

# **Timor-Leste:**

# Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level





Ochanomizu University Global Collaboration Center

Ochanomizu University Public Symposium: Interuniversity Event

### Timor-Leste:

### Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level



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### Introduction

Masako Ishii-Kuntz

Director, Ochanomizu University Global Collaboration Center



Welcome, everyone, and thank you for coming today in this inclement weather.

We at Ochanomizu University, both faculty and students alike, want to make our work readily accessible to society at large in order to "fulfill our social mission by achieving the desired circulation of knowledge between the university and society," as our Charter declares. As part of this commitment, in 2010 we undertook a program, headed by the Global Collaboration Center, to create an intercollegiate network for peacebuilding in global society. Our goal is to create an international network with other universities (especially women's universities) and research institutions, both in Japan and worldwide, in order to bring to bear women's perspective and help create peaceful societies in the global community.

On behalf of the hosts of this symposium, "Timor-Leste: Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level," I am delighted to welcome a panel of speakers who are in the forefront of global peacebuilding work on the ground, mainly in Timor-Leste itself, and to have this opportunity to join with all of you in discussing how we can best achieve the goal of living together in global society.

Timor-Leste, the first country to become newly independent in the twenty-first century, has been moving ahead with nation-building, and this year (2012) marks the tenth anniversary of its independence.

For this symposium, as part of our ongoing efforts to develop an intercollegiate

network for peacebuilding, we have sought the cooperation of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies of the National University of Timor-Leste and the Columbia University Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR), and we are thus able to welcome today, from Timor-Leste, Professor Antero Benedito da Silva and Ms. Maria da Costa. We will also hear from two speakers who are involved in conflict prevention work in Timor-Leste, drawing on their experiences of reconstruction and community-building in Japan: Mr. Yohei Higuchi, a researcher at the Okinawa Peace Assistance Center, and Mr. Takeshi Ito, CEO of ASOBOT. In addition, we welcome to the panel as commentators Professor Akihisa Matsuno of the Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, who has a long career in Timor-Leste studies and has also been actively involved in aid work, and Mr. Takeshi Watanabe of JICA's Timor-Leste Office, who, for over a decade, since 1999, has helped build the new nation as a JICA staff member. I would like to thank all the panelists for kindly allowing us their precious time in joining us today.

Ochanomizu University's international collaboration work reached a major turning point in 2002 when we took part in a project to support women and the education of girls in the recovery of Afghanistan. In 2003, we established the Center for Women's Education and Development, the forerunner of the present Global Collaboration Center, and since then we have carried on a wide range of programs including teacher training for Afghani women and advanced study for women faculty members from Kabul University. At present, our research extends not only to Afghanistan but also to Timor-Leste, the Philippines, and Vietnam, and we are also working in Japan in support of the areas affected by the Tohoku earthquake disaster. Further, with the creation last year of the "Living Together in a Global Community" Study Group on our own campus, our students themselves are actively taking the lead in thinking about what they need to learn and what they can do to achieve peace and the ideal of living together in a global community.

Last academic year, we held our first Study Tour of Timor-Leste, in which our own students met with students of UNTL and observed aid work in the field. The program will continue this year, with another study tour to Timor-Leste and further exchange and research activities.

I believe it is becoming ever more important to develop a fine-tuned awareness of the world and to think about what we ourselves can do. The results will not be instant, but we must continue to pursue these efforts incrementally, step by step.

It is gratifying to see such a large attendance today, and I sincerely hope that this will be a rewarding occasion for all of you.

### Lectures

### An Analysis of Peacebuilding from Below:

38 Years of Active Nonantagonistic Student Movements for *Ukun-Rasik-an* 

Antero Benedito da Silva

Professor, National University of Timor-Leste (UNTL), and Director, UNTL Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies

### Strengthening Partnerships to Prevent and Respond to Conflict: Through the Belun Early Warning Early Response (EWER) Program

Maria da Costa

Program Manager, International Joint Program between NGO Belun and Columbia University

# JICA's Grassroots Technical Cooperation (Community-Initiated Type):

The Timor-Leste and Okinawa "Community Peace for Development" Project

Yohei Higuchi

Researcher, Okinawa Peace Assistance Center

### "Community Building" and Peacebuilding in Practice

Takeshi Ito

CEO, ASOBOT Inc.; editor-in-chief, *Generation Times*; board member, Shibuya University Network

### LECTURE

### An Analysis of Peacebuilding from Below: 38 Years of Active Nonantagonistic Student Movements for Ukun-Rasik-an

Antero Benedito da Silva

Professor, National University of Timor-Leste (UNTL), and Director, UNTL Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies



**Profile**: Antero Benedito da Silva was born April 30, 1968, in Viqueque district. After graduating from the Universitas Timor Timur during Indonesian rule, he went to Ireland in 2003 and obtained a degree in community development at Kimmage Development Studies Center. In 2005–08, he completed a master's degree in peace studies from Trinity College, Dublin, and a master's in business from University College Cork, the National University of Ireland. In 2012 he obtained a doctorate from the University of New England, Australia.

### An analysis of Peace-building from below:

38 Years of active non-antagonistic Students Movements for Ukun-Rasik-an

Ochanomizu University, Japan, 23 December 2012

Presentation:
Antero Benedito da Silva,
Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies,
Universidade Nacional Timor-Lorosae
(UNTL)

Fig.1

Good afternoon to the President of Ochanomizu University and to all the audience.

I will give a presentation about "38 Years of Student Movements in Timor-Leste." Looking at the first slide (Fig. 1), you will see the term *Ukun-Rasik-an*, which means self-rule and independence in Tetum. This term, which carries the sense "nonantagonistic," is still very popular in the villages of Timor-Leste. The concept can also be expressed as "nonviolence," but *Ukun-Rasik-an* means more than nonviolence, and that is why I have used it in my title.

My presentation has four main parts (Fig. 2).

### OUTLINE

- I. INTRODUCTION (Role of University/Basic Assumption/Pedagogy)
- II. CONTEXT (Obscurantism and Educ/Colonial state/anti-colonial state)
- III. TIMORESE STUDENT'S

MOVEMENTS

(Casa dos Timores in Lisbon/UNETIM in 1974/Clandestine Front 1980s/Post Occupation/Post UNMIT)

IV. CONCLUSION: The question of Peacebuilding First, in the introduction, I will speak about the role of universities, the basic assumptions of peacebuilding from below, and pedagogy. I want to discuss how pedagogy is linked to peacebuilding from below, because of the link between the activities of university students and peacebuilding. Next, to give you some idea about the Timor-Leste context, I'll talk about obscurantism, and about education during the colonial period, Portuguese and Indonesian influences, and anti-colonial movements. Thirdly, I will review the Timorese student movements that have arisen in these different periods.

Lastly, by way of a conclusion, I will return to the question of peacebuilding, especially as the UN is going to officially leave Timor-Leste this year.

# I. The Role of Universities, Basic Assumptions, and Pedagogy

What is the role of universities? Classically, building scientific knowledge through teaching and research has always been a very important aspect of the university's role, together with professional and human development. Today, the emphasis is on skill development preparing students to be part of society; however, this model is often criticized as elitist in nature. The new pedagogy, as seen for example in this university's involvement in social issues in Afghanistan mentioned by the Professor,

### I. INTRODUCTION

### A. ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

- SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE (teaching and Research: DISCOVERIES/INVENTIONS)
- SKILL/PROFESSIONAL AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

(TRADITIONAL ROLE: THE IVORY TOWER MODEL-ELITE/RULERS)

 BUILDING ORGANIC LINKS WITH SOCIETY (CRITICAL CONSCIENCE AND TRANSFORMATION)

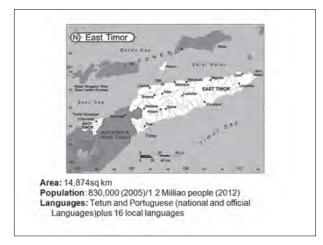


Fig.4

tries instead to build organic links, to connect teaching and research with real issues in society (Fig. 3).

Here we see a map of Timor-Leste (Fig. 4). The population is now about 1.2 million people. There are two national and official languages, Tetum and Portuguese, plus another sixteen local languages. Many years ago, Timor-Leste used to be known for its sandalwood and honey. Because of these resources, the colonial Portuguese and Dutch competed over the territory for many years. Today, those products have vanished and Timor-Leste is best known as a coffee producer (Fig. 5).

Now, I would like to talk a little about the basic assumptions underlying peace.

Peace and conflict are realities, they are part of human life. Over the generations, so many conflicts have existed in the world. Our thinking is that what you do to build peace is to think positive and give more chance to peace, to emphasize peace over conflict, in order to foster a society where people can relate amicably to one another. That's what we do to keep the world going.

Writing about "peacebuilding from below," the scholar Hiroshi Oda discusses the contributions of what are known as "nonstate actors," particularly ordinary citizens, in promoting peace, and presents a framework for understanding how peacebuilding is carried on in the world.



Fig.5

In recent years, peacebuilding has been viewed as one of the issues associated with state construction and reconstruction, particularly in post-colonial countries, and in Timor-Leste, too, it can be seen more or less in that context. In practice, there can be constraints in the peacebuilding process, but ideally we are talking about people's active involvement at all levels of the process.

In this presentation, I will discuss how universities contribute to peacebuilding by focusing on the students' movements of the past 38 years and the involvement of

### B. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

- Peace and conflict are realities part of human lives, and to build peace is to give more emphasis to peace than conflict:
- Peace-building from below refers to initiatives of non state actors in promoting peace (Hiroshi Oda 2007)
- In recent years, peace building associates with stateconstruction and reconstruction;
- People's active involvement (not simply participation) are central to ensure the real sense of ownership
- This presentation focus on the involvement of timorese students in the construction of the state and its transformation in the past 37 years of National Liberation Struggle and beyond (Colonial state destruction/RDTL Construction)

Fig.6

Timorese students in the construction of the state (Fig. 6).

First, how does pedagogy operate, how does it influence students, and how do universities actually contribute to peacebuilding? As a scientific methodology, pedagogy can be defined as a systematic intervention, but education itself is also a very political process, in that it can intervene in conflicts and transform realities.

Among the great thinkers known also as pedagogues, Socrates is famed for the words "I know that you know!," which were taken up by the young people of Athens and provoked discussion all over the city. Although Socrates was ultimately forced to drink poison, his pedagogical practice still influences our thinking today. Another was Jesus Christ, who traveled the countryside and cities around Jerusalem and taught by talking to people, by dialogue. Then there was the

### C.Pedagogy

- Commonly refers to Teaching strategies;
   It means also a systematic intervention which combines theories and practices, in the perpetuation of knowledge, and towards a holistic transformation of the existing unjust societies (Science and education are political)
- Socrates (399bc.), "I know that you know! (DIALOGUE/DEBATE BETWEEN OPOSING VIEWS)"
- · Jesus Christ
- Paulo Freire (1970), Pedagogia do Oprimido, "Education for liberation" (Brasil)
- Ronald Chilcote (2002), Pedagogy of National Liberation Struggle of Amilcar Cabral

Fig.7

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who worked with illiterate adults in rural areas in the 1960s and who argued for "education for liberation" in his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. And there was Amílcar Cabral, whom Ronald Chilcote has called a leader in Africa and who developed a "pedagogy of national liberation struggle" (Fig. 7).

# II. Obscurantism, Colonial Education, and Anticolonialism

Obscurantism refers to a policy of colonial education

### II. CONTEXT:

### A. Obscurantism and Colonial Education

- · a policy to ignore the majority to access basic education
- Timorese had an oral tradition and the Portuguese built the first school 1692.
- After 1959 revolt, it was in 1960 that the Portuguese fascist state under the regime of Estado Novo (Antonio de Oliveira Salazar 1926-1968), built the first high School (Liceu Dr.Francisco Machado in Dili)
- 1969: Established a technical School in Dili
- 1971: Antonio Carvarinho (the first Timorese student from Liceu admited to study Law in the Universidade Lisboa)
- 1972-1974: about 40 timorese student studied in Portuguese Universities.

systems that did not give the majority of the citizens a chance to access education, or that marginalized them. That was the policy of the Portuguese in Timor-Leste for many years. The first school was constructed in the 1600s. The first high schools started to open in the 1960s, but there was no university until 1974. Before that, only about 40 Timorese students had been able to study at university level. Antonio Carvarinho was one of the first Timorese students admitted to a university in Portugal, entering the University of Lisbon in 1971 to study law (Fig. 8).

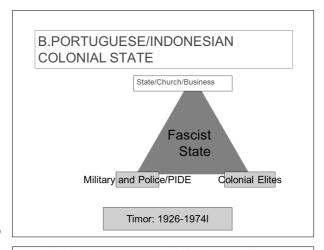


Fig.9

### C. Anti-colonialism very frequent

### Active violent revolt

- 1719: the local Reinos/small kingdom assembled in Camesa-Sual, declared war against portuguese domination, and one of the timorese base was later known as Kallako War (in Maliana), and another strongest rebellion was in Oecusse later known as the revolt of Topasse, and in West Timor it was known as Penful Battle.
- 1899-1912: Manufahi Rebelletion which lasted for 12 years (Led by Dom Duarte and Dom Boaventura), and the Portuguese had to bring in support units from Mozambique and Macao to conquist Manufahi
- 1959: there was a national moviment inspired by some indonesian deportees (by Soekarno regime), resulted in over 70 people deported to Africa and Portugal.

