream of Director Myonghoon Jung, South-North Korean Musicians Becoming One.**

Myonghoon Jung, director of Seoul City Symphony Orchestra, visited Pyeongyang in February 28. The purpose was to have a rehearsal with the Galaxy Orchestra of North Korea for the joint performance in Paris with Radio France Philharmonic Orchestra. All attention was drawn to the possibility of a joint performance by South and North Korea. To a question by reporters, 'Is it possible for South and North Korean orchestra to visit each other for joint performances?', the South Korean government answered 'we keep such possibility open', indicating they were also expecting it.

Director Jung watched the performance by North Korea’s National Symphony Orchestra and the Galaxy Orchestra during this visit and had an audition for 7 orchestra members. "In North Korea, they are trained not to make any mistakes. So they are amazing in technical skills and in enthusiasm about advancing their music." said Director Jung, complimenting their musical skill. During this visit, Director Jung agreed with North Korea’s Korea Art Exchange Association to hold regular joint performances by South and North Korean symphony orchestras. He hoped that Beethoven’s Symphonic No. 9 ‘Choral’ would be played in Pyeongyang.

Director Jung directed a joint performance in Paris by the

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1) Seoul Economy, Feb.28, 2012
Galaxy Orchestra of North Korea and Radio France Philharmonic Orchestra in March 14. It was held at Salle Pleyel near the Arc de Triomphe. More than 2,000 people in the audience were deeply impressed by the playing of the North Korean orchestra members who successfully made a debut in their 20s. It was good news for North Korea to mix with the world, under guidance by South Korea.

The dream of Director Jung has not come true yet. Conflicts between South and North Korea are not resolved yet. But the dream is not far away since everybody still dreams of it.

Bridge between South and North Korea made by Buddha

One of the most significant achievements in South and North Korean social and cultural exchange in 2012 is the joint buddhist service by South and North Korean buddhists in Oct 13 since it is remembered as the only South and North Korea exchange this year.

The Shinge Temple in Geumgang Mountain was built in the Shilla Dynasty (519) and burnt down during Korean war and then restored jointly by South and North Korea buddhist circles after joint investigation in 2001 by Koran Buddhist Jogye Order and Chosun Buddhists Federation. The restoration was complete on Oct. 2007.
19 and 22 Buddhists from South and North Korea respectively attended the joint buddhist service at Shinge Temple in Geumgang Mountain to commemorate the fifth year of restoration of the temple including Vice Chairman of Buddhism Shin Do Hoe. At the service, the attendees promised to lead South and North Korean reconciliation and cooperation with the strength of Buddhism. The joint service was the only achievement but there were many more reviews behind the curtain, among which was visit to Seoul by Chosun Buddhists Federation. And there was another idea of exhibition of the
Chosun Royal Family Record in Pyeongyang on Aug.15, the National Liberation Day. But sadly, this idea of the Buddhist circle leading the way of South and North Korea easing their strained relations foundered by South and North Korean governments.

Private organizations, not letting go of the hope

There was a private organization that South and North Korea launched in the form of a network under the name of 6.15 joint declaration. It was formed at Geumgang Mountain on Dec. 10, 2004, called National Joint Committee for Execution of 6.15 Joint Declaration or simply National Committee for 6.15 Joint Declaration. South and North Korea formed their own independent committee, called South Committee and North Committee. Before the change of the South Korean government in 2008, they were well known for holding commemorative events in Seoul and Pyeongyang on the commemoration day of the 6.15 Joint Declaration and on Aug.15, the National Liberation Day, every year.

There were around 20 South and North Korean meetings a year by these committees but there had been none for the past three years till Feb 9 and 10. The committee proposed to hold a commemorative event at Geumgang Mountain to commemorate the 6.15 Joint Declaration. This proposal came out of a hope to resolve urgent South and North Korean issues such as the reopening of Geumgang Mountain tourism and the reunion of separated families through private
approach. If this event was realized, it would have affected inter-Korean relations, leading to meetings of South and North Korean governments. Considering that Geumgang Mountain tourism was closed due to the gunning down of a South Korean tourist by the North, Seoul and Pyeongyang should have reviewed the establishment of security for South Korean tourists and reunion of separated families at Geumgang Mountain.

But the commemorative event did not happen. There had been no sign of relief in tensions between South and North Korea till May and the South Korean government even fined three members of the 6.15 Committee of South Korea who contacted their North Korean counterparts for preparation of the event.

Publication of a South and North Korean language dictionary, another symbolic project, did not progress at all this year. Since South and North Korea had working-level meetings Nov. last year, no meeting had been held due to stagnated inter-Korean relations.

The last-ditch effort for South and North Korean social and cultural exchanges in 2012 was made by the An Jung Geun Memorial Society through a Pyeongyang visit from Nov. 13 to 17. It had been a really long time since the last Pyeongyang visit. Key figures including Father Sewoong Ham visiting the birth place of An Jung Geun under the North’s guide in Hwanghae Nam-do, and visiting Samhung Shool that An Jung Geun built and Seongbul Temple at Jeongbang
Mountain. Jaeeon Jang, President of Chosun Religious People Council and Chosun Red Cross led the visiting group. And there was a good news that the North welcomed the South’s proposal that priests from South Korea visit JangChung Cathedral of the North on Christmas day to have a joint mass. North Korea seemed to try to recover its tainted image among South Koreans.2)

South and North Korea’s social and cultural exchanges in 2012 failed. But it was clear that there were efforts to resolve any misunderstanding and communicate with each other. These efforts will make a difference even if such difference seems so small at first. I expect that the year 2013, with changes looming ahead, will see changes in South and North Korea’s social and cultural exchange, too.

2) North Korea expanded the North and South Korea civil exchanges in November 2012, not only scope of NGOs but also of visit areas from Kaesung to Pyongyang. Members of the An Jung Geun Memorial Society and the Peace 3000 visited Pyongyang,
3. Status of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and Proposals on its Invigoration

Jeong Beom-Jin (Head of Policy Committee of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation Committee, bjjung@dreamwiz.com)

Ministry of Unification understands that the number of corporate organizations involved in inter-Korean economic cooperation is 303 in total as of Aug. 3) 2012, including 43 in inland, 25 in Geumgang Mountain tourism and 235 permitted in Gaesung Industrial Complex (among which, 123 are in operation). Here, I intend to introduce an update on inter-Korean economic cooperation and make some proposals on resumption and reinvigoration of inter-Korean economic cooperation centering on Gaesung Industrial Complex.

3) This data excluded one thousand companies which are small and focused on general trade or the process works on consignment basis. Ministry of Unification, Report on the inspection of the government office in 2012
1. Status of Gaesung Industrial Complex\(^4\) and revitalization measures

1. Status

Gaesung Industrial Complex refers to the development area spanning 29.7 million \(m^2\) (3.3 million \(m^2\) in phase 1, 8.25 million \(m^2\) in phase 2 and 18.15 million \(m^2\) in phase 3) within Gaesung Industrial District of 66 million \(m^2\). In June, 2004, a model lot of 92,400 \(m^2\) located in the phase 1 area was pre-sold to 15 companies and the first plant was constructed in Dec. 2004, starting manufacturing. In 2005, the main area of 165,000\(m^2\) was presold and in Apr. 2007, the remaining lot of 1,749,000\(m^2\) was presold.

As of the end of Apr. 2012,\(^5\) 123 companies are in operation hiring 51,518 North Korean workers. From Jan. 2005 to the end of Apr. 2012, cumulative production amounted to USD 1,656,740,000 and export was USD 210,420,000.

82% of such workers graduated from high school, their

\(^4\) Professor IM Eul-Chul gave me good information on Current Situation of Kaesung Industrial Complex. I supplemented statistics and suggestions for improvement. IM Eul-Chul, "Directions and Strategies for Development of Kaesung Industrial Complex in the Next Government", Nov.13, 2012

average age was 36.7 years old and females take up 72.1% of the total North Korean workers. Per-person overtime hours is 13.4 hours and average salary was USD 68.1 in 2006 which was increased to USD 127.1 this year.

2. Performance

In the Gaesung Industrial Complex, South and North Korea are using power, communication and water together and the Gaesung Industrial Complex plays as a test bed of legal system integration.

Human and social integration actively occurred, as well. Workers from South and North Korea are working together for over 8 hours a day, forming a community, making language homogenized and expanding the arena for cooperation and mutual understanding through various communications in job placement, business management improvement, entry and exit, customs, insurance, tax and accounting every day.

Relationship between companies and workers is advancing from conflicts and hostility in initial days to reconciliation and cooperation these days.

North Korea is learning market economy in the meantime and gaining know-how on opening doors. South and North Korea conducted overseas benchmarking and training many
times together and North Korea is participating in training provided by the South.

3. Development outlook

Gaesung Industrial Complex, which is geographically near South Korea, can grow as a hub of economic advancement of the K peninsula, not only of North Korea, if it creates synergy effect, linked to Seoul, Incheon, Gaesung and Haeju.

Gaesung Industrial Complex will be developed based on inter-K exchanges and cooperation in light industry and tourism in short and mid-term and hub of economic cooperation in Pan-West Seas Zone, featuring technology-intensive industry and tourism in the longer term. Ultimately, Gaesung Industrial Complex will realize its potential to be developed as a Complex Special Economic Zone composed of logistics, trade and tourism as Suzhou Industrial Park.
4. Proposals

Despite the success, it is said that the Gaesung Industrial Complex has grown in size but not much in quality yet. The next South Korea government needs to focus on quality upgrade of production factors and stabilization of business conditions and legal and institutional modification. Now Gaesung Industrial Complex shall not remain as just one of the processing complexes but develop a comprehensive special economic zone equipped with export base, logistics, technology development, education, training, finance and commercial functions.

But the prerequisite for that to happen is that there should be improvement in North Korean nuclear issues and North Korea-US relation. North Korea-US relations are directly linked to the expansion of the consumer market for products manufactured at Gaesung Industrial Complex. And those products from Gaesung Industrial Complex shall also be recognized as South Korean products through FTA negotiations with major economies including the USA. If the issue of country of origin and export of major strategic supplies is solved, it can significantly contribute to national competitiveness and lead to investment in phase2 development project by large companies and hi-tech or foreign companies.

