

Cambodian Experience and Mindanao's future

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Thank you very much for the kind introduction. I am Katayanagi. I would like to begin the presentation straight away because of the time constraints. Let me tell you, first of all, that I am not an expert of the Asian peacebuilding. I served a peacekeeping mission in Eastern Slavonia, Croatia, and engaged in peacebuilding work in Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, based on that experience, I would like to give a talk.

First, I am going to talk about generational peacekeeping theory and how the PKO has gone through some changes. Then I will touch upon the differences between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. As case studies, I am going to refer to the experience of United Nations Transitional Administration in Cambodia, UNTAC and then finally, Mindanao's future.

Not knowing to what extent today's participants are familiar with the peacebuilding, I chose to start with the generational theory of peacekeeping.

The Generational Theory of Peacekeeping

The First-Generation Peacekeeping

The first generation of peacekeeping is also called conventional peacekeeping. Its activities are mainly disengagement and the

ceasefire monitoring, so the mission is usually deployed between two countries.



UN Photo/Yutaka Nagata

The picture shows the activities of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force.

The Second-Generation Peacekeeping

The second generation of peacekeeping becomes more multidimensional. I am going to talk more about this later with an example of UNTAC.

The Third-Generation Peacekeeping Now the third generation. What is your idea about this generation of peacekeeping? From the conventional peacekeeping, such as the disengagement activities, the second generation became multifunctional, and then the matter here is to do with how much military force is going to be engaged.

By the way, there are three major

principles of the peacekeeping which I should have mentioned earlier. The first is the consent of all the parties. The conventional peacekeeping used to deploy between two states. Therefore, it was important that both states agreed to the presence of UN peacekeeping operation (PKO). If any of the parties did not wish the deployment, it was difficult to realize the peacekeeping mission.

The second principle is the neutrality. The UN PKO does not take side. It is not there to protect one side, but it keeps the neutral stand between the two. The third is the minimum use of force, restricted to self-defense purpose.

So, these are the three major principles for the peacekeeping, but now into the third generation, situation has gotten quite different. The PKO used to deploy in a situation where violence was contained, but it increasingly happened that violence was not sufficiently contained or the situation became significantly destabilized after the deployment. So, in this third generation, there were lots of discussions over robust peacekeeping. It was about considering the use of force in peacekeeping to some extent. The typical example was the United Nations Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM II. At the time there was a hot debate, for instance, what is the difference between robust peacekeeping and peace enforcement.

The fourth-Generation Peacekeeping

Now going to the fourth generation, the keyword here is wide responsibilities, and

the examples are the PKOs in Kosovo or in East Timor. The terminology up to the third generation has been widely used, but not so many scholars use the term fourth generation peacekeeping.

What is the difference between the fourth generation and for example, UNTAC? There were more roles to be played by PKO activities including, for instance, to decide which law should be applied during the transitional period.

Let me just give you some examples by pictures. Here at the top you can see the PKO destroying the weapons.



UN Photo/Robert E Sullivan

The second one is the headquarters of UNMIK, United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo.



UN Photo/Ferdi Limani

The third one is a picture showing the ceremony of foundation of Kosovo Property Agency.



UN Photo/Afrim Hajrullahu

You may ask why a property agency is established by a UN PKO. As Ms. Kumamoto mentioned, armed conflicts may cause a flood of refugees and IDPs. When people are forced to leave, there could be some other people coming in and occupy the vacant properties. In post-conflict period, there are efforts to try to recover the original state by returning the properties to their original owners. This particular agency was established for such a purpose. As this example, the fourth-generation peacekeeping takes wider responsibilities with more authorities.

Talking about the generational theory, you may ask whether we are in the fourth generation now. Nowadays many different kinds of peacekeeping activities are ongoing. We may then wonder if the generational theory is appropriate or not. It is better to understand that this is simply typology of peacekeeping.

Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding

Whenever we talk about

peacekeeping and peace-building, it is common to go back and mention Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *Agenda for Peace*. Peacebuilding was then deemed as post-conflict activities, but today, it is not the case. Peacekeeping and peace-building are currently considered to be partners. Peacekeeping personnel help those of peacebuilding and vice versa.

The experience of peacebuilding thus has been accumulated in activities of peacekeeping operations and when we think about the current peacebuilding, its actors have become diversified. The UN is not the sole actor here, but there are many NGOs, both international and local, or some civil society organizations, and development agencies involved in peacebuilding. In addition, the fields of peacebuilding have also diversified, as I talked about the the property issue earlier.

UNTAC

I would like to take up UNTAC as an example, but try to be brief, since Professor Higashi already mentioned it. UNTAC was established in accordance with the Paris Accord.

Who signed the Paris Accord? Previously there was a remark that it was important to include Pol Pot in the negotiation. Pol Pot, or Khmer Rouge may sound more familiar to you, was responsible for the death of 1 million or 2 million people. Some were victims of direct killing, yet the other people died from famine or the epidemic diseases. The Accord was signed by four parties including Pol Pot, which created the causes of such

devastating situations, and UNTAC starts the peacekeeping.