### Pasifist revolt:

- · Avoid paying taxes;
- · Not following orders

Fig.10

While it was a Portuguese colony, Timor-Leste was under Portugal's oppressive *Estado Novo* (New State) regime; it then became the twenty-seventh province of Indonesia and came under repression by Suharto's *Orde Baru* (New Order) government. The two were similar in nature: the military, the police, and the elites held a great deal of power, with strong links to religious groups. In this scheme of things, the elites run the businesses and support the state, and the people have no part (Fig. 9).

Under these conditions, in the twentieth century there were many anticolonial movements and revolts, such as the revolt of 1974, extending over a period of 50 years (Fig. 10).

### III. Timorese Students' Movements

### A. Casa dos Timores in Lisbon

### III. TIMORESE STUDENTS MOVEMENT

### A. Casa dos Timores in Lisbon

- The Portugues built a space named Casa de Timor in Lisbon (Rua Antero Preguerifico) to gather both timorese and portuguese who had been to timor around 1973.
- Flowers Revolution 25 April 1974 occurred and the timorese students occupied the space, Casa de Timor, and transformed it to CASA DOS TIMORES (Casa dos Mauberes). It was from there they planned to return home to initiate the transformation of timorese society;
- Class Suicide: changed their names (Vicenti to become SAHE/Antonio to become Maulear/Hamis to become Hatta).

Fig.11

The first Timorese student movement arose in Portugal in 1974. Starting around 1973, the forty Timorese students who were then studying in Portugal used to gather at a place in Lisbon called Casa de Timor (Timor House), where they met to discuss anticolonialism with Afro-Portuguese. In the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution of April 25, 1974, they occupied the Casa de Timor and developed their own educational program. Though elite in their class origins,



Fig.12

they committed themselves to what was known in Amílcar Cabral's writings as "class suicide," that is, to return to Timor, live in rural areas and work with the people to transform society (Fig. 11).

One of these students was a woman called Rosa Muki Bonaparte (Fig. 12). In 1975, she was killed on the first day of the Indonesian invasion of Dili.

### **B. UNETIM (October 1974) (Fig. 13)**

### B. UNETIM (Oct 1974)

- Five students arrived in Dili with a literacy Manual in Tetun language entitled: Rai Timor, Rai Ita nian (Timor is our land).
- Instead of pursuing their plan to establish FULINTID(Frente Unido da Libertacao de Timor Dily), they joined FRETILIN (Frenti Revolucionario da Timor-Leste Independente), a political movement calling for an immediate independence from the Portuguese administration.

Fig.13

On returning to Timor-Leste in 1974, the students started to build a student movement in the university. They had written a literacy manual in Tetum, entitled *Rai Timor, Rai Ita nian* (Timor is our land). In Fig. 14, you can see one of the illustrations, in which the man driving the car is Portuguese and the Timorese are on foot, crossing the street carrying loads on their backs. This was symbolic of the situation in Timor-Leste, and they argued that to change it, people had to come together and join hands (Fig. 15). Using this little book, they called for unity, because Timor is composed of many regions and has many languages, and they talked about building a new Timor-Leste.





Fig.14 Fig.15

However, in 1975 Indonesia launched an invasion of Timor-Leste and occupied its main cities (Fig. 16). With the Timorese leaders, the students built resistance bases or *Bases de Apoios* inside the free zones. There, they aimed to create an alternative state, with self-government by the people and their organizations, and an emphasis on social justice and solidarity. They worked with a lot of countries around the world, particularly popular movements (Fig. 17).



Fig.16
Suharto fascist regime invasion 1975

The Suharto regime used massive force to crush the Timorese resistance in operations such as Operasi

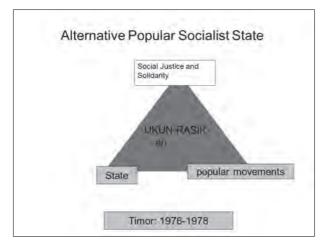


Fig.17

Kikis. This repression, which continued until the 1980s, destroyed the resistance bases built by the students (Fig. 18).

### SUHARTO FASCIST REGIME INVASION 1975

Operasi Komodo
Operasi Pagar Betis (Fence Leg
Operation)
Skylight Operation
Operasi Kikis (Annihilation Operation)
Agaisnt the Bases de Apoios leading to
the DESTRUCTION OF
the popular Socialist State of RDTL
"agrarian state" in November 1978
(estimated over 200,000 people died)

Fig.18

### C. Clandestine Front in the 1980s (Fig. 19)

### C. CLANDESTINE FRONT IN 1980S: in Occupied Territories and in Indonesia

- The young people particularly the students were predominant in the clandestine front: OJECTIL (Organizacao Juventude Estudante Communista Timor-leste) established around 1983, but was developed in Escola Catolica Cristal and Externato Sao Jose (another Catholic School) in Dili around 1987 onwards).
- Political assylum (by five timorese students in Jakarta 1986 and later RENETIL established by Students in Bali in 1988).
- Uniao of High School and University Students and Youth known as HPP-MAI established in Dili 1988.
- DSMPPTL (Students and Youth Solidarity Council in 1998 in Universitas Timor Timur (UNTIM) in Dili.

Fig.19

In the 1980s, a new type of resistance movement arose as students and other young people began to organize clandestine groups in the cities. In the late 1980s, the Indonesia-based student group RENETIL established a reform movement, working with Timorese students in Jakarta.

Inside Timor-Leste, also, a student solidarity movement arose and continued until 1999. This was an entirely nonviolent movement which never carried on any armed struggle, although some of them formed links with the resistance bases or with the armed struggle.

The student shown in Fig. 20 was studying in Australia. When he read in the newspapers that Timorese students were demonstrating in Dili, he returned to the city and joined the movement until Timor-Leste gained independence. Later, in 2010, he was killed in a car accident in Thailand.



Fig.20

### D. Students' Peace Activism in the Post-Occupation

# D. STUDENTS PEACE ACTIVISM IN POST OCCUPATION

Formers Clandestine Activists:

- United Nations Intervention/RDTL II (UNTL/Private Universities/Students in Indonesia/Cuba, Hawai etc)
- Some students remained in the resistance party FRETILIN, others built political parties, and others sustained social movements;
- Students Solidarity Council remained as a moment with its members spread out in different social groups such working in Media (TLMDC), East Timor Teachers Union (Education), Kdadalak Sulimutuk Institute (Farmers and UNAER) and GFFTL (Women Literacy Program).

Fig.21

Fig.22 Kdadalak Sulimutuk Institute (2000) Stream meet, flow great river

After independence, what did the students do? Some joined political parties; some established their own political parties. Some remained active locally in social groups, working in such areas as the media, education, and literacy, and new organizations of this kind continued to spread under the UN mandate (Fig. 21).



I was among those involving in founding this organization, the Kdadalak Sulimutuk Institut, in 2000 (Figs. 22 and 23). Its aims include agrarian reform, food self-sufficiency, education to bring awareness, and fair trade. Its name, from a poem that says "Streams meet, great rivers flow," expresses our hope that our work will eventually gather great momentum.

### Solidarity, Social and ecological Justice (ACTION RESEARCH)

- Agrarian Reform and Farmers movements (UNAER 2009):
- Food-self-sufficiency/food production (farmers cooperatives);
- Education for Consciencialization (PRA
   –Participatory Rural Appraisal/Conflict
   Transformation and Leadership
   training/Farmers School/housing
   cooperatives):
- · Fair trade and Financial cooperative.
- Base Democracy and Women Farmers.

Fig.23



Fig. 24 UNAER (Coffee farmers) I Congress 2009



Our programs include participatory rural appraisal, conflict transformation, leadership training, and setting up farmers' schools and housing cooperatives. We work with green cooperatives in Japan, in Fukuoka and Nagasaki. We have also worked with women farmers. Fig. 24 shows the first group of students.



Fig.26 750 UNAER members including women (2009)

Fig.25





Fig.27

Fig.28 President Ramos Horta in a farmers Event in Ermera 27 Fev.2012

UNAER is currently the only farmers' union movement in the country, and its congress was attended by 750 members (Figs. 25 and 26).

President Ramos-Horta attended a UNAER event in 2012 (Fig. 27). After the farmers and the students lobbied him, he vetoed a law that was about to be passed, acting in favor of the farmers once he learned that they were opposed to the law (Fig. 28).

In another area of student activism, we have links with the Student Solidarity Conference, organized by the group that awards the Student Peace Prize every





Fig.29





Fig.31 Peace Camp Youth, Institute for Peace and Conflict Fig.32 Studies, UNTL, 2007

two years. This is based in Norway, and to date 101 countries have participated. Recipients of the prize include a student from Western Sahara, where there is an ongoing movement for self-determination; the Zimbabwe National Student Union, which is unhappy with the regime in that country; the Colombian students' association; and two Burmese individuals and a Burmese students' association. The Norwegian students work with these student movements (Figs. 29–32).

After independence, the nature of the student movement changed. Once the need for secrecy was gone, rather than belonging to a single movement in which they were all involved, the students began to form new groups based on specific issues like economic justice. They still maintain their activism, but all are nonviolent. They work with humanitarian organizations and set up NGOs. They do this while studying in the universities,

### New Students Movements (2002-2012)

- Pergerakan Solidaritas Mahasiswa Timor Lorosae/Front Mahasiswa Timor Lorosae (students build NGOs to access resources)
- Create issue based Students Forums (Forum for Economic Justice)

Characteristics: activism though sometimes issue based or even incidental events, or even cooperated NGOs humanitarian works

Fig.33



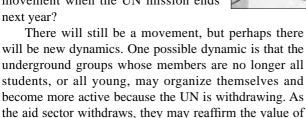


Fig.34 Fig.35

and then, working with the UN, or with donors, they participate and organize. This shows a May Day demonstration. Here they are protesting against GMOs or genetically modified crops (Fig. 33–36).

What will happen to the students' movement when the UN mission ends next year?

their own organizations.



The youth movements and the existing students' movement may organize new groups, probably on an issue basis. But there will certainly be challenges, because in the past 12 years humanitarian aid has played a large role in these communities. One challenge will be funding their activities. They will have to work somehow to obtain the necessary funds. But without their current access to funds, I think a different dynamic will emerge in the next year or two. There are now groups organizing to make their own contribution. It's a new era (Fig. 37).



NEW SOCIAL MOVIMENTS FOR TRANSFORMATION

Refers to formation veterans association and restoration of resistance organizations including youth mass/popular organizations might be well contributed to base democracy and grass root community development, but will have to transform the humanitarian culture which have taken root over the past 12 years.



Fig.36

### IV. The Question of Peace-building (Fig. 38)

### IV. CONCLUSION: The question of Peace-building

(scientific black timorese revolution/ state construction/societal transformation and more social and ecological justice)

This might refers also to holistic community development/strong social development/household economic sustainability (sufficient food/drinking water/adequate shelter/education for all), inclusive economic growth, healthy greener environment and people's active involvement in decision making and strong solidarity with people/students across the region, this might include participation in regional and global campaigns.

Fig.38



Fig.39 Students formed an army of the pens in state construction and transformation in Timor Leste



Fig.40

What questions will arise in the course of peacebuilding?

I use the term "black Timorese revolution." There is an agricultural group known as CPD-RDTL. They are present in each district and subdistrict, and they have a membership of about 500. They aim to develop agriculture, but they wear military uniforms, so everybody is scared of them. They have a plan to increase production, but because the global Green Revolution is no longer applicable, they have to find a local solution. Because seeds, chemical fertilizers, and machinery are expensive, they have to find local, low-cost technology to improve food production. They should find a new approach suited to local conditions.

These are issues that might be identified with development, or with transformation. Food sustainability will be one of the major issues, and drinking water, education, health, and social development issues will be very

important.

Although the government is putting a lot of funding into infrastructure at present, I believe that in the next few years we will need a more community-based, holistic type of development.

I always describe students as "the army of the pens." Some of them joined the big armed struggle because of the invasion. But in future they should use only the power of their pens to influence opinions, to teach, and to mobilize people (Figs. 39 and 40).

Thank you.



Fig.41





### LECTURE

Strengthening Partnerships to Prevent and Respond to Conflict:

Through Belun Early Warning Early Response (EWER) Program

Maria da Costa

Program Manager, International Joint Program between NGO Belun and Columbia University



**Profile:** Maria da Costa was born in 1974 in Ermera district. She obtained a degree in electrical engineering at the National Institute of Technology in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. In 2002, she joined the staff of the Dom Carlos Filipe Foundation, founded by Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo to support the education of orphans. She then worked for a Timorese NGO that provides vocational training, and in 2003 was involved in a project of the Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR), Columbia University, for conflict-sensitive development and conflict prevention. In 2004, she and her colleagues established the national NGO Belun to localize the joint program with CICR. Ms. da Costa has worked in areas including research on conflict at the *suco* (village) level, strengthening the NGO sector, resolving land disputes, sharing public information, and the Electoral Violence Education and Resolution (EVER) program.

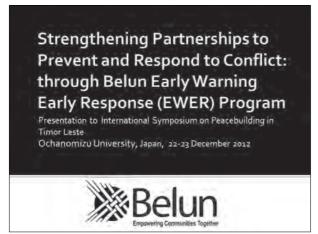


Fig.1

First, I want to say thank you to the organizers at Ochanomizu University of Japan and the Global Collaboration Center for inviting me to speak here today.

My presentation is titled "Strengthening Partnerships to Prevent and Respond to Conflict: Through Belun Early Warning Early Response (EWER) Program," and it deals with four main points concerning the Belun program being implemented in Timor-Leste. The first is what is Belun; the second is Timor-Leste's Early Warning System (EWER); the third is EWER impacts; and the fourth is EWER innovations (Fig. 2).