Key improvement areas for corporate business environment
in Gaesung Industrial Complex include stable provision of lacking North Korea workers, autonomy in labor management, introduction of incentive systems including direct salary payment and advancement of passage, communication and customs.

Though currently 123 entities are in operation, late comers and those who will come, except for some in the model complex are suffering from the worst business conditions including lack of workers, less buyers, decline in orders and resident population, pay raise, burden of debt repayment and 5·24 measure.

Late comers which are not provided with the required number of workers keep generating deficit, failing to exceed break-even point and the companies planning to come have their financial costs snowballing, not able to exercise their property rights or conduct sales activities under restriction on new investment. But the government is excluding the companies in Gaesung Industrial Complex and those planning to come from the beneficiary list of its support just for the reason that they are in operation in Gaesung Industrial Complex.

Recently, North Korea is strengthening corporate tax control. It is natural that they pay tax on their income under the regulation but such tax payment shall be based on
accurate data. Both South and North Korea governments need to make efforts not to put unfair burden on companies.

II. Economic cooperation in other areas than Gaesung Industrial Complex

The amount of loss due to stop on South-North economic cooperation may be variable depending on the calculation period and who is calculating the figure, but in 2011, 「South Korea Economic Cooperation Inspection Group (led by Gyeongpil Nam, former head of Diplomacy, Commerce and Unification Committee) estimated it as KRW 3,880,000 at average per company, the Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry as KRW 1,940,000 in 2012 and 「South-North Economic Cooperation Invigoration Committee」 as KRW 5 billion.

1. Companies engaged in Economic Cooperation in-land region
A total of 43 companies made investments of USD 300 million but now the number decreased to only 15.

2. Commissioned processing and trading businesses
Based on the Ministry of Unification’s survey of 1,106 companies who had track records of imports and exports from 2008 to May 2010, a total of 203 companies have closed their business since the 5·24 measure in 2010, among which 160
were general trading businesses and 43 were commissioned processing and trading ones.\(^6\)

3. Geumgang Mountain district

It is also hard to calculate the exact damage from stopping the Geumgang Mountain tourism project. Investments by South Korean companies include USD 196,600,000 by Hyundai Asan, and USD 122,560,000 by others. Damage to revenue as Hyundai Asan internally estimates amounts to KRW 534.8 billion in total from Aug. 2008 to Aug. 2012.\(^7\)

III. Proposals

1. Problems with the government’s aid

The government has provided special loans of KRW 56.9 billion to 221 companies on two occasions since the 5.24 measure and supported KRW 7.5 billion for free to companies engaged in South and North Korea trading and economic cooperation as emergency operation expense. But the problem is they are loans, not compensation for their loss and the criteria of beneficiary selection is not proper, making those who cannot meet them in terms of credibility or performance excluded from the beneficiary list.

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\(^6\) Ministry of Unification, Report on the inspection of the government office in 2012

\(^7\) Ministry of Unification, Report on the inspection of the government office in 2012
2. Proposal

It is needed to stop any actions to heighten tensions between South and North Korea to reopen South-North economic cooperation. At the same time, all measures to put inter-Korean economic cooperation on hold including the 5·24 measure shall be revoked so that business can meet and exchange their views freely.

The South should cancel the 5.24 measure with no condition attached and resume Geumgang Mountain tourism. 「Damage Report Center for South-North Economic Cooperation (tentatively named)」 shall be established to investigate damage of companies engaged in South-North economic cooperation and make due compensation. As there is no regulation on legal actions of damaged companies, the court cannot rule that compensation can be made, so, it is needed to enact relevant regulation, such as 「Loss Compensation Act」 or reflect it to 「South and North Korea Exchange and Cooperation Act」. This is designed as a safety valve for an investment, in order to make the government take responsibility for any loss incurred in case a project is put on hold due to any measures by the South or the North after such project was launched.

After improvement of inter-Korean relations, large investments in the North are required. We need to encourage
North Korea to join international financial organizations and companies to actively participate in investments by forming 「North Korea Investment Fund」. The fund can take different shapes depending on investment targets and types including light industry, natural resources or SOC and or private-public matching fund such as a fund of fund or South-North Exchange and Cooperation Fund managed by Ministry of Knowledge and Economy.

「Loss Compensation Act」 and 「North Korea Investment Fund」 are two pillars to re-energize South-North Economic Cooperation.

At the same time, North Korea needs to be more active in attracting investment from South Korea and make a safety net for them as China enacted 「Taiwanese Investment Encouragement Act」 and 「Taiwanese Investment Protection Act」 as a measure to attract and stabilize investments from Taiwan.

South-North economic cooperation is a great tool to narrow the significant gap in economic strength between the two countries and to reduce unification costs and an excellent growth engine for another take-off. Now is the time we need to put together our wits to reinvigorate South-North economic cooperation.
4. National Campaign to Resume Gumgang Mountain Tour, a Spirit that Swept across Year 2012

LEE Hyeok-Hui (General Secretary, National Campaign to Resume Gumgang Mountain Tour, tongil2022@gmail.com)

The spirit of the times in 2012 was undoubtedly ‘Let’s co-exist!’

Life of Korean people was driven over the edge by deadly inflation, polarization of the society and job insecurity including lay-offs and the growing number of non-regular workers under the pro-conglomerate conservative government, which is well represented by statistics such as 1st ranking in suicide rate, the worst in birth rate among OECD members and Gini coefficient that dropped to 0.3.

To the citizens whose life was on the brink of shattering were aroused by a series of dismal happenings such as death of those who were laid off by Ssangyong Motors and their families, violent crackdown by the government on those who were dispossessed of their home and Jeju residents who are against construction of naval base. Those people started to pursue ways of overcoming structural imbalance that one single suffering soul can never
overcome and solidarity was the most brilliant way of all. This movement that was symbolized by ‘Bus for Hope’ that transcended social class and hierarchy now became a universal movement among sufferers and a process and a goal of healing and consolation to them.

This solidarity that came up to the spirit of the times was a starting point of national Campaign to Resume Gumgang Mountain Tour which was nothing similar to previous ones.

The greatest victims of hawkism toward the North

Residents neighboring inland route to Gumgang Mountain such as Hyunnai-myon, Goseong-gun and Geojin-eup, Gangwon-do are the most serious victims of the suspension of the Gumgang Mountain Tour though they never bothered to voice their opinions, not because they couldn’t but because they just held up whatever the government did for them.

When the inland route to Gumgang Mountain opened in 2003, it was a implausible breakthrough to the adjacent communities. Paddlers along the roads for tour coaches made good money. When the tour was at its peak, 6.25 million tourists visited Goseong a year, which improved quality of life of the residents. The communities opened numerous shops, groceries and accommodations one after another. It was even easy to borrow money from banks. They must have been fools if they did not earn 20 million won a day. Then
abruptly, the tour was stopped. Back then, the residents easily hoped that it would be resumed since even when SARS ran rampant, it was resumed after only one month of suspension. But as it was prolonged, people started to get restless. And now already four and half years passed.

“We used to earn over 1 million won a day but now I cannot even make 10 thousand won and I closed my business and filed for personal bankruptcy. If the suspension goes longer, it would so aggrieve the residents “
- Jongbok Lee (57) who runs ‘Dried Fish Shop At Road End’

The communities sharply declined. No jobs led to population shrink and some who couldn’t afford the interest payment fled at night. Nothing but suspension of the tour can explain significantly higher number of divorced families, children being brought up by their grandparents since their parents abandoned them, and those in the foster care than other communities. Those who came back to their hometown during peak years were leaving it saddled with big debts. These deprived border areas were hit hard with no income source but tourism.

“Without jobs, the population dropped from 30,794 in 2007 to 30,057 in 2011. As fathers left to find jobs, the number of children being brought up by their grandparents and those in
the foster care increased from 130 in 50 families in 2007 to 214 in 100 families this year. The local taxes fell off with the annual growth rate dropping from 12.5% to 0.3%. This is way below the average of 3.7% in Gangwon-do. “-Bonghee Lee, Gangwon Development Research Institute

And as tension built up in the west sea, fishing along the east coast was banned, which aggravated situation of the communities even more. “It was weird that I could not catch pollack since that day.” It was hard to believe but it was true. But the people held on for four years.

“Even though the damage was caused by confrontation between South and North Korea, Seohae 5 degree area received 900 billion won for years but no support was planned for Goseong-gun. ‘People will pay attention to us only after bombing and killing happen here,” the residents were complaining.

- Myeongchoel Lee, Head of Cooperative at Hyeonnae-myon, Goseong-gun.

Now after four years of this dismal suffering since stopping Gumgang Mountain Tourism, the residents are appealing for coexistence. Now their cry is getting fierce because they do not see any hope in their life.

The circumstances had impact on children, too. Myeongpa
Elementary School is a small school with 12 students in total. The students are complaining about their pain.

“When Gumgang Mountain Tours started, people in Myeongpa were happy, with no worries about war and they sang songs of peace and love. As they fared better, people began to come to the villages and schools had more students than before. Then one day, it disappeared. And life became worse. People talked about wars and the population trickled down leaving all pain behind.

We expect peace and happiness will come along if the tour is restarted.

I expect that more friends will come to my school and I will become happy again if the tour is restarted. “ - Seonghyun, Ham, 1st grader in Myeongpa Elementary School.

Direct impact of the tour suspension is not just put on residents in Goseong. The biggest damage was done to Hyundai Asan, their subcons, the workers and their families.

Hyundai Asan whose major income source is Gumgang Mountain Tour suffered losses of approximately 500 billion so far. In addition, they had to restructure themselves shedding the employees from 1084 to 280. 900 fathers lost their job which means about 3600 family members were put in misery. Even among the remaining 280 employees, recently 120 started to work from home, shaking with anxiety of losing
their job some day.