UNTAC operated from January 1992 to September 1993. If we think about peacebuilding activities today, or even PKOs, it was a very short mission. A UN PKO deploys, conduct elections, engage in democratization, and a new government based on the elections is established. Then the UN PKO transfers the administrative authorities to the newly elected government and leave – this is the model

UNTAC Personnel	
➤ Military component	15,991
➤ Civilian Police	3,359
➤ Civilians	over 1,000
+ UN Volunteers approx. 500	

thought for peacebuilding. However, the reality did not go that way and today the general understanding is that peacekeeping, and even more for peacebuilding, the duration shall be longer. On the slide, you can see the size of the personnel in UNTAC.

Now let us think about which type of transitional administration UNTAC was. It was in charge of all administrative agencies, bodies and offices acting in the field of foreign affairs, national defense, finance, public security and information. Therefore, UNTAC was supervising national organs.

However, Cambodia had the Supreme National Council, SNC. The SNC delegated the UNTAC the supervisory role and it was stipulated that the SNC offers advice to the UNTAC.

You can thus see the difference

between the UNTAC and UNMIK. UNMIK once took hold of much stronger authorities in Kosovo. The difference actually features the fourth generation.

This slide shows the components of UNTAC.



I cannot give you all the detailed explanation, but UNTAC carried out various activities such as human rights monitoring, election administration, military training under the civilian control, or refugee return. Such experience is used effectively for the current peacebuilding.

We will quickly go through some photos.



UN Photo/Pernaca Sudhakaran

Disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation, DDR, is known to be very

important activities in today's peacebuilding. These activities have a goal to let those people who used to fight with weapons go back to the civilian society.



UN Photo/John Isaac

The most important factor of UNTAES' success should be the successful election conduct. At the very beginning, there were many people who did not know what the election was all about. UNTAES therefore engaged in electoral education using paper theaters or theatrical play. For the election administration, many UN volunteers made contribution.

- Bangsamoro Basic Law
- Referendum for demarcation of a jurisdictional domain
- Abolishing Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
- Establishing the Bangsamoro Transitional Authority
- Establishment of Bangsamoro Government



UN Photo/Pernaca Sudhakaran

Here the picture shows the organized refugee return. UNTAC offered a few options to the refugees for return. One of them was to provide a piece of land for agriculture. However, most of the returnees chose one-time payment, because it was uncertain when the land would become available. In fact, it was extremely difficult to distribute land to returnees. The land issue was something that UNTAC could not really deal with, but what recent peacebuilding activities have been engaging in.

Future of Mindanao

Now let me touch upon Mindanao case. There was a peace process taking place in Mindanao. The peace negotiation between Mindanao and the central government of the Philippines since 2001 led to a ceasefire agreement. However, the violence recurred and finally in 2012, the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamorowas signed. In 2014, Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro was reached.

This is the roadmap for the peacebuilding.

The first step is to introduce the Bangsamoro

Basic Law followed by demarcation of jurisdictional domain through referendum. This means that it is yet uncertain which area will come under the new Bangsamoro Government. Once it is determined, the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao will be abolished and the Transitional Authority will be established. Then Bangsamoro Government is to be established at the end.

The Bangsamoro Basic Law should have been in place by now, but unfortunately it is still not there yet. There is a hope because Rodrigo Duterte, the new President, he himself is from Bangsamoro and he expressed his determination to push the peace process forward.

There are four annexes to the Comprehensive Agreement and one of which stipulated to set up the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). The TJRC had been actually established and it published a report in March 2016. The TJRC's work is somehow going ahead comparing with other planned activities under the Framework Agreement.



25

The plan is to establish the National Transitional Justice and Reconciliation

Commission, out of the current TJRC. Please take a look at the circled box. The Sub-Commission on Land Dispossession is to address the land issue that I have mentioned earlier in other contexts. Although there have been peacebuilding activities which dealt with land issue, in my view, this is a more or less new initiative in the sense that land issue is to be tackled under the transitional justice.

What then are expected from the Sub-Commission to be established? One is to create a land dispute resolution mechanism; and the other is to develop the database on actual land ownership and land dispossession in the Bangsamoro. Furthermore, the land service including legislation, registration and taxation, is to be redesigned.

Finally, I would like to talk about the future of Mindanao. Mindanao will be able to take advantage of the lessons learned from success and failure in other conflict-affected areas. What I am very much hopeful for is the existence of a young power. I am really looking forward to this promising young people, why, because Hiroshima University is involved in the human resource development of Bangsamoro. The person who is in charge is not here today unfortunately, but I was somewhat involved in this program and about 2 weeks ago, I met the trainees.

I only have another 1 minute, but let me just finally tell you that in this initiative I came acquainted with one person from Mindanao with whom I keep in touch. I asked him what he expects from Japan for future. He said that he was so grateful for all the

hardware assistance that Japan has provided so far. However, what he would like to see more is the software assistance.

Visit to Japan for the training opened his eyes. Based on that experience, he seeks for assistance in the area of human resource management and human resource development. He says that it would be too costly to invite many trainees to Japan, so the training could take place in Bangsamoro.

I would like to read his own words at the end, so those who need translation, please listen to the Japanese translation. This is a part of his email: “The people of Mindanao are innately talented, but poverty and conflict

made most people here desperate and sometimes unforgiving. So, giving them the chance to realize their innate potentials (through the various soft projects, which serve as interventions) could possibly be the key to end desperation and transform the consciousness of violence which have been permeating in the minds of those who have known conflict all their lives”. Those young people who only experienced the conflict after the birth, that’s all what they know, all what they experienced, and to change their mindsets, the support must be continuous.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.