# Presentation structure I. NGO Belun II. Timor-Leste's Early Warning system (EWER) III. EWER Impacts IV. EWER Innovations

### I. Who Is Belun?

Belun is a national NGO established in 2004. It is based in Dili and works in all 13 districts of Timor-Leste. We have 45 staff, including 4 non-Timorese. Two of these are volunteers, and two are from the Center for International Conflict Resolution, Columbia University. They are in Timor-Leste working with Belun in a partnership to establish the EWER program. Belun's program in Timor-Leste consists of managing conflict prevention, community development, and agriculture (Fig. 3).

### I. Who is Belun?

- National NGO established in 2004
- Based in Dili, working in all 13 districts
- 45 staff including 4 non-Timorese staff
- Manages conflict prevention, community development and agricultural programs

Fig.3

### I. Belun's Mission

- Reduce tensions and prevent conflict in Timor-Leste
- Empower communities through capacity development
- Conduct research for constructive policy change

Belun's mission consists of three points: to reduce tensions and prevent conflict in Timor-Leste, to empower communities through capacity development, and to conduct research for constructive policy change (Fig. 4). Since the beginning, in 2004, our focus has been on conflict prevention; even our research and capacity development work is always linked with finding ways to achieve this primary mission.

### II. EWER

Why an early warning system for Timor-Leste?

Many people in Timor-Leste lost their homes because of the 2006 crisis. Belun is working on housing for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) community. Through a program we call Peace Strengthening, we have helped communities work toward having their own houses and land.

We have conducted a community conflict assessment in 53 sucos or villages, and have published the Final Report in book form. This general assessment deals with land disputes, which are the biggest problem; other issues are the problem of violence by the martial arts groups, and unemployment. The report will soon be available on Belun's website, also.

In 2007, we conducted election monitoring through the Election Violence Education and Resolution

# II. Why an Early Warning system for Timor-Leste?

- 2006 crisis and displacement
- Community conflict assessment in 53 sucos
- 2007 Election monitoring through Election Violence Education and Resolution (EVER)

(EVER) program. This initiative was funded by IFES (International Foundation for Electoral Systems), who provided support for 6 months' monitoring of the parliamentary elections. In that program, also, when escalating tensions that could lead to violence were identified, we made small grants to the communities. We invited communities to submit proposals, and we provided them with funding to address the issues (Fig. 5).

Next, I would like to discuss EWER.

### **EWER's Objectives (Fig. 6):**

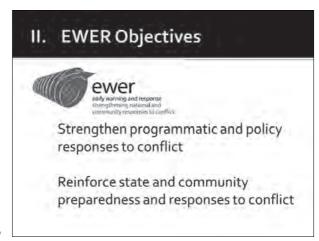


Fig.6

EWER has two objectives: first, to strengthen programmatic and policy responses to conflict; second, to reinforce state and community preparedness and responses to conflict.

### **EWER's Structure (Fig. 7):**

To achieve these objectives, members of Belun's staff of 45 work on the EWER program at the national level. Figure 7 shows EWER's structure.

In the EWER management, five staff members coordinate with the government and other institutions, national organizations, international organizations, and existing bilateral aid organizations. They report on the EWER program's monitoring of incidents of violence and situational change at the level of local administrative

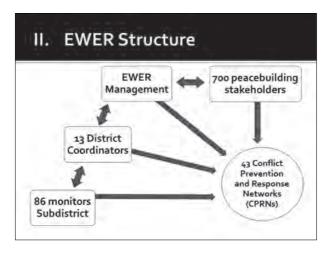


Fig.7

units.

At the subdistrict level, the main service delivery consists of 13 district coordinators. They go to the communities to collect information, organize meetings, and support the *suco* councils in resolving their own problems. Also, where there is a high risk of violence, they facilitate a response by gathering information and getting feedback, then working with the community to resolve the issue.

There are 86 volunteer monitors at the subdistrict level, working in pairs. There are 65 men and 21 women. The reason for this gender imbalance is that, unlike women in Japan or other countries, women in Timor-Leste are not accustomed to working at night, and it is necessary to ensure their security. Sometimes, they do not want to be involved in the monitoring, but Belun tries to encourage more women to become involved in EWER as monitors.

We also have 700 people enrolled as "peacebuilding stakeholders" in the EWER program. They read the reports we produce or access our website and then explain the contents to other members of their communities. In other words, they play the role of disseminating or socializing the EWER program.

As a further part of the EWER program, we have established 43 Conflict Prevention and Response Networks (CPRNs) at the subdistrict level. These

networks involve not only the subdistrict administrations but also local NGOs and international NGOs. They are members of the networks because they work in the subdistricts, they know the situation in the villages, and they can provide that information. The CPRNs are centers for sharing information, and centers for issue advocacy that bring problems to the government's attention. For example, they can first discuss an issue, say, a land dispute or a community dispute over a problem involving youth groups, and then urge the government to take action or respond.

### **EWER Methodology (Fig. 8):**

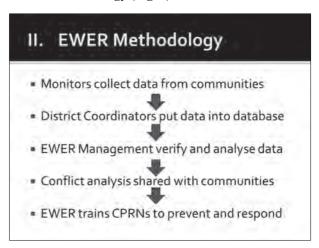


Fig.8

The basis of the EWER program is monitoring, but monitoring alone can only collect data about incidents of violence and situational change. And so we have developed the EWER method to provide systematic monitoring. The monitors fill out two kinds of report forms, an incident report and a situation report, and this information is entered in a database.

The 86 monitors in 43 subdistricts fill out incident reports about issues like group fighting, community fighting, or land disputes, and situation reports about political issues, social issues, cultural and external relations issues at the community level, and they submit them to the district coordinators. The coordinators

enter the information in the database. Further, EWER management staff verify and analyze all of this information. Thus, to collect all this information, every member of the staff has to work hard. As the next step, the resulting conflict analysis is shared with the communities.

For example, if I submit a report about an issue, a conflict potential analysis will be carried out on that issue. The 86 monitors fill out incident reports and situation reports. Based on the analyses, we compile a Situation Review every month, in a double-page spread format. I will give you the website link and you can read the Situation Reviews there.

We also produce a Trimester Report, which comes out every 4 months, but if we want to discuss issues in meetings with the community, this is too late because it means we have to wait for the report. But with the monthly Situation Review, we can determine whether violence is escalating, facilitate with the community, and encourage them to respond quickly. If there is just a small escalation, we discuss it with the group and then they can resolve it.

In addition to these programs, Belun also has a policy of carrying out research. We have produced five Policy Briefs so far, and we are currently compiling another on veterans' payments and their relationship to violence.

EWER's objectives are to prevent and respond to conflict, and we give training to the people who become CPRN members and monitors. We give the monitors 3 days' training about the monitoring system, about how to monitor incidents of violence and situation change at the subdistrict level. Then we give the CPRN members and the monitors further training about conflict transformation, at six levels. When they have completed all six levels, we can make an evaluation and decide whether to choose them to facilitate for Belun as partners.

### **Conflict Monitors (Fig. 9):**

### II. Conflict Monitors

- 86 sub-district monitors in 43 sub-districts
- Active and respected community members
- Monitor violent incidents at sub-district level
- · Share conflict data with EWER team
- · Trained in conflict transformation skills

Fig.9

Now I would like to briefly talk about the EWER monitors.

As I have already explained, we have 86 monitors in 43 subdistricts. If we had more funding, we could cover all 65 subdistricts of Timor-Leste, but there are 22 subdistricts still to be covered.

The monitors are active and respected community members (this is a EWER rule); they monitor violent incidents at the subdistrict level and share the conflict data with the EWER team.

Each district coordinator holds a meeting every 4 months so that the community can share the EWER team's information. Sometimes, depending on the issue, they may hold two meetings.

# Conflict Prevention and Response Networks (CPRNs) (Fig. 10):

Conflict Prevention and Response Networks (CPRNs) are presently active in 43 subdistricts. Each network has, at present, 25 to 30 members. We would like to increase these numbers, but it is sometimes difficult because many potential members belong to other groups and are involved in many activities. We continue to invite people to become members, all the

### II. Conflict Prevention and Response Networks (CPRNs)

- Active in 43 sub-districts
- 25-30 members each
- · Civil society, government, PNTL, monitors
- Discuss EWER conflict analysis regularly
- Apply for EWER small grants
- Implement prevention and response activities

Fig.10

same, because even if they don't attend meetings, they can access the information in the reports on the website.

Working with civil society, government, and the PNTL (National Police of Timor-Leste), we discuss EWER's conflict analyses regularly, at 4-month intervals.

Also, EWER provides small grants, according to established criteria. For example, an organization might want to implement a program without having fully assessed the situation or determined how best to respond to an issue, but we will do an in-depth analysis of conflict resolution methods and make the situation very

# II. Conflict Prevention and Response Networks (CPRNs)



CPRN members gather to to discuss EWER conflict data and analysis



CPRN organizes its own traditional conflict prevention agreement

Fig.11

clear.

We also draw up Memorandums of Understanding. These are agreements as to how the community can contribute, how Belun can contribute, and how other organizations can contribute, not only financially but in other areas, in order to solve a problem through mutual cooperation. The photographs in Figure 11 show a meeting in the Laga subdistrict, with CPRN members gathering to discuss a EWER conflict analysis and then signing a Memorandum of Understanding based on the traditional ceremony known as *Tara Bandu*.

### **EWER Partners:**

One of EWER's government partners is the National Directorate for Community Conflict Prevention (NDCCP) of the Secretariat of State for Security. The NDCCP has a program similar to Belun's EWER program, and so we have a good relationship. The NDCCP also uses Belun's reports to identify religious conflicts.

The Department of Peacebuilding and Social Cohesion (DPBSC), a division of the Ministry of Social Solidarity, is another of EWER's partners. DPBSC also has a program concerned with peacebuilding and conflict prevention in Timor-Leste. Other partners are the Provedor (ombudsman) for Human Rights and Justice

### II. EWER Government Partners

- National Directorate for Community Conflict Prevention (NDCCP)
- Department of Peace-Building and Social Cohesion (DPBSC)
- Provedor for Human Rights and Justice (PDHJ)
- National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL),
   Community Police, Border Patrol Unit (UPF)
- Secretariat of State for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI)

### II. EWER Civil Society Partners

- Judicial Systems Monitoring Program (JSMP)
- Timor-Leste Peacebuilding Working Group
  - Gender Based Violence Referral Network
  - . Local NGOs and CBOs in all 13 districts
  - Forum NGO Timor-Leste
  - Justice and Peace Commission
  - Timorense National Youth Council

Fig.13

(PDHJ); the National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL); the Community Police, Border Patrol Unit (UPF); and the Secretariat of State for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI). In our programs, there is no limit on partnerships with the government; depending on the types of issues that we identify by collecting information from the base, we can also partner with government bodies other than the ones I have mentioned (Fig. 12).

EWER also has partners in the civil society sector. As we do not collect information about domestic violence ourselves, we work with the Judicial Systems Monitoring Program (JSMP) and share their information. In addition, we work with the Timor-Leste Peacebuilding Working Group, the Gender-Based Violence Referral Network, and local NGOs, among others, sharing information and creating forums (Fig. 13).

In addition, EWER has international partners. We receive funding from the European Commission, Irish Aid, and German International Cooperation (GIZ). We also have a good partnership with the international NGO Search for Common Ground (SECG); we work together for conflict prevention, although they don't support the EWER program financially. And the Columbia University Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR) has been a good partner, working with us on designing the EWER program ever since its inception in October 2008 (Fig. 14).

### II. EWER International Partners

- International donors European Union, Irish Aid, GIZ
- International NGOs e.g. Search for Common Ground (SFCG)
- Academic partners e.g. Columbia University Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR)

Fig.14

### III. EWER Impacts

We produce a report that analyzes the potential for conflict every 4 months, in two versions, Tetum and English (Fig. 15).

### III. EWER Impacts: Conflict Potential Analysis Reports

- Identifies seasonal & geographical trends
- Published every 4 months in Tetum & English

### Example: Oe-cusse district (Passabe Sub-Dist.)

- Situated on Indonesian border
- Regular land and border disputes
- CPRN responds to conflict and informs police and Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Belun/NDPCC approach Indonesian partners

I will just mention this quickly because of the time, but EWER has produced six Policy Briefs, and has held national seminars to discuss their content (Fig. 16).

We can also see impacts in terms of community feedback from groups such as the suco councils. One local community leader has said "The importance of cultural understanding and its impact on the reduction of violence has been repeatedly highlighted by the EWER system" (Fig. 17).

### III. EWER Impacts: Policy Briefs

6 Policy Briefs + national seminars

### Example: Policy Brief on Religion (2009):

- used by Ministry of Justice to design new regulations on religious freedom
- used by NDCCP to identify religious conflict and compare conflict data

Fig.16

# III. EWER Impacts: Community feedback and engagement



"The importance of cultural understanding and its impact on the reduction of violence has been repeatedly highlighted by the EWER system".

- Antonio Ximenes, local community leader, Laga sub-district

### IV. EWER Innovations

In terms of EWER innovations, the results of EWER's monitoring of incidents of violence are reflected in the Electoral Mapping System, and these can now be seen on Belun's website (Fig. 18). The website also carries the monthly reports, the Policy Briefs, and EWER reports, and I invite you to view them there (Figs. 19 and 20).

Thank you for your attention.