Things are more gruesome for those small businesses who invested in the Gumgang Mountain Tour project. There are laundry shops, photo studios, massage shops and duty free souvenir shops around Gumgang Mountain Tour areas and most of them are small mom and pop stores. They were kicked out with no repayment of their deposits and investment. Around 30 companies located in Gumgang Mountain were scattered with loss of their investment of 133 billion won and revenue loss of 200 billion won.

“I invested 2 billion won with the recommendation of my acquaintance in May, 2007 and ran a factory to brew beer to supply to hotels and golf courses in Gumgang Mountain, along with five shops including restaurant, jewelry, chocolate, herb and groceries shops in the duty free zone. But my hope for booming business burst like a bubble in only one year. I came here late and made all my investment only a couple of months before the shooting, suffering from the biggest loss. The loss from direct investment was 2 billion won but the total loss was 3.8 billion won if inventory and debt is included. Now I make a living peddling stuff. I heard that one CEO of the company who invested in Gumgang Mountain like me sold his organ to pay for his daughter’s wedding. Life is so miserable.” - Jonghong Lee, former CEO of Gumgang Mountain Corporation (55)
Suspension of Mt. Gungang tourism project is due to lack of political will to resume.

The suspension of the Mt. Gungang Tourism project started just after a South Korean tourist was shot to death in Mt. Gungang in July 2008. She took a walk from the tourist zone to military zone of North Korea and was killed by a North Korean soldier. The South Korean government demanded the North to make an apology, allow an investigation to be conducted, and promise not to repeat the same type of atrocity. Although the South was not allowed to conduct an investigation, the North expressed condolences and Kim Jung Il made a promise guaranteeing safety of tourists to Hyundai Group’s chairwoman Hyun Jung-Eun.

In February 8, 2010, South Korean people expected that negotiation between Seoul and Pyongyang on Mt. Gungang Tourism project would make success. However, the South Korean government refused to discuss an agreement drafted by North Korea, demanding three prerequisites of fact-finding, recurrence prevention measures and safety guarantee for South Koreans. The negotiation ended with no fruit, only making a deep gash between the two, driving the relationship to the unrecoverable point. From North Korean’s perspective, such attitude of South Korea might have been insulting, feeling that further efforts for dialogue are meaningless. The prolonged suspension of the tour may not be caused by the
issue of personal safety guarantee in the first place but by political situation home and abroad. And it is obvious that the biggest reason was the hard-line North Korean policy by Lee Myeongbak government.

Furthermore, lawmaker Ikpyo Hong from the Democratic United Party revealed that Pyongyang proposed their guarantee of personal safety at working level negotiation in Gaesung on February 8th, 2010.

This is the reason why damage done by the suspension of Gumgang Mountain tourism project must not be attributable to individuals who made their own decision to make investment in the project or make a living out of it. The government shall not insist that it was them who made the investment to make money and who should take the responsibility for the result.

Now people are gathering strength for healing as the government is looking on in difference.

It seems that there is nothing that the government can or is willing to do for Goseong-gun residents. It’s condition of ‘security guarantee’ means that it has no intention to resume negotiation with the North. Recently Wooik Ryu, Minister of Unification still argued that only if the North guarantees personal safety of South Koreans, he would resume the talks, which is so fraudulent because North Korea already guaranteed it in writing. He just ignored it and told a lie.
Meanwhile, more and more people in Goseong are falling a victim to snowballing debts and some are thinking of extreme choices. Nothing consoles them and every body is talking about passing the buck to North Korea.

Their cry for help is so desperate and the government is so prevaricating that we cannot turn away our face.

A discussion was held on June 21, 2012 to initiate pan-national movement to resume Gumgang Mountain Tourism and a news conference was held on July 1st where the companies located in that area were appealing for kick-off of the movement. At this, religious communities made a resolution to pro-actively support it, followed by civic groups including Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation and Korean Sharing Movement, victimized companies such as Gungang Mountain Corporations Council and Hyundai Asan, and local governments including Gangwon-do Provincial Office and Goseong-gun Office who launched 'Pan-national Campaign to Resume Gungang Mountain Tour' on September 5th, which is different from the previous ones that focused only on political agenda such as inter-Korean reconciliation and recovery of cooperation. The campaign, on the other hand, put priority on suffering of people in Goseong, local governments and companies related to Gungang Mountain Tourism project and convincing the South and North Korean governments about need for the resumption of the project, acting as a mediator for negotiation between the two sides.
To this end, what they did first was to hold an event called 'A Day for Pan-national Action to Resume Gumgang Mountain Tourism – Let’s go again to Gumgang!' On November 17, 2012, around 700 citizens visited Goseong to bring cheer and bond together by having meals together, buying stuff at markets and holding a singing contest to mingle with them. On the day, the dampened community seemed to have been reborn with liveliness. This event was incomparable to the previous similar efforts in terms of size and helpfulness. At the same time, there was a peace march in DMZ to express their wish for resumption of the project.

The fact-finding will start in December to investigate damage and loss done to Goseong residents from suspension of Gumgang Mountain Tourism Project. It may not be possible to measure such damage and loss to each individual there but nobody knows how much it was since no such investigation was done before. This investigation will become an opportunity to listen to the suffering residents. And also a Gumgang Mountain International Peace Concert is being planned. Its objective is for the private sector to improve inter-Korean relations which are straddled with confliction and distrust. At Gumgang Mountain where hundreds of South-North events had been held already, people from cultural community home and abroad and South and North Koreans will be engaged in the event to form bond of sympathy for resumption of Gumgang
Mountain Tourism.

<Inauguration Ceremony on National Movement for Resumption of Mt. Geumgang tourism project, September 5, 2012>

<Citizen’s Peace March for resumption of Mt. Geumgang tourism project, November 17, 2012>
5. North Korean human rights issues, what shall we do?

CHUNG Hyun-Back (Professor at Sungkyunkwan University, hyunback@skku.edu)

In South Korea, North Korean human rights issues become good material for attacking North Korea. At the same time, North Korean human rights issues have been highly politicalized and thus are used as a measure to attack more progressive parties or civil social movements. The last two democratic governments, the Kim Dae-Jung government and the Noh Mu-Hyeon government have taken a position indicating that ‘An intervention in North Korean human rights issues is an intervention in domestic affairs’. This is because the intervention is against the South Korea-North Korea basic agreement under which the two countries promised not to intervene in the other party’s domestic affairs. The two governments also expressed a position indicating that ‘Quiet diplomacy is more effective in actually improving North Korean human rights’. The two governments argued that the politicization of North Korean human rights issues by the conservative force would rather irritate North Korea to encourage system stiffening and South Korea-North
Korea confrontation. The strategies of the two democratic governments came from practical consideration intended to switch the hostile South Korea–North Korea relations into peaceful relations thereby materializing peaceful coexistence of South Korea–North Korea. Likewise, civil movement organizations that have been conducting exchanges between private organizations and conjoint activities in order to open a way of reconciliation and cooperation between South Korea and North Korea have also refrained from talking about North Korean human rights issues. Despite the fact that these positions were not to cover North Korean human rights issues, these positions have been denigrated as keeping silent or advocating for North Korean human rights issues.

Attempting to establish a North Korean human right act, the conservative force or conservative party has been insisting that South–North Korea talks or humanitarian support for North Korea should be linked with North Korean human rights issues or North Korean nuclear issues. In addition, they proposed a resolution regarding North Korean human rights with international organizations including UN. These countermeasures froze South Korea–North Korea conversations or exchanges for the ruling by the conservative government over the last four years and added to the distrust between South Korea and North Korea.

Now, in civil movement organizations too, a thought is spreading that more fundamental attitudes are necessary for the protection of human rights which are common values of
mankind and thus intervention in human rights issues cannot be postponed further. In addition, a worry began to appear that if the conservative force’s misuse of human rights issues as political measures is not confronted, North Korean human rights issues might become more serious. In this respect, discussions began on how intervention in North Korean human rights issues can be made in directions to pursue peace and cooperation in the Korean Peninsula. In other words, the discussions are attempts to convert thinking in order to replace the paradigm of ‘intervention on North Korean human right issues’ with ‘South Korea–North Korea cooperation for human rights’.

1. Basic principles of cooperation for human rights

For cooperation for human rights pursuing a peace system in the Korean Peninsula, efforts to observe the following basic principles are necessary.

1) No political misuse of human rights issues: Although human rights issues are demands for humans’ basic rights, they are political acts to some extent since they are assessing and putting pressure on a country or government. However, misusing human rights issues as a political measure should be maximally prevented. Responses that misuse human rights for changing systems as with the attempt to establish a North Korean human right act by the conservative force should be
clearly refused. In this context, this author would like to tell that the improvement of human rights will be more persuasive when it is promoted by organizations or groups equipped with ethical legitimacy.

2) Necessity of comprehensive approaches: International covenants on human rights consist of covenants A related with rights to live(economic, social and cultural rights) and covenants B corresponding to rights of freedom (civil and political rights). The conservative force mainly criticized the violation of the rights of freedom in relation to North Korean human rights issues over the last four years under the conservative government while being silent about the reality where humanitarian support has been completely stopped. However, to solve North Korean human rights issues, the preservation of rights to live is as important as the increase of North Korean residents’ rights of freedom. Suffering from hunger and cold is the most fundamental problem that violates human rights. Currently, protecting the rights to live of North Korean compatriots who are dying of a shortage of medicines as well as a shortage of food is an urgent task. Of course, civil rights of freedom which are covenants B may be guaranteed swiftly. Therefore, the performance of covenants B which can be performed immediately should be urged. Nonetheless, more comprehensive approaches are necessary to solve North Korean human rights issues and thus the solutions of both human rights issues should be pursued simultaneously. To this end, civil movements should strongly request the
government to be equipped with permanent North Korea support systems. The problems of Korean army prisoners, abductees and separated families occurred due to the Korean War in 1950-1953 should be put into the North Korean human right package to solve together. These comprehensive approaches are methods that can secure wider national agreement by providing balanced policies for North Korean human rights issues. These are also measures to minimize North Korea’s repulsion against the raising of human rights issues.