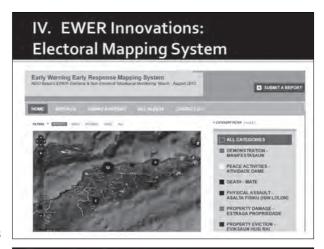


Fig.18

### IV. EWER Innovations: Monthly Situation Reviews

- Monthly reports to provide conflict data and analyses more quickly to stakeholders
- Enabled Belun to provide accurate data to police and political actors in 2012 election
- Report on EWER and other conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities.

Fig.19

### For more information

www.belun.tl www.belun.crowdmap.com

EWER Program Manager: Marilia Oliveira da Costa; bylah.belun@gmail.com +670 7727-6671



Fig.20

## Thank you for your attention...



Fig.21

Ms. da Costa at the podium



### LECTURE

JICA's Grassroots Technical Cooperation (Community-Initiated Type):

The Timor-Leste and Okinawa "Community Peace for Development" Project

Yohei Higuchi

Researcher, Okinawa Peace Assistance Center



**Profile:** Yohei Higuchi graduated from the Faculty of Law and Letters, University of the Ryukyus in 2009 and completed a master's degree at Hiroshima University Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation in March 2012. In April 2012 he joined the staff of the Okinawa Peace Assistance Center (OPAC), a nonprofit organization. As a graduate student he visited Timor-Leste on many occasions, including an internship at the UNDP Timor-Leste office, and since 2011 he has served as a local coordinator for OPAC's Timor-Leste and Okinawa "Community Empowerment for Peace" Project. Since completing his master's degree, he has been a local coordinator-researcher for OPAC. He specializes in conflict prevention, especially preventing recurrences through conflict sensitivity.

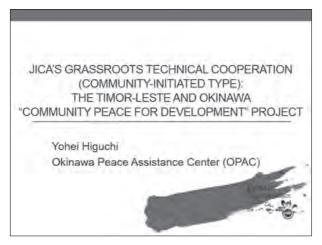


Fig.1

Good afternoon, and thank you for the introduction. Today, I would like to tell you about the Timor-Leste and Okinawa "Community Peace for Development" Project that we at the Okinawa Peace Assistance Center are carrying out.

### 1. The NPO Okinawa Peace Assistance Center

The Okinawa Peace Assistance Center (OPAC) is an incorporated nonprofit organization whose purpose is to turn Okinawans' strong desire for peace into action. It was founded in 2002. Its headquarters are, naturally,

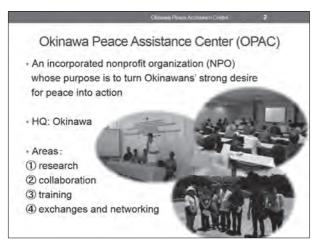


Fig.2

in Okinawa, and it is active in four main areas: research, collaboration, training, and exchanges and networking (Fig. 2).

In the first area, research, our main focus recently has been the US military base presence; just last week, we held a seminar on security issues. Collaboration refers, for example, to our election monitoring work. Actually our experience of this predates the establishment of OPAC, as one of our staff helped monitor the 2001 election. In the area of training, every year about twenty Timorese come to Okinawa under the youth training program of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and we organize and support this training. In the fourth area, for example through exchanges with Timorese, we help create networks between Okinawa and Timor-Leste and within Timor-Leste itself.

### 2. The Organization of Our Programs

Next, I will give an outline of how OPAC's work is organized (Fig. 3)

JICA has a program called Grassroots Technical Cooperation (Community-Initiated Type). Its aim is to have local governments in Japan take the initiative in furthering development in developing countries, drawing

### JICA's Grassroots Technical Cooperation (Community-Initiated Type)

- Outline

The aim is to have local governments in Japan take the initiative in furthering development in evolving countries, drawing on the knowledge and experience that exist in their own communities, mainly by providing technical guidance or accepting trainees.

The know-how of Yomitan Village, Okinawa Prefecture
 Experience in return of US army base land (nonviolent struggle)
 Strong community solidarity (youth association)
 Development of local industries (Porsche bakery, Murasaki Mura)
 Local government that promotes culture (weaving, pottery)

on the know-how—the knowledge and experience—that exists in the local governments' own communities.

The work we are doing with JICA comes under this heading as it is an initiative of Yomitan Village, Okinawa Prefecture. Yomitan's know-how has grown out of its history: almost all of the local land was seized by the US Army after the Battle of Okinawa, and the people of the village united and worked together to recover it by peaceful means. There is also their great solidarity as a community. You may know the  $eis\bar{a}$ , the traditional Okinawan Bon festival dance performed by the youth association in each community. The fact that, like other Okinawans, the people of Yomitan remain actively engaged with the eisā reflects the closeness that still exists in these communities. Also, in terms of fostering local industries, among other things Yomitan is the home of the Porsche bakery, which makes beni-imo (purple sweet potato) tarts, a well-known Okinawan treat. The local government, conscious of its role in promoting culture, also supports weaving and pottery. As we at OPAC see it, it is Yomitan's policy that, to enhance the community's quality of life, it must pursue cultural as well as material growth, and the village possesses knowhow that has grown out of this policy.

It might seem confusing that, as part of JICA's Grassroots Technical Cooperation, OPAC is involved in a program whose main actors are local governments,

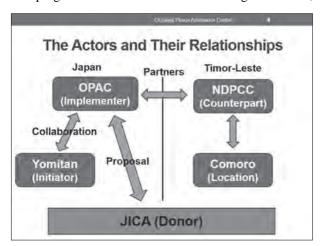


Fig.4

but the way the relationship works is that Yomitan initiates and OPAC implements. Previously, OPAC had done some training sessions in Yomitan, and the project came about because we suggested that their know-how would be valuable to Timor-Leste and we invited them to collaborate. Our Timorese counterpart organization is the National Directorate for Prevention of Community Conflicts (NDPCC). Through the NDPCC, we are conducting part of the program in Comoro Village, a local administrative unit of Timor-Leste (Fig. 4).

We have set ourselves the following goal: "A conflict prevention system rooted in local traditions will

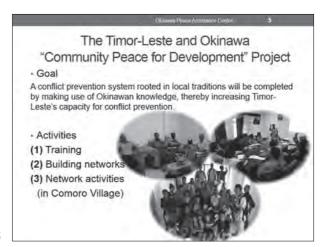


Fig.5

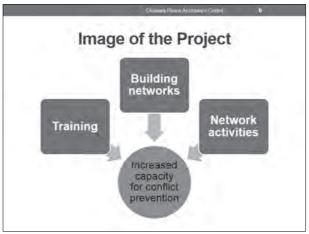


Fig.6

be completed by making use of Okinawan knowledge, thereby increasing Timor-Leste's capacity for conflict prevention." To that end, we have planned three main types of activity: training, building networks, and network activities by the networks (Figs. 5 and 6).

### 3. Content of the Program

Timor-Leste is a small island nation 4,000 kilometers due south of Okinawa (Fig. 7). Why has it become the scene of conflict prevention? Obviously, our work there is predicated on there being seeds of conflict

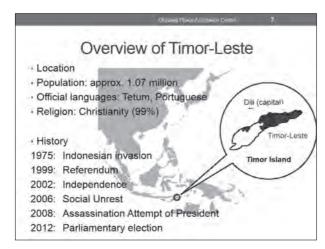


Fig.7

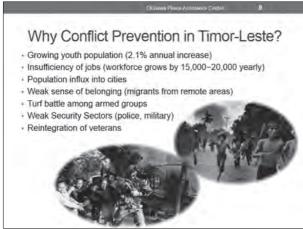


Fig.8

present. Let me summarize these briefly (Fig. 8).

The island of Timor, which is part of the Indonesian archipelago, was divided into West and East as a result of the colonial struggle between the Dutch and the Portuguese. Timor-Leste was granted its freedom by Portugal in 1975 and declared its independence, but it was brought under control and annexed by the Indonesian government. Public security in the country then deteriorated badly due to fighting between proindependence and pro-integration factions and the intervention of the Indonesian army. Timor-Leste restored its independence in 2002, sponsored by the international community. Because of this history, the situation remains complex in terms of religious, linguistic, and other factors.

Against this background, the youth demographic in Timor-Leste today is a major social issue. The youth population is increasing at an annual rate of 2.1 percent, which means that 15,000 to 20,000 people reach working age each year, and there are simply not enough jobs. The industry and the infrastructure necessary to absorb these numbers are not there. Rural youths who come to urban areas and lead a precarious existence, with no jobs or money and little sense of belonging, are liable to join the martial arts groups or gangs that clash repeatedly over territories in the cities. These groups do provide their members with a kind of safety net as they share food and

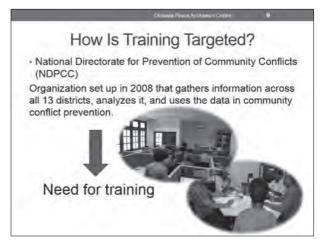


Fig.9

so on among themselves, but they are also a potential source of conflict and a cause for concern with regard to the security situation. The problem is compounded by the fact that the security sectors, including the police and the military, are not yet fully developed, and also by the question of reintegration of veterans.

Focusing in particular on the developmental needs of security sectors, we have chosen one of them as a partner and are supporting it with training program. The NDPCC gathers information across all 13 districts of Timor-Leste, analyzes it, and uses the resulting data in conflict prevention work. The organization was set up in 2008 based on lessons learned in the crisis of 2006, when order broke down badly in Timorese society (Fig. 9).

It has to be said, however, that in actual fact training personnel is not enough on its own to prevent conflicts, because of the multifaceted nature of the issues involved (Fig. 10). Under present conditions it would be difficult for the NDPCC, unaided, to address issues ranging from the economic (such as the insufficiency of jobs), to the social (such as the boredom that results from lack of purpose) and the institutional (the underdeveloped security sectors). Thus, our project consists of creating a network centered on the NDPCC as a way to address these multifaceted issues. To summarize, we are

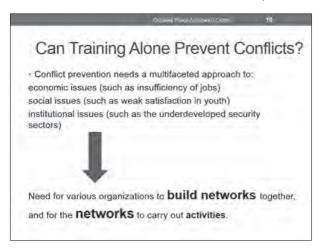


Fig.10

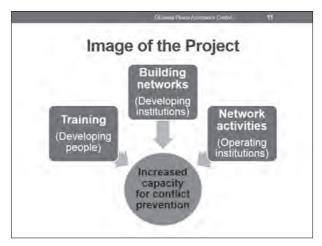


Fig.11

endeavoring to strengthen the capacity for conflict prevention through a structure made up of training (preparing the personnel), building networks (preparing the system), and activities by the networks (operating the system) (Fig. 11).

Here is the process shown on a timeline. The trained personnel build a network, the network becomes active, and the conflict prevention capacity is strengthened (Fig. 12).

As the first step, we have conducted the following training programs with the goal of producing trainees who have a high capacity for conflict prevention, having

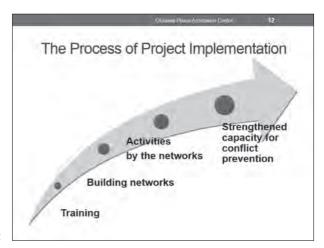


Fig.12

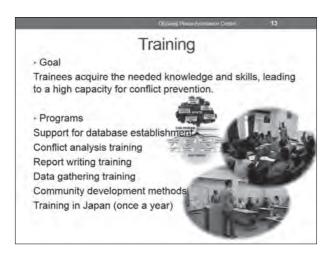


Fig.13

acquired the needed knowledge and skills (Fig. 13).

Since the first essential for successful conflict prevention is reliable data, to help build a database we have provided a computer, data management software, and training in its operation.

The NDPCC has staff members hired from unrelated fields such as accounting and personnel management, thus, they are not very familiar with the concept of conflict prevention or the methods of analysis. We therefore give them training in conflict analysis and teach them the method known as the "conflict triangle," together with report writing and data gathering, including interview techniques.

The training in "community development methods" consists mainly of workshops. It teaches, for example, techniques for facilitating dialogue when one goes to a community and gathers together the village head and other leaders, or techniques for communicating with the local people when working in a community on, say, local conflict prevention activities.

Once a year, we bring trainees to Japan. Among other activities, they learn about Okinawa's history at the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, and with the cooperation of FM Yomitan they appear as guests on local radio. We set a different topic for the training each year. The workshops in the first year were on methods of conflict prevention and community development;



Fig.14

in the second year, they were on conflict prevention and organizational management. The program is now in its third year, and we invited people from Comoro Village and provided training with the focus mainly on community development (Fig. 14).

Turning now to the second step of the process, building a network: there is a network, built while drawing on the relevant experience of Yomitan Village, that serves as a center and foundation for conflict prevention work. Four types of organizations or groups, namely, the police, NGOs, government institutions, and universities, belong to this network and address conflict

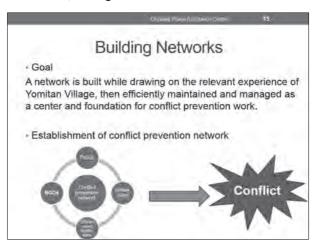


Fig.15

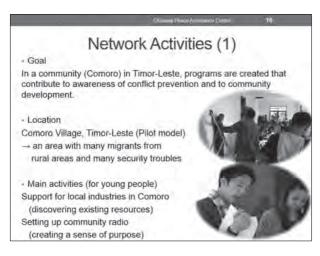


Fig.16

(Fig. 15).

The third step of the process, "activities by the networks," is made up of two parts, carried on in a specific community (Comoro) of Timor-Leste: awareness programs for conflict prevention, and programs that contribute to community development (Fig. 16).

Concretely, as the problem of youth unemployment has surfaced in Comoro, as in other parts of the country, we support local industries in such a way that we help provide jobs for young people, for example, weaving the traditional Timorese cloth known as *tais*. Also, to help offer them a sense of purpose, we are setting up a

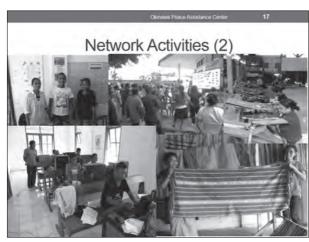


Fig.17

community radio. (This will be discussed in detail by the next speaker, Mr. Takeshi Ito.) (Fig. 17)

Comoro is an area with many migrants from rural areas and many security problems, and we believe that if we can succeed there, the project can serve as a model and be extended to other areas.

In closing, then, let me recap: OPAC's project aims to promote conflict prevention rooted in the community by developing the human element (training personnel), creating a system (building networks), and operating it (activities by the networks) in order to strengthen Timor-

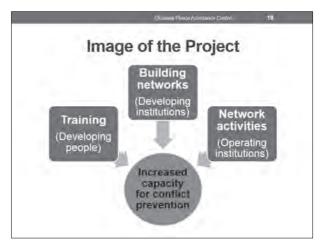


Fig.18

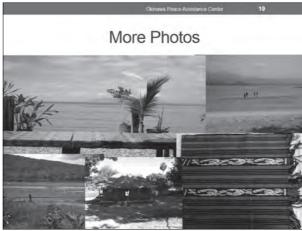


Fig.19

Leste's capacity for conflict prevention (Fig. 18).

Timor-Leste may have the image of a war-torn land, but it's a wonderful place, and I hope you will all come and visit.

Obrigado barak! ("Thank you very much!" in the language of Timor-Leste.)

Thank you.

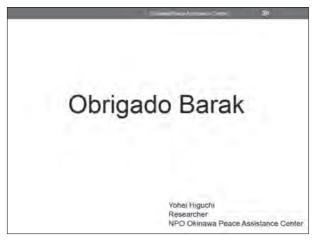
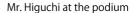


Fig.20





### LECTURE

### "Community Building" and Peacebuilding in Practice

Takeshi Ito

CEO, ASOBOT Inc.; editor-in-chief, *Generation Times*; board member, Shibuya University Network



Profile: Takeshi Ito graduated from the School of Law, Meiji University. After working for a foreign-affiliated advertising agency, in 2001 he founded the creative company ASOBOT Inc., which handles a variety of planning and production in the communications field with the concept "Designing the message to get it across." He is editor-in-chief of the tabloid-format journal Generation Times and serves on the board of the NPO Shibuya University Network (winner of a 2007 Good Design Award in the New Frontier Design category). He also teaches and does research in the Peace and Conflict Studies program of the Graduate School of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS); among other areas, he is responsible for the "Peace Communication" curriculum. which examines peacebuilding from a communications perspective and is oriented toward students from countries in conflict such as Bosnia, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Mr. Ito is a part-time lecturer in the Peace and Conflict Studies program, TUFS, and the Sociology and Communications Department, Faculty of Human Studies, Bunkyo Gakuin University (where he teaches "Media Content"); he is also a special researcher in community studies at the Research Institute for High-Life.

# PEACE BUILDING AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

Fig.1

Thank you for the introduction, and good afternoon. I expect many of you on the panel and in the audience today have a special interest, perhaps a professional interest, in peacebuilding and international cooperation, but I come from a different background. I am involved as a specialist on temporary assignment in the Timor-Leste project of Mr. Yohei Higuchi's organization, the Okinawa Peace Assistance Center (OPAC). I would like to briefly introduce myself by explaining what it is I do for a living and what skills I am trying to apply in Timor-Leste.

I first came in contact with the field of peacebuilding six years ago, when the Graduate School of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies launched a new curriculum called "Peace Communication" as part of the concentration in Peace and Conflict Studies, which are often taken by students from countries affected by conflict. Professor Kenji Isezaki, who led this move, is a professor of Peace and Conflict Studies and an expert who has done much work in Timor-Leste, and we created the new curriculum together.

In the sector in which I work, the word "communication" gets a lot of use and we all assume we know what it means, but I would like to start by taking

a look at its meaning. In Japanese, the pair of verbs tsutaeru (transitive; to send [a message]) and tsutawaru (intransitive; to get across) differ by only one syllable, but there is a huge difference in their meanings. I think peace is one of the areas in which messages tend to be put out but not to get across. Closing that gap calls for the people known in our industry as "creatives" and the skillset known as "communication." In short, by "communication" we mean the skills and techniques required to resolve that gap by utilizing a wide range of ideas.

### 1. My Work



Fig.2

Now I'd like to mention several projects that we have undertaken at my company.

### 1.1. Generation Times

This is a tabloid-format journal that envisions the shape of the new era and aims to interest people—especially young people—in social issues.

We have run a wide array of feature articles, and in fact I first met Professor Isezaki when I interviewed him for the magazine. My thoughts about the difference between *tsutaeru* and *tsutawaru* struck a chord with Professor Isezaki, and that led me to become involved

in the world of peacebuilding. As you know, in the context of conflict and peace, there is a history of communication techniques being used for evil purposes, for propaganda to whip up war sentiment. In our peace curriculum, we study how to utilize these techniques for conflict prevention and peacebuilding instead. (I won't go into detail here as we haven't time.)

For me personally, the *Generation Times* has proved to be a medium through which I encounter a variety of important issues, and sometimes a new project will develop out of such an encounter.

### 1.2. Azadi

This is a project that arose out of my encounter with the reality of the refugee issue through the *Generation Times*. We tend to think of "refugees" as being overseas, perhaps in camps supplied with aid by NGOs. Through an encounter with a young Kurdish girl, however, I learned the tragic reality there are many refugees here in Japan who are not recognized as refugees.

I wanted to go a step further than just raising awareness of this issue through the magazine. And so I started a project named Azadi, which is Kurdish for peace, with the concept of providing support, not as aid, but by enabling the refugees to realize their own potential.

Azadi focuses on the embroidery known as *oya*, a skill handed down from mother to daughter over generations of Kurdish women. We have been working with the *oya* makers to develop accessories and other items. The fact is that when an NPO develops goods, often the only outlets it can find are charity events, but we have collaborated with the young designers of some of Japan's leading fashion brands, designers whose work is seen at the opening of the Tokyo Collection, to develop products aimed at getting the attention of people who are not already interested in the refugee issue, and we have managed to place these products in retail stores. I think this illustrates one way in which it is valuable for our industry to become involved in this field.

### 1.3. Shibuya University Network

There is no official campus called "Shibuya University." What it is a nonprofit organization for community development, established by me six years ago, which envisions the whole of the Shibuya district as one big university campus. The project takes a versatile approach to fostering communication among the local community by harnessing communication skills, that is, the skills to ensure that the message gets across, and putting them to work for the sake of community development.

We hold events on the third Saturday of the month. If we think of the whole district as a campus, every building is a potential classroom—the Omotesando Hills complex, Meiji Shrine, you name it. For example, we have taken an unusual spot like a tunnel of the Tokyo Metropolitan Expressway and converted it into a classroom, or turned a clinic at the Japan Red Cross Medical Center into a classroom and arranged for one of the doctors to teach us about the meaning of palliative care. Through schemes like this, we unearth and identify as potential local resources the wisdom and knowledge that have accumulated in the district in the form of its buildings and the people who live and work there.

Over six years, we have opened up about 300 "classrooms" and had nearly 700 local people with interesting insights and knowledge act as teachers. These are not people whose day job is teaching. A mother who is a whiz at sorting her household's garbage for recycling might give a class, or a high-school girl might give a class for schoolteachers, telling them what isn't getting across in their lessons. Basically, we provide a structure in which members of the public learn from one another, choosing topics that they are uniquely qualified to teach.

Also, just as a regular university has its festivals, its study sessions and circles, various activities have come into being as we have explored the equivalents of study sessions and study circles in the local community. This has become a very meaningful element in terms of community development.

In 2007, the Shibuya University Network received

the Good Design Award. I think this marked a very significant turning point for our industry, as it was recognized that design in community development can mean "editing" existing resources, rather than constructing tangible things like roads and buildings.

I wouldn't say it's because of the prize, but we now have sister "universities" all over the country, from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa in the south, and this year a sister school is being created in Korea. We think it would be great if people everywhere would turn their communities into campuses in this way.

### 2. The Project in Comoro Village, Timor-Leste



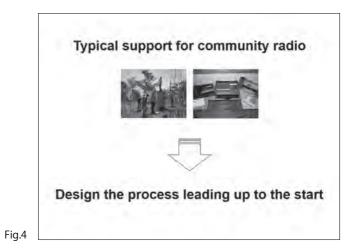
Fig.3

I have been involved in the work of Mr. Higuchi and his colleagues for about three years now. The idea is not to build hardware, but to see what we can do in a place like Timor-Leste through ideas that give rise to communication among people. Specifically, we are pursuing the project of creating a community radio for peace in Comoro Village.

Supporting community radio is a quite common form of international cooperation, and JICA is no exception, but let me say a little about how our effort differs from more typical projects.

In Timor-Leste, to set up a community radio station, it costs about 2 to 3 million yen for the equipment alone,

the mixers and so on. Support for community radio normally takes the form of providing the equipment, but we have emphasized not just the physical side but the overall design of the project; that is to say, we are trying to design the process leading up to the start of broadcasting so that, wherever possible, it will be tied in with community development (Fig. 4).



Let me explain this a little more. Our ultimate goal is to find ways, through this project, of building community in Comoro, that is, building interpersonal relationships in the village. To do this, as you heard earlier from Mr. Higuchi, we have started mainly with the young people, getting them to form teams, incrementally, and then working outwards from there. The OPAC staff are not resident in Timor-Leste and neither am I; thus we have to do this community-building work while going back and forth from Japan. This is really very difficult. And so we need to devise incentives so that the local people are motivated to keep working on the project, and on community development, even in our absence (Figs. 5 and 6).

For example, probably every NGO, in carrying out its projects, does a needs survey. To support community radio, naturally we have to find out what broadcasting and receiving equipment is available, what kinds of programs people want, and so on. The difference is that

# The process leading up to the start

Fig.5

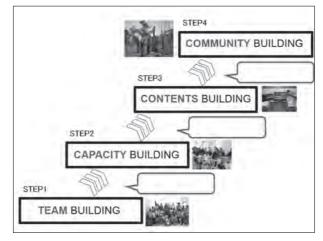


Fig.6

we decided to place this research entirely in the hands of the young people of Comoro.

The survey covered about 2,000 households. As I'm sure you know, conducting a survey is rather unexciting work that can become tedious. We therefore thought of a scheme to get them involved without making it seem too much like a survey. First, we invited professional journalists to speak at a one-day seminar on "interview training" or "journalism training." The young people were keen to learn interview techniques as they were interested in becoming journalists or acquiring newsgathering skills. Then, as an opportunity to put what

they had just learned into practice, we asked them to go out into the community with questionnaires and do the survey (Fig. 7). From the community's perspective, this could also be regarded as advance PR for the radio station, provided by the young people of the village.

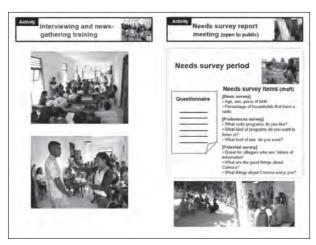


Fig.7

Actually, Timor-Leste and its capital, Dili, already have quite a few community radio stations, even without our effort. We have to make sure that we do not compete with them, so to speak, and so we have set up a system for working with the existing stations and other media by having young people from Comoro do internships at nearby stations, by asking what programs would like them to make and presenting proposals for joint productions, and by allowing time for them to learn the minimum skills necessary to run a radio station.

Also, there would be no point in us Japanese coming up with a name for the station. We are thinking of holding an event where people in the village vote for their preference among four or five names based on ideas put forward by the young people. This would involve the people of Comoro and encourage them to take an interest in the station and form an attachment to it (Fig. 8).

Because we are building in devices of this sort at each stage of the project, we are allowing about a year to 18 months to get the station running. It would not take

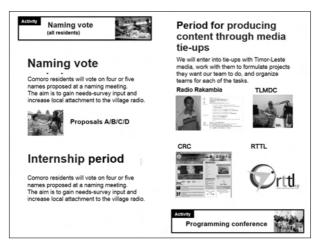
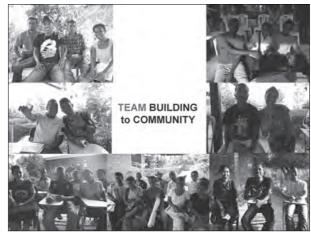


Fig.8



Fia.9

that long if we were merely supplying the equipment.

There is now a core of young members in Comoro who have come together over about two years, and in order to extend their team-building out into the community, they are inviting more and more of the villagers to join them (Fig. 9).

This approach may be highly unusual for a community radio, but it is common in a certain field in our sector. To highlight the similarity, let's call what we're doing "cooperative radio" (Fig. 10).