3) Emphasis on actual improvement: In relation to human rights issues, efforts should be focused on actions for actual improvement rather than ideological battles or political rhetoric. In this respect, the effects of improvement should be intensively questioned in relation to battles surrounding North Korean human rights issues. Furthermore, with actions for actual improvement, approaches in many fields should be delicately considered.

4) As already mentioned earlier, to realize South Korea–North Korea cooperation for human rights, policies or activities for the guarantee of human rights should prevent conflicts. Now when the reality where old conflicts due to the division and the Korean War have been accumulated is still amplifying disputes and hatred, human rights and the realization of peace are closely interlocked with each other. Mentioning only North Korean human rights issues is quite likely to induce conflicts. Therefore, simultaneous discussions
on and grouping of peace and human rights are very important. There is no country where there are no human rights issues anywhere in the world. Therefore, attitudes of self-criticism and introspection are required on violations of human rights in South Korea too. The grouping of the solution of North Korean human rights issues through these processes will greatly contribute to the establishment of mutual trust of South Korea and North Korea and thus will prevent conflicts. These approaches will further facilitate the solution of human rights issues.

5) Traction of active intervention by international society: Since the division and conflicts between South Korea and North Korea were fundamentally caused by powerful nations’ fights for superiority, international society’s attention and intervention are acutely needed. If powerful nations’ intervention for superiority is blocked and attempts are made to solve East Asian human rights issues through multilateral approaches at the level of the region, the North Korean government may also seek for cooperation in more practical ways.

2. Proposal of activities

1) First, microscopic approaches to North Korea human rights are necessary. Concrete individual cases of human right violations suffered by North Korean residents should be found and informed, human right violators should be criticized and a
series of actions to improve the situation should be taken. A matter that requires attention is that rather than linking human rights issues with North Korea’s political systems, asking North Korean government’s responsibility for the phenomenon of violations. This action may have the North Korean government reduce violations of residents’ human rights or have awareness of international society’s criticism. However, this is a short-term symptomatic therapy and if these cases increase, the North Korean government may regard them as political pressure and oppose against the action.

2) An active party of the improvement of human right situations must be the government. Therefore, NGOs should continuously and strongly urge both the South Korean and North Korean governments to take more practical counteractions for the improvement of North Korean human rights. Since the primary responsibility for the deterioration of North Korean human right situations lies on the North Korean government, NGOs should request the North Korean government to devise prospective policies to guarantee the improvement of human rights. Likewise, the Korean government should also urge North Korea to accept international organizations’ human right programs of international talks over human rights including South Korea. The Korean government should also consider measures to link support with goods with the improvement of human rights issues through ‘quiet diplomacy’ that is not greatly exposed.
3) Over the last four years since the launching of the Lee Myeong-Bak government, humanitarian support for North Korea has been almost stopped. NGOs should continuously press the South Korean government to immediately provide humanitarian support for North Korean residents suffering from hunger and disease. Concretely, the South Korean government should permanently support North Korea with food, fertilizers and medicines and this should be continued without being affected by South Korea-North Korea relationships of international politics based on the humanitarian spirit.

4) NGOs should urge South Korean-North Korean governments to promote the identification of the life or death of Korean army prisoners and abductees and the repatriation of living ones while actively promoting the identification of the life or death and meetings of separated families. In particular, the matter of separated families should be promoted urgently as the persons involved are becoming old. NGOs should request for South Korean-North Korean governments prospective postures for this issue.

5) In relation to active participation of international society too, strategies different from those implemented thus far are necessary. The way of the USA, the only superpower in the post cold war age to specify North Korea as a ‘gangster country’ and establish a ‘North Korean human right act’ for political purposes encourages international society to have exclusive prejudice against North Korea and the USA is
reinforcing pressing and blocking policies. This makes the solution of North Korean human rights issues more difficult. Rather than through direct stakeholders such as the USA, China and Japan, measures to seek solutions through ways different from those used thus far, that is, through 3rd parties may well be considered. For instance, ways to be provided with technical cooperation with international human right organizations or human right improvement programs and conduct multilateral or bilateral talks about human rights through cooperation with more neutral organizations such as the EU and the UN may be sought for. The wide attention and efforts with affection of international society will be greatly helpful in improving North Korean human rights issues.

6) Finally, South Korean NGOs should organize private forums for ‘South Korean–North Korean cooperation for human rights pursuing peace systems’ and should make discourse for South Korean–North Korean cooperation for human rights in national agreement through the forums. Through the publicizing of these discourses, the results should be developed into guidelines for South Korean–North Korean cooperation for human rights. This should be eventually linked with appropriate governmental organizations or their policies and should be ultimately concretized by the participation of international organizations or the North Korean government.

YANGLEE Won-Young (Director, Nuclear Free Team, Korean Federation for Environment Movement, yangwy@kfem.or.kr)

Korea has adopted a policy to expand nuclear power plants, starting with Gori Nuclear Power Plant #1 in 1978. As a result, now a total of 23 plants are in operation in 4 sites (Gori in Busan, Wolseong in Gyeongju, Younggwang in Jeonnam, and Uljin in Gyeongbuk). 5 new plants are under construction and 6 more were confirmed in the 5th Basic Power Supply Plan. And in September, for the additional 4 plants, Samchok and Youngduk were notified as designated sites.

<Nuclear Power Plants under Construction>

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Policy of Continued Expansion of Nuclear Power Plants

Accordingly, Korea has the biggest nuclear power plant capacity in unit area of its territory and density of nuclear power plants will rank top in the world and its government plans to expand its nuclear power plants further in the future.

Historically, countries with a high number of nuclear power plants in operation had mostly large nuclear power plant accidents including the U. S. (104 plants), former Soviet Union (66 plants) and Japan (54 plants). Now, France (58 plants) and Korea (23 plants) are the only exceptions but while France decided to stop 25 plants by 2025, we have no such plan to shut down old nuclear power plants by 2024 but instead, we have plans to add 11 more plants. More plants mean higher
possibility of accidents and Korea became most likely to have accidents from nuclear plants in the wake of Fukushima nuclear plant disaster.

There had been no slackening of nuclear plant expansion policy of Korea except for only one time when at end of 1998, 9 candidate sites for nuclear power plants had their effective designation period expired and were released from such designation. But even at that time, Sanpo-ri in Uljin among 9 nuclear power plant candidate sites, such release was made under the condition that an alternative would be proposed by end of January 1999 including expansion of existing sites. And as a result, New Uljin and New Gori were designated as such. For the past 34 years since Park Jeonghee government initiated nuclear power plant policy, the government has stuck to the policy to add new nuclear power plants and expand the sites. Before the nuclear power plants were established, usually there is fierce opposition but once the plant is built and as the local economy starts to depend more and more on nuclear power plants in operation, it becomes easier to construct new nuclear power plants.

The site of Gori nuclear power plant, the first nuclear power plant in Korea will be expanded to the North to Ulsan to have 12 nuclear power plants put in operation. Big cities are adjacent and within a diameter of 30km, 3.4 million people live. The most densely located nuclear power plant area has the most dense population, exposed to high risk of accidents
which are worried to cause astronomical damage. In May, simulation of a nuclear power plant accident showed that leak of radioactive substance as in the nuclear power plant accident in Chernobyl would cause casualty of 900,000 and economic loss of 628 trillion won.

10 plants will be operated in the nuclear power plant site in Uljin and in the site in Youhnggwang and Wolsong. 6 will be started. Only 6 plants are possible in Yonggwang since it is shallow sea in the west of the country and is worried to have severe impact from warm drain and in case of Wolsong, 8 were planned at first but the site of 2 nuclear power plants were lost since it was used for mid and low-level radioactive waste disposal.

**Limitation on Movement against Nuclear Power Plant Expansion**

4 sites of nuclear power generation were decided during the Yusin dictatorial regime and therefore there was limitation on movement against designation of such sites. Anti-nuclear power expansion movement started by fishermen’s struggle against damage of warm drain and safety and health issue raised by workers at the plants. Sinwoo Park (aged 48, worked at Gori plant for 10 years as technical safety manager at KEPCO) died of lymphoma (Oct ‘88), Yundong Bang, worker at Gori plant (aged 29, exposed to radiation while working at KEPCO maintenance company) died of stomach cancer (June
Uiseong Kim (worker at Younggwang plant) had stillbirth of baby with no brain (July ’89), Dongpil Kim (worker at Younggwang plant) gave birth to a deformed child (Aug. ’89), wife of Banggyu Kim a 41 year-old diver near Gori plant gave birth to two deformed babies who died in one year and 8 residents died within one year near Gori plant and their cause of death turned out to be cancer (reported by Busan Daily in Aug. ’89). There are more cases of deformed fish near nuclear power plants and more frequently deformed livestock were born. But social controversy and movement to get to the bottom of such controversy failed to prove environmental and human damage by nuclear plants, making no substantive progress in stopping construction of additional plants. Anti-air pollution organizations that had appeared along with democratization movement (Korean Federation for Antipollution Movement: currently Korean Federation for Environment Movement, health and medical organizations) supported residents and developed their efforts into social movements. Despite nuclear power plant accident in Chernobyl in 1986, Jeon Duhwan government contracted 3rd and 4th nuclear power plants in Younggwang when even expansion of anti-nuclear power plant movement which started with movement for withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the U.S. base, did not last long. And then leakage of mid-level heavy water in Wolsong plant in ’99 flared up safety issue of nuclear plants and in 2002, controversy of active fault in Wolsong was raised. But there were no experts such as
nuclear engineers, medical experts or geologists in the anti-nuclear camp and such controversy was not clarified and proven properly. Since nuclear power plant accident in Fukushima, more attention was paid to nuclear issue and part of information on radioactive pollution near nuclear power plants was publicized and result of epidemiologic investigation of areas near nuclear power plants for 20 years was released, triggering controversy about nuclear plants’ impact on health one more time. Despite the fact that basic data for epidemiology investigation is defective, the result indicated that residents near nuclear power plants had thyroid cancer 2.5 time more than compared areas.