"Cooperative" housing, a new model of apartment

# From Community Radio to Cooperative Radio Motivation Design

Fig.10

living, is currently attracting attention in the architecture and housing industry. Whereas the residents of a typical Japanese condominium building tend to have little contact with their neighbors, in a "cooperative" the prospective owners sign up before the building is even constructed. They discuss their needs, buy the land together, and create the building they will live in, deciding together where to put common space, allocating the units, and so on. Thus, one does not find oneself moving into a finished building where nobody knows their neighbors. The term "cooperative housing" refers to this approach of making use of the pre-completion

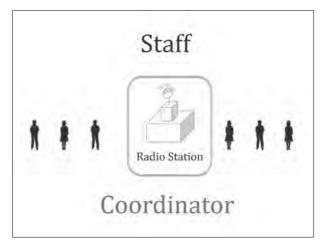


Fig.11

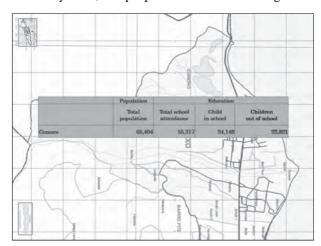
process to create a community. We are trying to create community in Comoro by taking a similar approach to the radio station.

I've already mentioned "motivation" as a keyword, and I want to emphasize the importance, in designing projects like this, of turning the process itself into a source of motivation by ensuring that what the local people themselves want to do or are actually doing becomes part of it, rather than handing over a readymade product. I make a point of always incorporating mechanisms to enhance motivation in my projects.

In the future, local people will staff the radio station, and we hope they will take on a kind of community coordinator role at the same time (Fig. 11). I believe this is extremely important. As local young people become more and more involved with the station, their networks and their influence will extend into the community and serve as outreach. As Mr. Higuchi has noted, there are many armed groups and factional struggles in Comoro, and we want to use the radio in part as a forum that can help defuse that situation.

Lastly, I would like to talk about one thing we plan to do once the station goes on air.

In Comoro, population 65,000, there are currently nearly 24,000 children who have quit school at the presecondary level, and people want to do something about



Fia.12

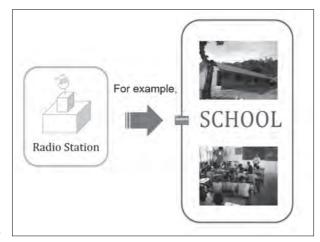


Fig.13

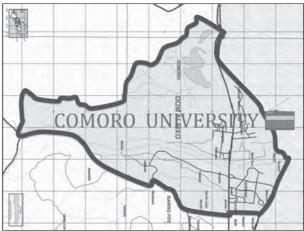


Fig.14

the problem of these children's education (Fig. 12). And so we are asking ourselves whether, instead of treating radios as mere music boxes, we could use the station to turn the whole of Comoro into a school campus, not unlike the Shibuya University Network that I talked about earlier (Figs. 13 and 14).

If you picture the Open University of Japan or NHK radio courses in Japan, you'll get the idea. For example, in Timor-Leste many girls around high-school age speak English fluently, and we'd like to have English conversation courses taught by young people like these, or recipes taught by mothers who know everything there

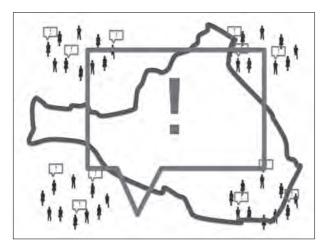


Fig.15

is to know about traditional cooking, and to make such courses the model of community radio in Comoro. We think this could become an important program (Fig. 15).

There is a Japanese word that sounds the same as the word for "education" (kyōiku) but is written "collaborative learning," and we want to make that transition. I am attempting to identify both the community's needs—education—and also the seeds or latent potential present in the community, and to incorporate both of these fully into the project (Fig. 16).

# Find Needs

From Education to Collaborative Learning

Find Seeds

# 3. "Community Building" as a Means of Peacebuilding



Fig.17

Lastly, concerning the need for such projects, I would like to talk about how I think it relates to peacebuilding.

When I first became personally involved in this field, my impression was that in peacebuilding projects the focus is very much on improving infrastructure like roads, bridges, and schools, or what specialists call "development."

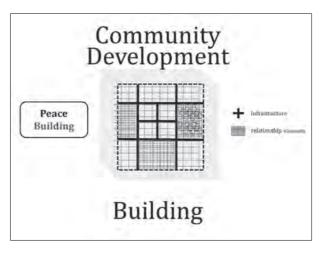


Fig.18

But can true communities really be built through development of this hardware kind alone? "Community" has become a keyword in Japan today as we search for ways to revitalize local districts through their intangible assets, and I think we will need to ask the same thing in the actual practice of international cooperation (Fig. 18).

What do I mean by intangible assets? Well, as I see it, it all comes down to developing interpersonal relationships.

Many conflicts around the world today are internal, not between states. From a communications perspective, the people killing one another are neighbors, not

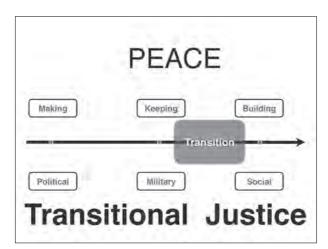


Fig.19

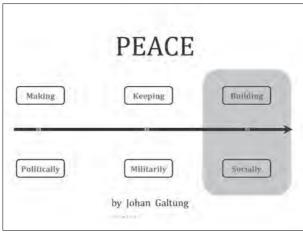


Fig.20

strangers, and I think peacebuilding must tackle the psychological issues of communication, namely, what must be done to enable these people to live together in the same areas.

This might be called "relationship-building." If the presence of a relationship can be shown as a line between the parties, the kinds of project I have in mind are those that will make each of the lines thicker. In other words, I ask myself what is needed in a project to make the lines more resilient.

As part of peacebuilding of this kind, I think that seeking "transitional justice" through projects like the

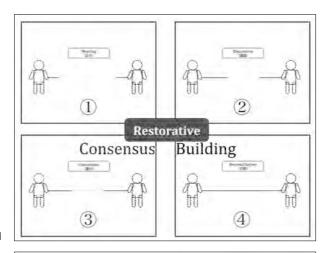


Fig.21

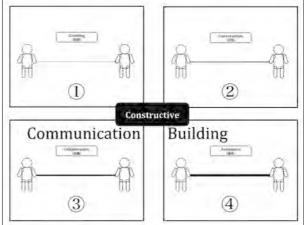


Fig.22

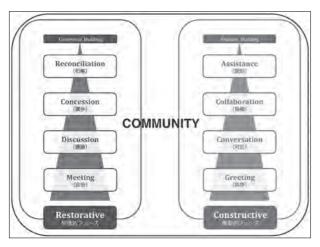


Fig.23

Commission for Truth and Reconciliation is one of the few attempts that have been made to squarely address this question of relationships in the community (Fig. 19). Now we are in a phase of gradually reconnecting severed relationships, and it is a question of how to build consensus toward that end (Fig. 20).

To sum up, then, in the area of intangible assets, both restorative and constructive projects are necessary. In the restorative phase, broken relationships in the community are restored (Fig. 21); in the constructive phase, where relationships exist but are fragile, as in Comoro, they must be strengthened proactively (Fig. 22). In working with OPAC, I am conscious of the task of building community from both of these aspects (Fig. 23).

Thank you for your attention.

Mr. Ito at the podium



## **Panel Discussion**

## **Participants**

Antero Benedito da Silva

Professor, National University of Timor-Leste (UNTL), and Director, UNTL Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies

#### Maria da Costa

Program Manager, International Joint Program between NGO Belun and Columbia University

#### Yohei Higuchi

Researcher, Okinawa Peace Assistance Center

#### Takeshi Ito

CEO, ASOBOT Inc.; editor-in-chief, *Generation Times*; board member, Shibuya University Network

#### **Commentators**

Akihisa Matsuno

Professor, Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University

#### Takeshi Watanabe

Project Formulation Advisor, JICA Timor-Leste Office and Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, Government of Timor-Leste

#### **Facilitator**

Megumi Kuwana

Lecturer, Ochanomizu University Global Collaboration Center

#### **Profiles of Commentators**



Akihisa Matsuno

Professor, Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University

**Profile:** Akihisa Matsuno completed undergraduate and graduate degrees at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. He was a professor at Osaka University of Foreign Studies before assuming his current post in 2007. His research interests are international politics, conflict studies, and Indonesia and Timor-Leste. He served as an electoral officer in the UN Mission in Timor-Leste (the referendum mission), and as a research advisor to the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste. He is secretary of the Osaka East Timor Association and chair of the Japan NGO Network on Indonesia (JANNI). His publications include *Higashi Timōru dokuritsushi* (A history of East Timor independence) (Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 2002).



#### Takeshi Watanabe

Project Formulation Advisor, JICA Timor-Leste Office and Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, Government of Timor-Leste

Profile: Takeshi Watanabe graduated in 1987 from the Faculty of Agriculture, Hokkaido University, and joined the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). In 1995 he earned a master's degree in International Agricultural Development from the University of California at Davis. He served at JICA's Indonesian office in 1997–2000, and has been involved with support for state building in Timor-Leste since 2000. After being responsible for Indonesia and Timor-Leste in the regional department of JICA headquarters, in 2003–05 he was sent to Timor-Leste as an aid coordination advisor and helped coordinate foreign aid in the post- independence period. After a period at JICA headquarters, in 2009–11 he was posted to the Afghanistan office, where he was in charge of planning and implementing aid for reconstruction during the ongoing conflict. He has held his present positions since November 2011. He is the author of two chapters of *Higashi Timōru o shiru tame no 50 shō* (50 keywords for understanding East Timor) (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2006).



#### Moderator (Harumi Kitabayashi):

Now we come to the panel discussion. The facilitator will be Megumi Kuwana, who is an Lecturer at the Ochanomizu University Global Collaboration Center. Ms. Kuwana has been involved in Timor-Leste, both in humanitarian assistance and in research, since immediately after the country's independence.

**KUWANA Megumi:** Good afternoon, and thank you for the introduction.

In Part One, we heard from four speakers with diverse backgrounds who talked about examples of new peacebuilding activities from below, or from the community level, involving various collaborations and taking into account the local conditions and history.

In Part Two, the panel discussion, I would like to proceed as follows. I will first ask the two commentators to give us their commentaries on the four lectures. The speakers will have a chance to respond or elaborate, and then I will select the most salient questions among those received in writing from

the audience during the break and put them to the panelists. I'm afraid our time constraints won't allow for a direct discussion between audience members and the panelists, but we have arranged a reception afterwards, and I hope you will all take part.

Now I would like to ask Professor Akihisa Matsuno of Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, for his comments.

## Commentary 1. Akihisa Matsuno

Thank you for the introduction.

Timor-Leste is currently in the peacebuilding phase, but this follows a very long phase of conflict resolution. As a longtime observer of the Timor-Leste question, I would like to comment on the connections between these phases that came to mind as I listened to the various topics we have heard discussed today.

I have three main points.

First, the peacebuilding referred to in the topic is a restricted sense of the word . "Peacebuilding" can be defined as doing everything possible, after the end of a conflict, to ensure that it does not recur and thereby to establish a lasting peace, but the discussion today has been about peacebuilding based on peace in the community. We should bear in mind that it is only one part within the overall context of post-conflict peacebuilding in Timor-Leste.

There are in fact two parties to the Timor-Leste conflict: Indonesia and Timor-Leste. But when discussing peacebuilding in Timor-Leste, there is a general tendency, as we have seen today, to speak only of Timor-Leste and not mention Indonesia at all. This is partly because when the discussion turns to international relations, the subject becomes too big, and then we are out of our depth. But in discussing peacebuilding after the resolution of the Timor-Leste question as an issue within the broad international context, we really cannot ignore Indonesia. That is my first point.

To take a specific example, the Indonesian army was a major problem in the conflict in Timor-Leste. They invaded and they violated human rights, and this was a huge issue even in 1999, shortly before independence. Now that the Indonesian army has withdrawn, it may not be such a problem for Timor-Leste, but it is in Indonesia itself. When the Aceh conflict intensified in 2003-04, 1,500 people were killed in just one year. That is the same as the number killed in 1999 in Timor-Leste, the year that the referendum was held there. In other words, the Indonesian army has not changed its ways at all. Conflict continues in Papua and has greatly intensified in the last two or three years, and the army is deeply involved there, also.

Thus, as things stand today, the important question of what to do about Indonesian militarism has tended not to come within the scope of peacebuilding in post-conflict Timor-Leste. So the first point I want to raise is that, even though it brings in international politics, we should in fact be thinking about this issue.

My second point is this: I don't mean to suggest that today's topic is too restrictive. The forms of peacebuilding we have heard about today are a variant of the definition I gave according to first principles; they are peacebuilding as equated with state-building. This is very important in Timor-Leste. You will have noticed the speakers today using a good many terms that are unrelated to conflict, such as "developing human resources" and "student movements"; these are important topics that naturally come up in the context of state-building in Timor-Leste. We should remember that when people talk about "peacebuilding," the word may cover things that are not part of its definition per se.

The issues presented today, seen from the perspective of someone like myself who is mainly concerned with politics, are almost synonymous with "building democracy." When we ask what should be done in a post-conflict or newly independent society to build a country in which violence will not spread again, I think it is absolutely essential to build democracy. By its very nature, this cannot be done by communities alone. The state must construct democratic institutions; at the same time, democracy must take root

as a culture and, ultimately, the spirit of democracy must permeate into homes, schools, and workplaces. In that sense, peacebuilding from below is, I think, almost synonymous with finding ways to build democracy in one's own immediate environs. Thus, we can see very clearly why the university students we heard about earlier are racking their brains over how to solve a wide range of problems in Timor-Leste nonviolently.