In fact, movement against new nuclear power plants started around Ulju in Ulsan which was designated as a new site for nuclear plant though the authorities prefer calling it as expansion of Gori nuclear power plant site. From 1999 to 2000, labor groups and city lawmakers led an effort to oppose nuclear plant construction by Ulsan citizen which was even supported by the mayor in the end. The opposition gained force in Ulsan and there was even footslogging from Ulsan to Seoul but it was hard to expect explosive reaction or participation and no opportunity was found to force the government to back out from its decision, only slowing down new nuclear power plant permission process.
Then in 30 years, as Samchok and Youngdok were mentioned as candidate sites for new nuclear power plants, regional movement against it was set off. But it is not as fierce as before since the residents were tired of standing against being designated as a candidate site for new nuclear power plant and nuclear waste disposal and some expected such designation will revitalize depressed construction industry.

As danger of nuclear power generation was raised again since Fukushima nuclear power plant accident, movement against power plant construction and even a vote was held to recall the mayor who filed an application to become a candidate of nuclear power plant site. But as voting rate was 25.9%, less than 1/3 of voters, votes couldn’t be even counted. Due to sabotage by city hall and community officials to interfere with the voting showed clearly the limitation of the current system. Nevertheless, the fact that 15,000 citizens came to vote represents their strong determination to recall the mayor and cancel selection of their city as a nuclear power plant site.

Construction of mid- & low-level nuclear waste site is under construction

Until Nov. 2005, mid- & low-level nuclear waste site was decided next to nuclear power plant site in Wolseong, the site had not been selected for 16 years. While anti-nuclear power plant expansion movement show little progress, movement
against the government’s selection of the site was able to flare up as a community campaign, combined with democratization of the country in late 1980s.

In Mar. 1989, a large-scale movement in Youngduk-gun, the strongest candidate first started when the government announced it selected three areas in east sea region as candidate sites after investigation (1st candidate was Namjeong-myeon, Youngduk-gu, Gyeongbuk, 2nd was Songna-myeon, Younigil-gun, and 3rd was Giseong-myeon, Uljin-gun). Triggered by Hangyere Daily’s report on Nov. 3, 1990 about behind-the-curtain selection of nuclear waste site in Anmyeon-do, there was strong objection, followed by selection of Myeongpa-ri, Gosung-gun, Gangwon-do and following movement to object it in July 1991, and 6 more places were selected as candidate for nuclear waste site in Dec. 25, 1991 (Goseong, Yangyang in Gangwon-do, Ulijin and Youngil in Gyeongbuk and Anmyeon-do in Ghungnam and Jangheung in Jeonnam). But selection of the 6 areas was canceled due to fierce opposition by the residents.

Sentiment of the citizens was expressed as political action; in the 3rd time the ruling party law maker was voted out and an opposition party incumbent law maker was voted out in Anmyeon-do, too in the 13th general election in March 1992. As a result, the government schedule was postponed to after presidential election in Dec. ’92. And another anti-movement was triggered across Incheon as MBC 9 o’clock news reported a confidential plan on Gulup-do nuclear waste site in Dec. 15,
1994. This plan was annulled due to the discovery of an active fault in Nov. 1995.

As the regional subsidy was raised from 50 billion won to 200 billion won from 2001, making communities compete each other to attract nuclear waste sites. In Feb. 2003, it was decided that two sites would be constructed in East and West sea area and Youngduk, Uljin in East sea and Younggwang and Gochang in West sea were selected as candidates. In the middle of continued anti-movement, a new government sworn in 2003 and they changed their approach by requiring application of local government head in connection with the proton accelerator project. At this head of head of Buan, Jeonbuk filed an application without going through process of gaining consent by its residents, igniting tremendous objection among residents.

In the end, in Dec. 2004, low and mid level nuclear waste site was decided to be built first and nuclear fuel repository later, raising the regional subsidy to 300 billion won. In 2005, under Residents Voting Act and Special Act on Subsidy for Attraction of Low and Mid Level Nuclear Waste Site, head of four local governments including Gunsan, Gyeongju, Youngduk and Uljin filed an application. The controversy ended as Bonggil-ri, Yangbuk-myeon, Gyeongju-si, was selected as the site after 70.8% of its eligible 208,607 residents participated in the vote and 89.5% voted for the attraction, the highest-ever in such voting. But there was controversy of proxy voting and absentee ballot rate was up to 38.13%. There was an
argument that city officials and proponents of such site committed illegality as no polling station was set up for absentees, they needed to fill in their ballot at home and submit it by closing of the poll. And even though the site is not proper as such nuclear waste site, the site investigation report was not published and only the result that the site is suitable was announced. But as much as 3000 tons of underground water flowed, the ground was flimsy with cracks and it was found out that fault belt passes the site during the construction, controversy about the safety and the accuracy of the report continued. The construction period was extended three times to 84 months from original 30 months.

The issue on nuclear waste site is still on-going. There are disagreements whether to run nuclear waste site in Gyeongju where infiltration of underground water is expected. Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety, the regulatory organization agrees on possibility of radioactive leakage. And it is also a problem to storage period was extended to 2024 under the assumption that nuclear fuels are moved between nuclear power plants and temporarily stored. It was decided that a committee will be formed to gather public opinion on spent fuels in 2009 but it was postponed till a new government swears in next year. One year is set aside for public opinion gathering and site for temporary storage will be selected for spent fuels in 2015. In the meantime, much progress is made to reprocessing and fast reactor development under 4th Nuclear Power Comprehensive Promotion Plan. Including gas furnace, 92.4 billon was set
From popular anti-nuclear movement to changes in political circle

Korea’s anti-nuclear movement started to take a new form after Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster. Before that, anti-movement was led by residents and local NGOs near nuclear plants and candidate sites. But as Gyeongju was selected for nuclear waste site, movement against nuclear waste site, which is key driving force of anti-nuclear movement, anti-nuclear movement started to become dampened and transformed to local energy independency movement focusing on climate change, energy policies and renewable energy.

Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster changed public opinion. And cover-up and irregularities that are being uncovered these days regarding nuclear power plants also aggravates reliability in safety of nuclear plants. Anti-nuclear movements are changing from simple movement to 'no-nuke’ movement that prepares future without nuclear power plants. Teaming up with environmental organizations, consumer cooperatives and religious groups, the movement is evolving a popular movement engaging citizens. With growing concerns about spread of radioactive pollution in the wake of Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster, housewives in 30s and 40s are leading the movement as well demonstrated in 'Joint Action for No-nuke Society’ composed of 76 groups
nationwide. The rally to commemorate 1st anniversary of Fukushima nuclear power plant accident was held as festival where over 10,000 citizens, mostly families with children, participated. Leading up to presidential election, another rally was held in Oct. 20, with participation of 3,000 citizens and one of the strong presidential candidates announced a 'no-nuke' pledge.

In the national assembly formed in 2012, lawmakers who argue for no-nuke policy were elected, and now two lawmaker gatherings are in progress concerning no-nuke and energy shift.

The current government is pursuing expansion of nuclear plants and changes are coming from the citizens and politicians, signalling a new hope that Korea can progress to a no-nuke society.
7. Implementation Status of and Women’s Activities for the UN Security Council Resolution 1325

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Importance of Women’s Participation in the areas of Peace, Security and Reunification in South Korea

The Korean Peninsula has been divided and militarized. In this society, sustainable life of both men and women cannot be guaranteed. Furthermore, the division and militarization are more adversely affecting women. According to the Gender Gap Index announced by the World Economic Forum, Korea is 108th out of 135 countries as of 2012. Gender gaps are large in the aspects of politics, economy, health and education and women are excluded from the areas of peace and security. Therefore, gender issues in these areas should be dealt with importantly. The reasons why women’s participation and the reinforcement of women’s capability in the areas of unification, diplomacy, security in Korean society are as follows.

First, the Korean Peninsula is in an unstable state in which the war has not yet ended. 2013 is the 60th anniversary of the Armistice Agreement. The Korean War was ceased as the UN forces, North Korea, and China made the Armistice
Agreement and thus the Korean Peninsula is technically still in a state of war. Currently, in the state of war, South Korea-North Korea are increasing military power and spending military expenses excessively. To convert the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement, women’s participation and the reinforcement of women’s capability are more important than any other time.

Second, as a country that experienced violations of women’s human rights including the issue of Japanese armed forces’ 'comfort women’, prostitution and human traffic in the process of refugee of North Korean female defectors and problems of women in military camp towns around US army bases, activities to protect women’s human rights during and after disputes are needed more.

Third, Korea should play roles suitable for the stature of Korea for peace and security in the UN. Korea is a country of the chairperson of the UN Women, a country that produced a UN Secretary General and one of the ten countries that contributed to the largest shares of UN peace maintenance expenses and is planning to act as a country holding a Non-Permanent UNSC Seat from 2013. The UN Women determined “peace and security“ as one of six focus areas and Korea is a member country of a group (Friends of 1325) that supports no. 1325.

Fourth, Korea is a country to support overseas countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development/Development Aid Committee (OECD/DAC) and
thus the international society greatly expects Korea’s aid for public development. The Development Aid Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development considers the issues of gender equality and gender issues important and the UN Women recommends to use 15% of development and cooperation funds for women related areas in the process of reconstruction. Development and cooperation projects accommodating women’s demands should be implemented.

Therefore, Korean women’s peaceful unification movements seek for diverse activities to perform the ‘UN Security Council Resolution no. 1325 on Women, Peace and Security ‘ in order to reinforce gender equality and women’s capability in the areas of unification・diplomacy・security.

The UN Security Council’s resolution no. 1325 (hereinafter, no. 1325) requires to guarantee women’s participation in all policy decision processes related with peace or security, protect women from sexual violence in disputes and integrate gender perspectives in peace maintaining activities and reconstruction processes. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 means that women’s experiences in conflicts were acknowledged not only gender issues but also security issues and that the UN Security Council began to regard women as important agents for last peace building and prevention of wars.
1. Implementation Status of UNSCR 1325 in South Korea

1) The Development of Inter-Korean Relations Act, the Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Act and the Inter-Korean Cooperation Fund Act do not have provisions that ensure the principle of sexual equality, women’s participation and support for women. Despite that the <Framework Act on International Development and Cooperation> established in 2010 stipulated the enhancement of women’s rights and gender equality as one of principles that must be pursued by Korea’s development and cooperation, South Korea-North Korea related laws important for the realization of peace and unification of the Korean Peninsula and gender equality do not have gender equality related contents.

2) The 3rd basic plan for women policies implemented from 2008 to 2012 does not consider the area of unification important. The 1st master plan for women development (from 1998 to 2002) included “increase of women’s roles in international cooperation and unification” in six basic strategies and the 2nd plan included “6. increase of women’s roles in peace, unification, and international cooperation” in 10 core policy tasks. However, the 3rd master plan for women policies presented tasks related with South Korea-North Korea women exchanges as detailed tasks under sub task 3-3-3 'the enhancement of the accommodation of diversity’. women were almost excluded from the areas of peace and unification.
3) Under the Lee Myeong-Bak government, South Korea-North Korea women exchanges have been blocked and partnership with women NGOs was destroyed. Women exchanges were activated further after the 2000 South Korea-North Korea summit meeting. South Korean-North Korean women met with each other through joint South Korea-North Korea events and in particular, the 6.15 joint declaration practice South Korean committee’s women’s headquarters and the women’s subcommittee of the North Korean committee held events periodically every month since 2005. However, the Lee Myeong-Bak government has been blocking South Korea-North Korea women exchanges following the deterioration of South Korea-North Korea relations. The South Korea-North Korea women representative meeting planned to be held in Pyeongyang in 2009 and the South Korean-North Korean women’s meeting to be held in 2010 to solve the Japanese armed forces’ sex slavery problems were disapproved by the government. The government disapproved the participation of South Korean civil representatives in a North and South Korean meeting held to organize the June 15th Joint Event to celebrate North and South Korean Summit and imposed a penalty of a million won to each of the representatives who participated the meeting. The government also disapproved the participation of an activist of the Women Making Peace in the Northeast Regional Steering Group Meeting of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) for the reason that North Koreans
would participate in the meeting.8)

4) Women’s participation rates in the processes of policy decision making in the areas of national defense, unification, and diplomacy are extremely low. The ratios of female public officers are extremely low in the areas of unification, national defense, and diplomacy. There is no minister or vice-minister grade women in these areas and the ratios of class five or higher female public officers are 11.7% (2009) in the Ministry of National Defense, 14% (2009) in the Ministry of Unification and 18.3% (as of June 2011) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. However, the ratios of female public officers in Senior Executive Services that have great effects on policy decision making are 4.8% in the Ministry of Unification, 0% in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and 0% in the Ministry of National Defense. Furthermore, the ratios of female committee members in unification, peace, and diplomacy related government committees are also prominently. Decreases in female committee members in committees belonging to the Ministry of Unification are quite clear. The ratio decreased from 20.8% in 2006 to 8.0% in 2008. The ratio in the Ministry of National Defense decreased from 28.8% in 2006 to 17.7% in 2008.

5) Gender budgets of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

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8) The Women Making Peace and the People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy issued a statement against South Korean government’s decision to disapprove the participation in GPPAC Regional Steering Group Meeting. July 5th, 2012
Trade, the Ministry of Unification, and the Ministry of National Defense are extremely small compared to other ministries. The 2011 gender budgets of the Korean government correspond to 3.3% of the total government expenditures amounting to 309 trillion won. Among them, the gender budgets of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Unification, and the Ministry of National Defense are extremely small. The gender budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was prepared for a total of eight projects amounting 42.6 billion won which corresponds to 2.3% of the total annual expenditure budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The gender budget of the Ministry of Unification was prepared for a total of two projects amounting to 12.8 billion won corresponding to 2.3% of the total annual expenditure budget of the ministry and the gender budget of the Ministry of National Defense was prepared for a total of three projects amounting to 4.57 billion won corresponding to only 0.02% of the total annual expenditure budget of the ministry.

6) Women’s participation is low in the process of government level peace negotiations. In South Korea-North Korea meetings held at the government level, the ratios of women’s participation were 0% in 2000, 3% in 2007 and 10% in 2010.9)

The reasons why women’s leading participation is low are below. First, women’s perception of the importance of the issue of unification and the necessity of women’s active participation is insufficient. Second, the patriarchal social atmosphere reinforced by Confucian traditions and the reality of division contributed to regarding the area of unification policies as men’s area and excluding women’s participation in the area. Third, although it cannot be said that there is no female exert in unification issue related areas, it is difficult for qualified women to go up to influential positions in the men-centered structure. The preparation of institutional devices to expand women’s participation and roles was insufficient in the process of implementing unification policies at the government level.\textsuperscript{10}

2. Women’s organizations’ activities for the UNSCR 1325

South Korean women have emphasized the performance of no. 1325 while requesting the reinforcement of women’s access in women’s participation in the areas of unification, diplomacy and security, human right protection, the prevention of sexual violence and disputes, support for North Korea and support for public aid.

\textsuperscript{10} CHUNG Hyun-Back, "History of women's unification movement", SHIM Young-Hee and KIM Elli edited, The History of Korean women's peace Movement, Hanul, 2005
1) Public Awareness Raising and education on UNSCR 1325

To reinforce perception of the importance of the issues of peace and unification and the necessity of women’s active participation, women’s organizations plan peaceful unification travel and advertise and educate on the meaning and content of 1325. The Women Making Peace, the Korean Women’s Associations United and the Women’s Committee of the Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation have advertised and educated on 1325 together with not only South Korean women but also East Asian women through holding four East Asian women’s peace Conferences from 2008 to 2012. The Women Making Peace performs activities to contribute to the press for 1325 and is preparing for a booklet on 1325. A peace activist of Women Making Peace participated in the 2012 Asia-Pacific regional consultation of the UN Women CEDAW Committee (March 27-28) and a workshop paralleled with the UN Security Council’s Open Debate on 1325 (October 30) to introduce the present status of South Korean government’s implementation of UNSCR 1325 and South Korean women’s activities for it. The Women’s Forum for Peace and Diplomacy works for public awareness on 1325 and conducted a signature campaign to urge the UN’s execution of the Arms Control Treaty. The Korea YWCA Association held the 2012 YWCA International Training Institute(hereinafter, ITI): 2012 World YWCA International Leadership Training for the abolishment of violence on women in Seoul to share VAW(Violence Against Woman) related
experiences and future activity plans and implemented education activities requesting for the performance of international responsibilities (duties) for VAW including agreement for the performance of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the UN Security Council’s resolution 1325.

2) Lobbying activities for UNSCR 1325

Following the activities of Korean women’s organizations demanding South Korean government implement and adopt its National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 by lobbying congresswomen, the government departments and presidential candidates for the 18th presidential election.

The Women Making Peace has conducted lobbying activities to South Korean government and parliamentarians in order to urge the South Korean government implement 1325 and develop its national action plan on 1325. The Women Making Peace monitored the South Korean government’s implementation on 1325, participated in the expert meeting in the preparation for the 4th basic plan for women policies and submitted its written position paper on the 4th basic plan to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Unification. The Women Making Peace performed activities to urge a national action plan on 1325 to presidential candidates by announcing seven women’s agendas for peace and unification.
The Northeast Asia Women’s Peace Conference Organizing Committee held an international workshop titled with “UN SCR 1325 and Peace for Sustainable Development” in New York, USA on February 24, 2011 jointly with Peace Boat USA and the PISA of George Washington University. This workshop was sponsored by Chairperson Choi Young-Hee of National Assembly Women and Committee and the National Assembly of ROK. Congresswoman Choi Young-Hee who sponsored this workshop proposed a draft resolution to urge South Korean government to adopt its nation action plan on 1325 in 2011 and National Assembly passed it in February 2012.

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family announced the 4th master plan for women policies (2013∼2017) in December 2012. The ministry presented task 5-2 ’activation of women’s participation for unification, peace and security’ as a medium
task, 5-2-1 ‘expansion of women’s participation in the area of unification’ and 5-2-2 establishment and performance of a national action plan for 'the UN Security Council resolution 1325' as a small task and the establishment of a national action plan on 1325 and gender equal UN peace-keeping operations’ activities as much smaller tasks under task 5-2-2.

With the 18th presidential election to come soon, Candidate Mun Jae-In of the Democratic United Party organized and operated an advisory panel for the promotion of women’s participation in the UN SCR 1325, publicly supported 1325 and included ‘enhancement of women’s active participation and roles following the UN SCR 1325 (adopted in 2000) for women’s peace and security’ in the policy booklet [Door to Open the Future. ] The candidate An Cheol-Su presented 1325 national action plan as a public pledge. However, Candidate Park Geun-Hye did not present any public pledge for UNSCR 1325.

3) Discussion on the organization of women’s network on 1325

For the expansion of women’s participation in the areas of peace, unification, diplomacy and security and for the integration of gender perspective to these areas, the organization of civil network to act for implementation on 1325 and the adoption of a national action plan is acutely required. The network will be able to effectively respond to the sharing of 1325 related information, planning and adjusting
diverse activities and establishing orientations. The discussion on the organization of the network was proposed mainly by women’s organizations which are interested in UNSCR 1325 such as the Women Making Peace, the Korean Women’s Association United, Korea YWCA and National Campaign for Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea.

3. Conclusion

In the current South Korean society, it can be said that there are very few women in the policy decision making and operation for unification・diplomacy・security. Women’s status is extremely low in these areas because of the climate of Korean society to be gender-blind toward unification・diplomacy・security issues and because women are not regarded as an agenda in these areas. The low status of women in these areas also greatly affects women’s perception. Women are less interested in unification than men. According to a 2011 survey of unification senses by the Seoul National University Unification and Peace Research Institute, whereas 60.7% of men answered that unification was necessary, only 46.4% of women regarded unification as being necessary. The gap in unification perception between sexes is 13-14% and this pattern has been maintained identically for several years.