As Dr. Antero spoke very briefly, the context may not have been entirely clear to everyone, but the Timorese independence movement has a long history, and it flowered initially around 1974–75, before the Indonesian army invaded. It was a short-lived national liberation struggle or movement, but at that time there were young activists who wanted to reform Timorese society as a whole, and that is where the ideological roots of today's student movement lie. It represented what used to be called "African-style socialism," or what I would call "socialistic populism." I would have liked to hear the speaker elaborate a little more on the significance of talking about this in the context of Timor-Leste today.

What it involves is young people who live in the capital going to outlying areas to do the work of building the nation. The capital of Timor-Leste originated as a colonial city where everything was concentrated. This structure, in which initiatives must start in the capital and work outward, has remained the same since colonial times, and I think that the process whereby young people, responding to outside stimuli, study in the capital and

disseminate what they learn to the whole country, or what we might call the youth movement, can be viewed as an agent of modernization.

We also heard about the tensions in communities in conflict. The social tensions that exist today are of a rather different order from those of the original Timor-Leste conflict, which was fought over questions such as independence or integration into Indonesia. Present-day tensions revolve around unemployment, the emerging gap between rich and poor, and increasing migration, together with an increasing population influx into the cities. The same phenomenon of rising social tensions in new areas where strangers congregate can be seen in Indonesia, where community disputes occur most often in the newly developed areas around the metropolis of Jakarta. Timor-Leste is following exactly the same pattern. It is against that background that the initiatives in which today's speakers are involved are looking for ways to solve problems nonviolently, that is, to advance things democratically at the community level.

One more thing in this connection. It is a common pattern for independence movements to be united until the moment they win independence, and then to fragment and turn their weapons on one another. That is exactly what happened in Timor-Leste. The 2006 internal crisis of the independence movement occurred in a new context, with new points of contention and new actors, but with all the baggage of the past. It seems to me that this 2006 crisis is uppermost in the minds of the speakers today, rather than the independence movement of past

decades.

My third and last point concerns what form Japan's contribution should take. I think it might be difficult for Japan to win trust for its peacebuilding and reconciliation work, and this is understandable. Japan as a nation can hardly be said to have a sterling record of achievements in such areas. We quarrel quite frequently with neighbors like Korea and China, and when it comes to such things as pursuing the question of responsibility for the war, there is a mood among the Japanese that says it's better not to talk about it. To advocate reconciliation and peacebuilding in Asia is something that Japan has set itself as a project, but unless we first show ourselves willing to follow through and actively achieve reconciliation with Korea and China, it strikes me as a not entirely credible stance under the present circumstances.

We must also, surely, take into account the fact that Japan occupied Timor-Leste for three and a half years during World War II. As a longtime member of the movement that exists in Japan in support of Timor-Leste, I think the problem of the harm we inflicted during the war is an unresolved issue that we cannot sidestep. The movement is currently addressing issues left by the wartime occupation, including the "comfort women" issue (or wartime sexual slavery), but unless the Japanese show a genuine and wholehearted willingness to do something in the light of such considerations, I think peacebuilding in Asia might be difficult.

The speakers and their colleagues

engaged in the projects we heard about today are admirable people, but the whole nation of Japan must gain this kind of image. That is the responsibility of the Japanese people as a whole. That is the final issue I want to raise: I suggest that we cannot undertake peacebuilding in Asia without touching on what the Japanese government should do, and what Japan as a society should do.

**KUWANA:** Thank you, Professor Matsuno. Professor Matsuno has looked at the significance of the four lectures from the perspectives of the political situation, international relations, and history, and has raised three important issues. Later I will ask the speakers to respond to these points.

Now, I will call on Mr. Takeshi Watanabe, who is an officer of the JICA Timor-Leste Office and advisor to the Timor-Leste Ministry of Finance.

#### Commentary 2. Takeshi Watanabe

Thank you for the introduction.

As I work for the government of Timor-Leste, I would like to take a slightly different approach, that is, from the perspective of the central government. The title of today's symposium is "Timor-Leste: Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level," but I rather would like to talk about the initiatives being undertaken at the national and international levels.

Timor-Leste today is categorized as a fragile state. The group of fragile states known as "the g7+" was formed several years ago. It now has 18 member countries, most of them conflict-affected fragile states; they include Sierra Leone,

Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Afghanistan, and Timor-Leste, and so on. At the High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness held in Busan, Korea, in November last year (2011), led by this group, the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States was presented and endorsed by more than 40 countries and organizations to date. Efforts are now being made to link this approach to what is known as the post-Millenium Development Goals, or post-MDGs.

The New Deal has three main components. The first is "Peacebuilding and State-building Goals (PSGs)"; the second is what is known as "FOCUS," an acronym which stands for new ways of engaging to support country-led transitions out of fragility; and the third is "TRUST," an acronym which stands for ways of providing and managing external assistance for this purpose.

Five PSGs have been established: legitimate politics, security, justice, economic foundations, and revenues and services. I would like to outline the discussion concerning these points that is taking place in the Timor-Leste context.

Starting in July 2012, the government led a Fragility Assessment with the participation of the universities, civil society, donors, and other stakeholders. This is a process as advocated in the New Deal, whereby people analyze and decide for themselves what stage they are at and what their goals are, rather than these things being imposed from the outside.

The final report is not published yet, but let me give you a summary of the findings for the five PSGs. For the first goal, "legitimate politics," the assessment recognizes that, all things considered, the process has been moving ahead more or less smoothly since independence, and that political leaders are committed to the stability of the state. However, it points out the need for civic education on the political process, especially in remote areas.

The second component, security, is also reported to be progressing smoothly. As Dr. Antero discussed, the UN Mission will withdraw, but the security framework is reportedly functioning, broadly speaking; such problems that exist concern the border area with Indonesia. Facilities and human resources need still further improvement, however, and improving equipment and training levels are tasks that lie ahead.

The third component, justice, reportedly still leaves much room for improvement, with various problems in the areas of both personnel and status. In particular, the language barrier is identified as one of challenges in creating a system that will increase people's access to justice. I should explain that the laws in Timor-Leste are basically all written in Portuguese, but whether many people can actually fully understand such texts in Portuguese is very doubtful.

The fourth component, economic foundations, is considered the greatest challenge. Over the last three years Timor-Leste has achieved double-digit economic growth, but, this has been achieved mainly through increased government spending. Last year saw inflation of about 10 percent, and so real growth is, in effect, written off. Also, because the economy is highly

import-dependent, there is a need for development of domestic economy. The report also cites a need for decentralization of some authorities to district level in the better delivery of basic services.

The fifth component, revenue and services, also faces major hurdles. The state structure is dependent on the Petroleum Fund, which generates over 90 percent of state revenues, while those from taxation and other sources are very meager; thus, other resources to support the state are necessary. The assessment also calls for better accountability and transparency in relation to service delivery.

That is Timor-Leste's own analysis of where it stands and where improvements are needed. Peacebuilding is currently very much a matter of state-building in Timor-Leste, as Professor Matsuno was saying, because keeping fragility to a minimum is probably an essential condition for building a state with few security problems. In that connection, creating job opportunities, especially for young generation, is a high priority. Also identified as issues or challenges are pursuing equity and a better distribution of wealth, in view of the widening of economic disparity in recent years.

The Timor-Leste government is now pursuing these improvements. If I might ask the speakers a question: the central government plays an important complementary role in conflict prevention at the community level, but could you comment on how you evaluate government initiatives of this kind, or what, in carrying out your work, you understand to be the role of the

government?

I have one further comment, about foreseeable conflicts in the future. As Professor Matsuno said, the conflict prior to 1999 and the conflict of 2006 were completely different in nature, but the situation you described in your presentations seems to have become, by now, rather different from the conflict of 2006. In particular, you mentioned land disputes, fighting between gangs groups, and so on. I would like to ask the speakers, who are working at the national or community level, to elaborate a little about what kind of conflict factors we should foresee for the future.

Thank you very much.

#### **Questions and Answers**

**KUWANA:** Thank you. Mr. Watanabe's comments have fleshed out our understanding of the situation from the perspective of central government policy, with "fragility" as the keyword.

Now, I would like to ask our four speakers to respond to the issues raised by Professor Matsuno and Mr. Watanabe. Since our time is limited, I'm afraid I must ask each of you to keep your remarks to just 2 or 3 minutes.



**DA SILVA:** I have a few points, but I'll make it short.

First, there is the role of the students in state-building—"construction" and

"transformation." Transformation is a concept that might emerge in the post-UN mission in Timor. That's why I mentioned new social movements that may exist with new dynamics in a different context, which is very much a Timorese one. That might answer Mr. Watanabe's question about the role of the state or the government, whether it will become a source of peace or a source of conflict.

As I mentioned before, in the colonial period, the government or state had a different nature where you had a very strong military, both in Indonesia and in Portugal. Timor-Leste has tried to construct a new and different state. This question might become a central issue in the coming years as we see how policies are developed, how people are participating in policies or involved in policies, and then, also, how the economic questions are answered; for example, how we are going to transform an economy based on dependency on oil. These questions are indeed crucial.

I think that the central issue, above all, is how do people play a role in peacebuilding and state construction in the coming years to ensure that the state does indeed become a source of peace rather than conflict. That means we must avoid the past mistakes of states, and right now many governments in Europe, for example, are in the midst of crises. So we are in a very, very crucial moment, I think, for the next year at least.

Lastly, concerning the question of civil war, there have been many descriptions of the Timor-Leste conflict as a civil war. But I think this needs to be understood in a different way. Professor António Barbedo de Magalhães of the University of Porto in Portugal has written a book. He is a Portuguese-Timorese involved in the Timorese issue, and in his book he talks about there being external interests and local actors.

The conflict in Timor-Leste in 1975 was part of the Cold War. The geopolitical risk that Professor Matsuno was talking about provoked crisis in Timor and the Indonesian invasion within just one month.

The 2006 crisis happened while the UN mission was in Timor. The question then becomes whether it was more Timorese, a kind of civil war, or an external imposition or involvement.

I think the key to future success in Timor-Leste is state construction and transformation with a high level of participation of the people. Thank you.



**DA COSTA:** Thank you. I want to answer the point about conflict prevention and the rule of the government.

The new government of Timor-Leste, unlike the previous government, places great importance on working with civil society. For example, the Minister of Finance has involved Belun, an NGO, as a focal point for giving feedback or ideas about the fragile state. We also give them feedback on issues linked with Belun's program, concerning measures

that they can implement for the future.

There are others in the government asking what is its role working with civil society, because civil society is too complex for the government. And some think that if civil society plays an active part, the government, through joint initiatives, will be more active. This means that when government is viewed as part of the community, it shows responsibility.

There is also interest in the government regarding a law about the religious issue. People have a right to access to religion, but we need regulation to minimize the risk of escalation of violence. It is important for the future to have a law enabling such measures to be implemented in our country.

Also, for example, the government wants to connect with civil society to implement programs linked with youth and those linked with women. Very good approaches like this can be seen in many areas.

I think that we NGOs have a very important role in relation to the government now. The government's current approach, as it aims to work with civil society, I think is very good. Thank you.

**KUWANA:** Thank you. Now I will call on Mr. Higuchi.



**HIGUCHI:** I would like to make three comments.

The first concerns Professor Matsuno's point about the contribution of Japanese society. I often talk to members of the community in Timor, and it's the hardware side that attracts their attention—they say that Japanese technology is amazing. In fact, Japan provides a considerable amount of aid in terms of hardware, and large sums have been invested in such things as improving the water supply and roads to Dili. Thus, in terms of hardware, Japanese aid has been quite effective in its own way. But in future I would like to see us strengthen our aid in the intangible areas at the same time.

In particular, quite a few young people want to come to Japan for education. Though still at the idea stage, I think that, say, providing a scholarship system might allow us to strengthen the relationship between Japan and Timor-Leste in the area of intangibles.

The other two points were "What are the main conflict factors we should foresee?" and "What is the government's role with regard to conflict at the community level?"

First, regarding foreseeable conflicts: working together with the government, I have the impression that there has been a recent increase in conflicts, albeit minor ones, relating to public works projects. These are conflicts over what might be called rights and interests, that is, which communities get the projects, where the technical experts are sent first. This is related to how the government responds to conflict at the community level, and it seems to me that there is not enough

intergovernmental coordination. When implementing works projects, there is a need for preliminary groundwork—opportunities for consultations and so on—to ensure that conflicts do not arise, but the governments in charge of the projects hand them over directly to the communities without doing this kind of groundwork, and conflicts sometimes result. Thus, in my opinion, coordination between governments is likely to become important in future.

Thank you.

**KUWANA:** Thank you. Next, I will call on Mr. Ito.



ITO: I'll start with a disclaimer. As I'm not altogether familiar with this sector, I'm not sure that I can respond directly to the high-level issues raised by the two commentators, but I would like to tie in, to a certain extent, my experiences in the sector where I usually work.

I became involved in Timor-Leste only about three years ago, when the 2006 conflict was already over. Speaking very subjectively, for me Timor-Leste does not have the special image of a "conflict area."

For example, in terms of parallels in Japan today, I have the impression that the same kind of problems that affect the areas hit by the Tohoku disaster in 2011 exist in Timor-Leste also.

For instance, in the disaster areas, in addition to the questions of public works and job creation, there are also rifts among factions in communities with strong ties to the land, such as fishermen's cooperatives.

When we look at how to boost the economy at a community level in areas actually affected like this, "community business" is a keyword that readily comes to mind. Put simply, the trend toward "social businesses" reflects this; at a rather broader level, we can speak of "Base of the Pyramid (BOP) businesses."

Solving social problems with this "business" perspective makes sense as a concept, but as someone who is in business in the private sector, I'm not so sure that it really works in the field.