Therefore, for integration of gender perspective in the areas of unification・diplomacy・security and for women’s empowerment and gender equality, the government and
women’s organizations should work hard to implement 1325. The South Korean government should take affirmative action to promote women’s participation in the areas of peace, unification and foreign affairs, and develop its national action plan on 1325. Along with public awareness-raising on 1325, women’s organizations should build capacities to monitor the government’s implementation on the 1325, organize a 1325 women’s network, establish short and long-term strategies and strengthen lobbying activities on developing a 1325 National Plan. Developing the South Korean National Action Plan on 1325 should be a participatory process from civil society and interactive process on the base of the government and civil society organizations cooperation system for women’s empowerment and gender equality in the areas of peace, unification and foreign affairs.
8. Northeast Asia Regional Peacebuilding Institute (NARPI)

LEE Jae-Young (Representative of Northeast Asia Regional Peacebuilding Institute, admin@narpi.net)

Overview

NARPI is a Peacebuilding Institute in which participants from Northeast Asia receive training in the areas of peacebuilding, conflict resolution, historical and regional conflict issues, trauma, mediation, peaceful dialogue and restorative justice. Within these training programs we also seek to build relationships between people from different parts of Northeast Asia region and to seek transformative and positive approaches to conflict and cultural differences.

NARPI’s target participants include NGO/NPO staff and volunteers, peace educators and activists, teachers, students, community and government leaders, and religious workers who are searching for in-depth study and training for peacebuilding. The areas that NARPI considers to be a part of the region are China, Japan, Taiwan, South & North Korea, Mongolia, and Far East Russia.

For the past two years, NARPI has offered a two-week
Summer Training with six courses, facilitated by both international and Northeast Asian experts and practitioners on these topics. The key strategy in this training model is to equip both new and experienced peacebuilders with skills through workshop-style courses, bringing together participants from different Northeast Asian countries for the purpose of training, relationship-building, and cultural understanding. In addition to the course work, NARPI also provides a two-day field trip, through which participants can learn first-hand about the history of conflict and peace in the hosting area.

The 2011 Summer Training was held in Seoul and Inje (near the DMZ), South Korea; and the 2012 Summer Training in Hiroshima, Japan. The Summer Training will continue rotating to different locations in Northeast Asia, providing the opportunity for learning about the history of the entire region, and also giving a chance for more people to participate every year.

**Rationale: “Why and Why Now?”**

In Northeast Asia, wars and military confrontations have created long-lasting animosity and mistrust among nations and peoples. In addition, the Cold War structure and mindset still remains, even though there have not been any direct military conflicts since the Korean War, which ended in 1953. As a result, historical, territorial, military, and nuclear tensions and disputes continue throughout the region. The mistrust
between countries has become entrenched in the minds of the people; and it continues to be passed down from generation to generation, resulting in continually increasing tension.

Military drills and political propaganda in the region have resulted in perceived threats and arms races for decades. Each country in the region has its systematic training programs for young people in the military. These programs not only train soldiers to fulfill the functions of the military, but also perpetuate the education of the other as an enemy and a potential threat.

Peace cannot grow unless it is sown and nurtured in the mind. It has become clear that raising mutual understanding among Northeast Asians is vital in overcoming the vestiges of the Cold War era. Transforming the existing culture of animosity and militarism into a culture of peace and reconciliation can be possible through education and a fundamental paradigm shift. Thus, what Northeast Asia now needs for a peaceful future or even for a possibility of a regional community is not only a new political structure and diplomatic framework, but also peace institutes through which sustainable peacebuilding education and training can be offered for the next generations.

Now is the time to shift the paradigm to regional joint peacebuilding efforts in order to create an environment where not only national security, but also regional security and human security are guaranteed. In Northeast Asia, peace education, conflict resolution/transformation and frameworks
for conflict prevention are still new terms. However, the time of transformation is coming and Northeast Asia is becoming the center of the world. Now it is time for Northeast Asia to be a center for not only the world economy but also for peace. For this to happen, peacebuilding training programs or institutes like NARPI is essential. It is time for Northeast Asians say, ‘No more military training, but more peacebuilding training instead!’

Vision and Mission

The vision of Northeast Asia Regional Peacebuilding Institute is for Northeast Asia to be a region of active nonviolence, mutual cooperation, and lasting peace.

The mission of Northeast Asia Regional Peacebuilding Institute is to transform the culture and structure of militarism, and communities of fear and violence into just and peaceful ones by providing peacebuilding training, connecting and empowering people in NE Asia.

History

In 2009, a group of interested individuals gathered at a meeting in Seoul to discuss the idea of forming NARPI. This group of people helped to create a network of individuals, organizations, schools, churches, and donors interested in peacebuilding in Northeast Asia. In 2010, a steering committee
of representatives from all parts of the region was formed and had two preparation meetings—one in Seoul, and one on Peace Boat, during its voyage from Yokohama to Hong Kongi. Together, the steering committee planned and organized the NARPI vision, structure and programs.

Also in 2010, one year before the first NARPI Summer Training, NARPI steering committee member Kyoko Okumoto, of Osaka, organized a NARPI pilot project training for mainly Japanese participants, a five-day program held in Hiroshima. The NARPI steering committee gathered again in the spring of 2011, in Taipei, to finalize the plans for the first NARPI Summer Training, and to strategize about promotion and recruitment.

**NARPI 2011 Summer Training**

The first Northeast Asia Regional Peacebuilding Institute (NARPI) Summer Training—August 16 to 29, 2011—brought together university students, teachers, NGO workers, and religious leaders in an atmosphere of sharing and learning. In total, there were 48 registered participants, mainly from Northeast Asia—China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Taiwan and Far East Russia—plus a few from Canada, India, the Philippines and the United States. Also present were nine facilitators who worked in pairs to design and facilitate participatory peacebuilding courses, and several NARPI steering committee members and volunteers who filled roles such as
class assistant, class documentor, language support, snacks and photography/video.

After the training, NARPI director Jae Young Lee reflected, “It is always an exciting joy to discover people with the same vision for a peaceful Northeast Asia. I’m glad that NARPI is becoming a nest where we can build this common dream together.” The training took place at two contrasting venues: Week 1, at the Hi Seoul Youth Hostel in the busy Youngdeungpo area of downtown Seoul; and Week 2, at the quiet DMZ Peace-Life Valley in the northeast part of South Korea, in Gangwon Province, near the DMZ.
Participants joined intensive five-day courses during each week of the training. Six courses were offered, covering the following themes: peace and conflict, peace education, restorative justice, historical and cultural storytelling, trauma healing and peacebuilding skills. Some participants found new directions for their future through the coursework. Participant Ayaka Naito shared, “There was a learning opportunity far greater than what I had expected. I am determined to study more, get more experience, and become a restorative justice practitioner.”

Between Week 1 and 2, field trips to the House of Sharing and the DMZ offered first-hand experiential learning for the participants. The House of Sharing is a museum and a home to former “Comfort Women“ – survivors of sexual slavery at the hands of the Japanese military during the Asia-Pacific War (1932-1945). During a group debriefing after the visit, participants processed what they had learned through drawing and sharing.

The DMZ tour included a visit to an observatory, a tunnel connecting the North and South, and a farming village in the Civilian Control Zone, where participants had a chance to cook and eat together with the local residents. Each evening during the Summer Training, there were also different opportunities for sharing and learning. Evening activities that were scheduled before the Summer Training started included one Cultural Night per week, and one Jeju Night per week. During the Cultural Nights, participants spoke, sang, played
instruments, played games and danced to share about their culture. At the Jeju Nights, participants learned about the naval base construction project on Jeju Island, and realized how this naval base, if built, will become a threat to security for the entire Northeast Asia region. Some participants traveled to Gangjeong Village, Jeju Island, after the Summer Training ended to show their solidarity to the villagers and protestors there who are working to keep Jeju an “Island of Peace.”

Participants also planned evening events and posted their plans on the weekly calendar, inviting other participants to join. These activities included discussions on various topics, presentations about NGO activities in the region, personal stories, and movie screenings. “There was a big impact on my thinking and studying about peace in NEA. I was also able to deepen my understanding on the present situation in Korea regarding the “comfort women” issue, the Jeju Island issue, and the DMZ,” wrote Setsuko Mizuno, from Japan, on her final evaluation form.

To build local capacity for peacebuilders in Korea, NARPI also offered a series of lectures and workshops in the week leading up to the Summer Training. Howard Zehr, Al Fuertes and Carl Stauffer presented on the topics of restorative justice and trauma healing, and their lectures and workshops were conducted with Korean translation.
NARPI 2012 Summer Training

The 2012 NARPI Summer Training was held in Hiroshima, Japan, from August 11-24. Over the two-week training, nearly 40 participants – university students, NGO workers and teachers – built relationships and studied together through peacebuilding courses, evening activities, and field trips. Most were from Northeast Asia – China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia and Taiwan – in addition to a few participants from Canada, Nepal and Pakistan.

The training was held in two different parts of Hiroshima: Week 1, at the well-known Aster Plaza downtown, and Week 2, at the Hiroshima YMCA in Yuki, surrounded by beautiful mountains and rice fields. In the six courses offered over the two-week training, participants and facilitators worked collaboratively to build understanding about the following themes: peace and conflict, trauma healing, restorative justice, storytelling in peacebuilding, peace education, and peacebuilding skills. The courses offered participatory activities and practical skills. After joining the Week 1 course “Critical Understanding of Peace and Conflict Issues,” participant Aijuan Huang reflected, “The facilitators combined different fun activities to help us think and process the knowledge. We learn and also have a lot of fun.”

Some participants shared about personal change resulting from their coursework. Hyeonsim Na wrote, “I can decide my way because of NARPI. The Trauma Healing class really
helped to find the real me and to choose my future direction.”

Participants also spent time outside of the classroom, visiting Hiroshima Peace Museum and Peace Park and Okunojima, the site of poison gas manufacturing by the Japanese Army during World War II. At the Peace Museum, Sadae Kasaoka, a Hiroshima Hibakusha (survivor of the 1945 atomic bombing) shared her painful story of the devastation of the A-bomb. Though it is difficult each time, she said that she tells her story in order to “personally and urgently appeal for a peaceful world without nuclear weapons.” NARPI participants presented a symbol of hope for peace in Northeast Asia at the Children’s Memorial—1,000 paper cranes that they made during Week 1—and also explored the Peace Museum, a moving and challenging time for many. All gathered in the evening for a debriefing session, time to share their reflections from the day.

Yamauchi Masayuki, a retired history teacher, led participants around the small island of Okunojima and told the history of Japan’s use of chemical weapons against civilians during World War II. He shared, too, about his personal efforts and experiences of inviting Chinese victims of the chemical weapons to Japan to share their stories. The evening debriefing session offered time to process the complexities of both suffering and victimization.

Evening activities were also an important part of the Summer Training in Hiroshima, a time when the participants
became the facilitators and shared presentations and discussions with all who chose to join. In one evening session, Jungwon Ko showed the group a documentary of his story of forgiving the man who killed his mother, wife and son. There was also one Cultural Night per week, where participants used song, dance, games and pictures to share their cultures with each other.

On the final evaluation form, one participant reflected, “I could think about peace, as well as building peace in Northeast Asia, deeply. It was also great to experience the field trip and to make friends from Northeast Asia.” Others shared that the close and meaningful relationships made NARPI feel like “a big family.”

The NARPI Japan team, consisting of the five NARPI steering committee members from Japan, worked together for the local organizing. After the Training, the NARPI Japan coordinator, Kyoko Okumoto, shared: “Hosting NARPI is a huge task, but it is a worthwhile challenge. If all of us continue to connect for the future, and if we share our good learnings with more people in this big community, Northeast Asia will be a much more peaceful place to live. Let’s do that and overcome all the difficult conflicts in the region!”

2012 Summer Training Schedule

Registration
August 11   Registration
Evening pre-session: English for Peacebuilding
Session 1
August 12-16 Course #1
Critical Understanding of Conflict and Peace Issues
Course #2
Trauma Awareness and Healing Course #3
Community-Based Restorative Justice for Schools
Field Trip
August 17-19 Field trip to Okunojima Island and
Hiroshima Peace Park/Peace Museum; Move to next venue
Session 2
August 20-24 Course #4
Historical and Cultural Stories of Peace Course #5
Theory and Practice of Peace Education Course #6
Peacebuilding Skills
Departure
August 25 Move to Hiroshima Station, departure

2013 NARPI Summer Training

The next NARPI Summer Training will be held in August 2013 in South Korea. Locations and courses will be decided and announced in the near future. Due to the recent crisis and tension in the region caused by territorial and historical conflict, there may be dialogue sessions among participants during the Summer Training to discuss the impact of the situation and the role of peacebuilders and peace educators.
“What does it mean to have the NARPI training in this time of rising tension in Northeast Asia due to recent territorial conflicts? Perhaps we are experiencing a totally different world – a world of understanding, cooperation, and trust – as others go the other direction. And instead we are standing in a circle sharing our new learning of peace, instead of becoming enemies to each other.”

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Peer mediation,
before small bickering becomes a big fight,
before a small misunderstanding becomes a bigger one,
mutual cooperation and problem-solving will prevent school violence.

Last year, one middle school student killed himself, suffering from school violence. And this caused heated controversy on the severity of school violence. Our society was brewing with condolences to the victimized student and his family and fury against the student who caused such suicide and even his words that he did it for fun. The public opinion was that he should get severe punishment since when other students suffered from what he did, he just did it for fun. But the bigger concern than such anger was the fact that students did not understand what he does affects others and their lives, too.
School violence is not a new issue and it is aggravating year by year. Why are students harassing other students? Data shows that the biggest reason for bullying is swaggering, followed by 'because others do', and 'for no reason.' Regardless of the ranking of those reasons, the common fact is that students do not acknowledge 'what is different from me' and they are insensitive to 'violence'. The thought that what is different from me is 'wrong' and different opinions cannot be tolerated and should be removed even by mobilizing 'violence' is the root cause for violent culture and increasing violence in schools.

To tackle this issue, students need to learn how to live with different people 'together'. The solution can be found not in rejecting and excluding those who are different from me but acknowledging and accepting them or finding out satisfactory solutions through peaceful means. But first, they need to learn that solutions can be found not by violence that they are familiar to but by dialogues, and proper systems should be in place to make it happen.

Problem-solving through dialogues! This is where "peer mediation" comes in. Bickering between students occurs and that is why peers are the ones who best and quickly know uncomfortable relationships or fights start among students. Students like their peers more than even their parents and they think peers understand them better than any other people like their parents or teachers. And they want their
problems to be solved in the way 'they want’. The first reason that students do not reach out for help when they are in trouble is that they don’t want to make a bigger issue out of it. They believe that parents or teachers don’t solve their issues such as fights or disputes with their friends, in the way they want, so they want to solve them by themselves. Therefore, it will be more satisfactory for parties of any conflict to actively involve in finding solution to it. Since they are the quickest in recognizing any conflicts between friends and peers, they can help parties of the conflict to solve them.

Scene 1. A high school student in grade 1 stole the purse of his senior. Grade 3 students who knew it tried to punish the Grade 1 student. Then a peer mediator proposed mediation. During the mediation, the Grade 1 student stole the purse to be kicked out of the school since school was a hell to him because he was being outcast those days. After mediation, the Grade 1 student apologized to seniors who in return helped the junior to get along well with his friends.

Scene 2. When a friend did not pay back his money, A asked for mediation. The mediator came to B who borrowed A’s money for mediation but B immediately paid the money back, saying that he forgot to make the repayment.

Scene 3. A student who is treated as an outcast among friends resorted her parents who tried to solve this matter by
visiting school to ask for help but it turned out to be a bad move since the bullying got more serious. In the meantime two friends of hers asked for mediation, saying that there was a misunderstanding between A and them and ultimately they solved their misunderstanding and apologized to each other.

Immediate parties of conflicts sit down together to discuss and resolve any misunderstanding and talked about what they were sorry about to each other. This is the peer mediation process. Without it, seniors would have exercised violence toward the junior, or student A misunderstood student B or even after transferred to another school, student A in Scene 3 would keep suffering. Even the cases that came to court can be solved within school easily if somebody is pro-actively involved from the start to help, since peer students can help along the way.

Conflict Resolution Center of Peace Women Group has engaged in peer mediation, starting teachers training by Seoul Metropolitan Office Education in 2003. And it has provided peer mediation training through Junior Peace Leadership Camp since 2007 and through 「Peace Community with Home, School and Community」 since 2009. This year, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology is expanding peer mediation pilot program across the country as part of its effort to prevent school violence. A total of 79 schools are participating and 70 schools in Kyonggi Province are running peer mediation class. In addition, Conflict Resolution Center of Peace Women Group
provides peer mediation training peace education organizations including Korea Peace Education and Training Center. Peer mediation was led by the private sector till 2010 but starting 2011, but the change in the government including office of education or Ministry of Education, Science and Technology is leading the effort to make the system take root.

For the past ten years, the private sector made continuous efforts to introduce and explain peer mediation to schools but thorough preparation work should follow to apply to schools effectively.

First of all, head of schools shall show active interest and be involved in this exercise. Peer mediation is not an educational program but part of a guide to students which requires voluntary engagement by students. To this end, students need to understand the necessity of autonomous trouble solution and the effect and agree on or support it. It is not easy for teachers to train peer mediators or run peer mediation groups. But still, autonomous support and agreement by students shall be the starting point.

It is important that those who will turn to peer mediation understand that their conflicts can be solved through dialogues. This requires education for students to change their understanding of conflicts. Students need to believe that asking for help by a third party is not avoiding the conflict or
solving it with violence but an effort to solve it through dialogue and peer mediation will make a huge difference.

Schools are busy. Even elementary school students are too busy to find free time. The reality is that it is hard to find time to train peer mediators or for them to engage in mediation. Nevertheless, the difference made by schools that do peer mediation is small but clear. Students started to believe and feel safe that when they are in trouble, there is someone near to reach out to for help, not just being left alone in trouble. Such belief is the power to change school culture. Peer mediators are not only giving help to their peers but even to their parents at home.

Peer mediation may not be the only or quick cure-for-all to school violence. But it is helpful to strengthen students’ capability to deal with their problems in a constructive manner with self-respect and to cultivate healthy and peaceful school culture. They are showing us that the way to peace is to teach peace.
<Peer Mediator drawn by peer mediator trainer>

<Button to Student Peer mediator>
Civil Peace Forum

Civil Peace Forum, founded on 1st October 2008 as the specialized organization of Civil Society Organizations Network in Korea, has held monthly forum for 2 years on the various issues such as ecology, peace, human rights, welfare, gender, and generation, etc. surrounding the Korean Peninsula. Thanks to support and cooperation of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the representatives, members of civil organizations, and relevant experts could gather to discuss about peace and unification of Korea in a way of citizen participation, thus find and spread the agendas which are meaningful to the development of the issues. Civil Peace Forum has led Korean civil society to take an active part through a solidarity frame among the personages from various circles regarding to peace issues in South Korea, and workshop for peace and reunification of the Korean Peninsula. In addition, we will still widen the range of work and deepen the solidarity thus, ensure internal stability of the peace and reunification movement in a way of citizen participation.

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The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is a German non-profit, private, educational institution committed to the concepts and basic values of social democracy. Its efforts focus on cooperation for development, international dialogue, political education, economic and socio-political development, and study grants. The FES has offices in 105 countries.

The collaboration between Korean organizations and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began in the late 1960s with the opening of an office in Seoul. While the form of partnership has changed over the years the basic aims and objectives have not changed. In Korea we want to foster dialogue between Korean and German institutions towards identifying appropriate policies, and towards identifying the most appropriate relationship between Korea and Germany, Korea and Europe and Asia and Europe. The Foundation wants to contribute towards a social and pluralistic democracy and the adoption of socially balanced economic policies as a way to sustainable development. Furthermore, FES is committed to sharing experiences from recent European history in order to promote peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula leading eventually peaceful unification.

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