It seems to me that most of the Japanese NGO staff in Timor-Leste lack business experience in Japan, and I doubt that they have the skills needed to create businesses locally. There are, for example, NGO projects in Timor-Leste which trade in coffee, but it has to be said that they are not making a profit. OPAC has had many discussions about whether we can find ways to create businesses in the community, but even if we managed to do so, the fact is that they would only employ two or three people. I simply cannot understand the logic that considers the creation of two or three jobs a worthwhile contribution to the community economy or peacebuilding. I realize that, conceptually, economic factors and poverty are related to peace, but when it comes to actual projects, I see very few organizations that are capable of creating businesses in the community.

On the second point, with regard to Professor Matsuno's comments on democracy-building, on my own level I think along much the same lines. With regard to foreseeable conflicts and the building of democracy, I would like to make one comment from the viewpoint of communication. Since I think about education from that viewpoint, I believe that passing on knowledge about past events is truly a kind of communication; that is to say, one has to make sure that one's message gets across. The same can be said about the Tohoku disaster.

For example, in Timor-Leste there is a kind of museum of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR, the Portuguese acronym). I am concerned about what having a permanent exhibition like this in the city will come to mean in the future. Of course, I can see that there is a historical significance to having a permanent archive of the facts of particular violations, or identifying the violators as violators. But apart from that significance, what concerns me is how, in the life of a community, a museumtype exhibition might contribute to future conflicts, and whether at some point there is a need to switch to a different kind of education. I am currently looking into the education that is given in places like Bosnia regarding these aspects.

I don't know whether this amounts to a direct reply, but I'll leave it at that.

**KUWANA:** Thank you. The panelists have given us a very in-depth discussion in the limited time available.

We received questions from the audience during the break, and I would

like to ask each of the panelists one or two of these.

To start with, I have two questions for Dr.Antero.

First, is there any communication between Timorese and Indonesian students? Please tell us about any initiatives toward reconciliation between Timor-Leste and Indonesia among students or NGOs.

Second, do you think that new factors of conflict will emerge when UNMIT withdraws?

DA SILVA: First, the Timorese process is very unique in terms of reconciliation, because since the 1980s Timor has had a vision. Change in Timor only happens when there is a change in Indonesia. In the 1980s, when Timorese students in Indonesia went to foreign embassies for political asylum, that provoked discussion inside Indonesia, and Indonesia's response changed.

In 1997, the students' movement in Indonesia emerged and grew in scale, and the situation was transformed due to the opportunity presented by the Southeast Asian economic crisis. There was a very solid relationship between Indonesian and Timorese students, just as there was between the Indonesian and Timorese peoples, because of the question they had in common—the dictatorship in Indonesia.

The issue of reconciliation was also tackled internally by Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Indonesia and in Timor-Leste, and there was an Indonesia-Timor-Leste Commission of Truth and Friendship. There is one issue, however, that remains

in discussion because it is to do with justice: I mean the involvement of the Indonesian military in the invasion and the perpetration of crimes against humanity.

But that is not just a question facing Indonesia, it is a question of international involvement because of US support for the Indonesian military regime, and because of the interest of Australia, and even oil companies. And so, that becomes a very complex issue.

Only a small number of leaders of countries have been brought to justice in recent years: figures such as Slobodan Milošević of the former Yugoslavia for war crimes in Kosovo. Because they were the losers, they could be brought to justice. But in Indonesia the situation is very complex, because of the relationship with the military, which has considerable power. They are viewed by the world as part of the fifty-year military regime, and the issue has not been resolved, even though it could become the seed of new conflicts.

Conflict can be seen in the light of Johan Galtung's concept of "negative peace," or peace as the absence of conflict; it takes on a military aspect if it becomes very violent because of military interventions or the involvement of armed struggles or other sources of violence.

As noted by Professor Barbedo de Magalhães of the University of Porto, whom I mentioned earlier, in Timor-Leste, at least in the past 30 years, the military regime and the military involvement in the conflict were very much externally driven. I don't mean to say that the Timorese were very nice

to one another and had no conflict or struggle against one another. I think we are lucky that we reached the era of independence and gained a voice in the ongoing discussion about arms production and nuclear issues. What we could do in Timor is to prevent arms sales, such as small arms sales, in the region, because these issues are related to business, and these are issues that involve cross-border conflict.

With regard to the post-UNMIT future, so far I think the Timorese army—originally a resistance army, now the national army—is very disciplined. We did not inherit conflicts like they did in Angola, where they had parallel military conflicts before independence. Mozambique is another country where there were parallel military groups before independence, and they still had military conflict even after independence. because of these existing military groups, but in Timor, luckily there was a very disciplined army, with only one commander. As far as internal sources of conflict are concerned, I think Timor-Leste will be viable even after UNMIT withdraws, in terms of maintaining "negative peace." Thank you.

**KUWANA:** Thank you. Next I would like to ask Ms. Maria a question. Would you please tell us about the assessment method under the Early Warning and Early Response (EWER) program, which you mentioned earlier, and how you assess potential conflicts?

**DA COSTA:** I explained earlier about "Assessment 2007," in which Belun did assessments in 53 villages around

the country. The results shed light on the problems that have a big impact on communities in Timor-Leste, including land disputes, unemployment, and people living in poverty.

Based on the results of the regular EWER assessments, we make recommendations that reinforce the government's work. Even after publishing our report, we still keep making recommendations to the government about very important issues. These include responses about the land law, and how the government can provide communities with better access to essential services through infrastructure, the economy, education, and so on. We also make use of the EWER program in the implementation of every program that is monitored by the assessment.

In relation to land disputes, besides EWER, Belun has another program we call "Land Mediation and Dispute Resolution." We see Belun's role as facilitating through mediation to resolve community problems linked with land disputes.

We also collect information on violent incidents and situational change.

As I mentioned earlier, we don't wait for our Trimester Report to come out before holding meetings, but continue to work with the government. For example, there is a district of Timor-Leste called Oecusse which is an enclave located within Indonesia territory, and we are working with the Minister of Foreign Affairs as the problem of land disputes has to be resolved between Indonesian bodies and Timor-Leste. This is not just an issue for a few communities but an

issue for Timor-Leste; it is an issue not only for Belun, but for the island as a whole.

We also help the government in preventing domestic violence. We work with the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI). We didn't have a role in monitoring domestic violence, but we found that in some villages the community was not aware of the law, and so we advised the government on how to socialize or disseminate the domestic violence law.

Also, with regard to infrastructure, we found that in some districts the roads were so bad that the community had no access to food, and nothing could be sold. In such cases, we have to call quickly on the government to reinforce the infrastructure.

About education, when we go to the districts, we have sometimes found an art schools with no teacher. The community comes to study but when the children go to the classrooms, there is no teacher to teach them. However long it takes, it is our responsibility to call in the Ministry of Education and the Department. We have to ask how they can monitor and ensure that the schools have teachers, because the kids walk for one or two hours to get there and then find no teacher to teach them. This is difficult.

We at Belun are working, not by ourselves, but with the government. This "working with" is a very important priority. Our role is to be a bridge to help bring out the issues from the community, by working not only with the government but with all the members of civil society and the community. Thank you.

#### **KUWANA:** Thank you, Ms. Maria.

Next, I have two questions for Mr. Higuchi.

Are there any contacts between the schools of Yomitan and the students of Timor-Leste, and is there the possibility of their coming to Yomitan to study?

And have the experiences of the land reversion movement in Yomitan been relevant?

## **HIGUCHI:** Thank you for those questions.

First, exchanges between schools in Yomitan and Timor-Leste are not presently being organized as a project of OPAC. But in a recent program of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, known as JENESYS (Japan–East Asia Network of Exchange for Students and Youths), about ten young people have been chosen from Comoro, where we are working, and have come to Yomitan. They have visited schools nearby and carried on exchanges.

As for the relevance of the experiences of the land reversion movement in Yomitan, as Ms. Maria said earlier, land issues are a serious cause of conflict in Timor-Leste. In Yomitan, also, the land issue was a major

challenge for the village, and we have the experience of having resolved it by peaceful engagement. As I explained in my presentation, each year we invite a number of people from Comoro for training sessions in Yomitan. We provide opportunities for them to hear in detail how the land issue was resolved by peaceful means, and we ask them to call people together and pass this knowledge on when they return to Comoro. Those are the efforts we are engaged in at present.

# **KUWANA:** Thank you, Mr. Higuchi. Now I have a question for Mr. Ito.

In your radio for peacebuilding project, are you also approaching programming from that point of view? If so, I have a feeling that, to become regular listeners, people will have to be already interested in the subject to some extent. Could you tell us your thinking about this?

ITO: I think the question comes down to whether we intend to air programs that explicitly promote peace or send a message about peacebuilding. For my part, I don't intend to make programs of that type. I expect to continue to be





involved, together with OPAC, for a year or two after the radio station is up and running, and we will probably set a number of rules, such as not making programs in support of specific political parties, in order to ensure that the station is not used for propaganda purposes. But as it is basically a media initiative for the local community, we expect to hand it over to be run by local people. That is why I said just now, "for my part."

Let me explain this preference of mine a little. In the university classes I teach in Japan, the students join me in thinking about an issue posed by communication for peace, namely, how difficult it is to get the meaning of "peace" across.

To sum up our discussions briefly, suppose I give you pen and paper and ask you to draw a cup. Whether you are from Japan or anywhere else in the world, the cup you draw is likely to be basically the same—a container for liquid—though there may be differences in design, such as varying heights, and whether or not it has a handle. The same is probably true if I ask you to draw a table. People will produce similar drawings of a surface for placing things on, though it may have one leg or four. But if I ask people to draw "justice" or "peace," it's not clear how much their drawings will have in common. Things like "love," "justice," and "peace" are human-made concepts, not visible objects like cups and tables, and from a communications viewpoint they are values that we each visualize in our own wav.

I think it's much easier to use the word "war" to communicate. If I ask people to draw "war," there are quite a few things their drawings could have in common—tanks, people dying, blood flowing.... I believe it is easier to share our concept of "war" than that of "peace."

The words "war" and "peace" are used in apposition, but "peace" is actually very hard to use. I think that is why we have the word "antiwar," which takes war as its point of departure. To explain the reply I gave a moment ago, personally I can't picture sending a message of peace by radio, which a nonvisual medium.

**KUWANA:** Thank you. We received many other questions from the audience and I would have liked to ask more of them, but I will have to stop here because of the time.

Lastly, I will ask Professor Matsuno and Mr. Watanabe for brief comments.

MATSUNO: I'll just take a minute or so. I would like to say again that, basically, democracy-building is the keyword. Let me quickly explain what I mean here by democracy.

In my long involvement with the Timorese, what I see as a shortcoming of theirs is the mentality that doesn't allow people to speak out to those above them in the hierarchy—though as a Japanese, I can hardly criticize others on that score. We're the same way: subordinates with their bosses, students with their teachers. In Timor-Leste, we foreigners go there with NGOs to fund and carry out projects, and there is clearly an attitude among the Timorese that means they will never complain to a foreigner, they agree to everything we say. One is often glad of this, but it can also get us into trouble,

because nobody tells us when we get it wrong. And afterwards, we are told that they were just doing what we said.

I think this mentality took shape, not during conflict, but during the long period of colonial rule imposed on a traditional society with, as yet, no experience of democracy. But we have to change this dynamic. With masses of foreign NGOs going there and carrying out projects with local people, if the foreigners just issue orders, we will still have the same relationship as in the past. It seems to me the best approach is to ensure that projects are a joint effort and to create relationships in which all can consult together and speak freely, even to those above them. I think the same is ideally true in marriages, and in schools and workplaces, but when it comes to a president or a prime minister, I think there's inevitably a tendency for everyone to go along with what they say, and meanwhile resentment builds and finally explodes in conflict. So, as my last comment, I want to say that to try and fix this, we need to build relationships in everyday life in which people can speak their minds, that is, to build democracy.

WATANABE: Just one comment. I think that, as the speakers and Professor Matsuno have said, Timor-Leste is a country that still has fragile elements. Unless we succeed in dealing with these elements, starting now, there is always the risk of another outbreak of unrest of some kind. Independence was won at a price, and to make sure that it is not destroyed again in internal conflict, I believe we need to tackle these issues and

work on them from both directions, both by decisions made from the top down and by building from the bottom up.



KUWANA: Thank you.

We planned today's symposium "Timor-Leste: Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level" in order to come together and think about how important it might be to build peace that is rooted in the day-to-day lives and hopes of individual members of the community. The discussion today has covered various angles of peacebuilding from below, and it has brought home to us the importance of processes that can lead to social change by linking politics, international relations, and policies at the macro level with individuals, groups, systems and institutions, all within a groundswell of change. I think this has a bearing not only on Timor-Leste but also on Japan and other parts of the world as we face a wide array of issues.

I'm only sorry that we did not have more time to pursue the discussion in greater depth.

Finally, I'd like to ask you for another round of applause for the fine presentations by our speakers and commentators.

This brings the panel discussion to an end. Thank you.

## **Closing Remarks**

Harumi Kitabayashi

Associate Professor, Ochanomizu University Global Collaboration Center



This brings to an end the public symposium "Timor-Leste: Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level." I hope today's lectures have helped create a wider desire to realize a society whose members truly live together.

I would like to thank the speakers and the commentators for making time in their busy schedules to join us here at Ochanomizu University. Let's hear another big round of applause.

On behalf of the organizers, I would like to express my appreciation to all of you who have joined us for this afternoon's program. Thank you very much.

### Ochanomizu University Public Symposium: Interuniversity Event Timor-Leste: Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding at the Community Level

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