



# APPRA Conference 2001

## **“Reconstructing Peace Theories and Practices in Asia and the Pacific”**

**8-10 December 2001  
Maryridge, Tagaytay City, Philippines**

*jointly hosted and organized by*

**Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA)  
International Alert  
Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women  
Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute  
Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines  
Center for Peace Education, Miriam College  
Coalition for Peace**

*with the support of*

**ASIA FOUNDATION – PHILIPPINES  
JOHN PAUL II PEACE INSTITUTE, FUJEN UNIVERSITY, TAIWAN  
APPRA Secretary General’s Report**

With the institutional backing of the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TW-MAE-W), the transfer of the APPRA secretariat to Quezon City, Philippines, posed no problems with the support of a dedicated staff and the use of all TW-MAE-W facilities. Local institutes and NGOs, particularly the Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines, Gaston Ortigas Peace Institute, and the Peace Center of Miriam College, gave their full cooperation for the success of the APPRA Conference 2001 held in Tagaytay City, Philippines, 8-10 December 2001.

Except for TW-MAE-W human and material support, a small grant from Asia Foundation, and some financial assistance from Fujen University, thanks to Fr. Edmund Ryden, empty coffers did not deter APPRA secretariat from accomplishing its goals.

- APPRA website was set up in 2001: [www.geocities.com/asiapacificpeace](http://www.geocities.com/asiapacificpeace).
- Networking was carried out by riding on invitations to a number of international meetings in Bangkok, Teheran, Kathmandu, Phnom Penh, Durban, Thai-Burmese border, Geneva, New York, Rome.
- Consultations with key APPRA members guided the Secretary General in preparing for the APPRA conference.
- Some 60 participants from 16 countries with gender and geographical balance came to the conference. The Pacific was represented by two participants.
- Alternative ways of holding a conference took place. Very process-oriented, the style allowed for maximum participation in an ambiance of informality and equality - no top table, no bureaucratic observances. There were no lectures, no talking down to anyone, but workshops facilitating thoughts and feelings to surface.
- The goal of building community among peace activists, peace educators and peace researchers was achieved, with no one feeling superior to the other.
- The assembly was also action-oriented. All peace workers were convinced of their mission to bring about personal and social transformation.
- The conference was all inclusive with sessions that included peace-building in the corporate world, peace building by the international community, peace building by religious leaders among the Muslims, Christians, Catholics.
- The women perspective was clearly seen and the voices of the young were heard.
- Content-wise the workshops, centering around the theme, the Asia-Pacific Arc of Instability, discussed the following questions:  
**Day one:** 1. What are the three chief causes of violent conflict in the area where I come from and their consequences? (Participants were gathered according to their geographical setting and stuck their answers to the map)  
2. What has been the impact of the September 11 tragic event in New York on your region or area of conflict? (The afternoon was devoted to discussing the Philippine Peace Process)  
**Day two:** How do the various sectors (women, youth, church, business, international community) serve as peace catalysts? (An interesting case study on the “business of peace” in Mindanao was presented)  
**Day three:** 1. What are the issues in Asia and the Pacific that have to be addressed to

build peace in the region? 2. How do peace researchers, peace educators and peace advocates collaborate in addressing these issues? We had a session of theorizing on concepts like “violence,” “conflict” and “peace” and took up two pairs of binary opposition discussed in the conference: violent conflict and peace and violent conflict and non-violent conflict. The question is: does peace mean non-violent conflict?

- To continue the journey we went to “MECA”: mapping the organizations; exchanging strengths and weaknesses within the region and sub-region; cooperation and action.
- There was a very creative way of moving forward. Future planning involved writing one’s response to ‘I need Help’ and ‘I can offer help.’
- Definite commitments were made, although not all of them were carried out for one reason or other.
- We observed a Day of Solidarity with Burma on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Aung San Suu Kyi’s Nobel Peace Prize.
- The ritual and liturgies brought in the spiritual element so that the participants were not only professional peace workers but persons in touch with their inner selves, at peace with themselves and one another.
- The beautiful venue of Maryridge, a place of healing and renewal overlooking Taal Lake and the sunken volcano, helped create this atmosphere of peace.
- To establish a legal personality, APPRA has been registered with the Philippine Securities and Exchange Commission. This is necessary in order to apply for grants. Members of APPRA have achieved a lot in their respective places of involvement, such as Swee Hih Toh of Australia, now of Canada, a UNESCO awardee for helping South Korea with its Peace Education work; Ed Garcia for his effective advocacy in conflict areas under International Alert; for the published researches of Leena Parmar (**Kargil War Widows**, 2002; **International Diversities of the Armed Forces**, 2002) and John Synott; whose book, **Teacher Unions, Social Movements and the Politics of Education in Asia**, will be launched tonight.

***Congratulations to one and all for revitalizing APPRA!***

**Mary Soledad L. Perpiñan**  
**APPRA Secretary General**

**Theme: APPRA Conference 2001**

# Reconstructing Peace Theories and Practices in Asia-Pacific

## Rationale:

This background information from the article “Asia-Pacific Arc of Instability “ by Kevin Clements and Ed Garcia of International Alert and APPRA gives us the rationale for an APPRA conference on the conflict-ridden areas of Asia and the Pacific:

The Asia-Pacific region recently has witnessed renewed instability and the reemergence or continuation of political violence in countries such as Sri Lanka, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand Cambodia, Indonesia, the Southern Philippines, Fiji, West Papua, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji. These events demonstrate some disturbing trends. In a region that was assumed relatively stable, there are now some democratic instabilities, in a region that was supposed to be relatively democratic, there is a remilitarization of politics; in a region that is supposed to have relatively stable political leadership such leadership now seems fragile and unstable. In a region which used to be characterized by an ability to mobilize considerable public will (e.g. People’s Power in the Philippines) citizens now have difficulty mobilizing for a common purpose. Across the whole region there is now a whole dearth of diplomatic and a non-violent approaches to the resolution of deep seated conflicts. On the contrary, frustrated political actors are turning to violent methods rather than non-violent ones as matter of first recourse.

What are the similarities, dissimilarities between these diverse conflicts? Is each one *sui generis* or are there some deep commonalities? What are the pros and cons of seeing these conflicts in regional terms? What bilateral and regional mechanisms exist to deal with these conflicts? It is clear that many of these conflicts have had long and extensive genealogies-(e.g. Sri Lanka and Aceh) others are of more recent development (e.g. West Papua conflict). All of them have a capacity to spoil the development and the strengthening of internal democratic processes, economic development processes, and regional integration and stability. Irrespective of what does or does not link these diverse conflicts, it is clear that there is a growing Arc of Instability that stretches from the Indian Ocean to the South West Pacific. It is the human and political equivalent of the tectonic fault line that stretches around the Pacific Rim. If this Arc of Instability is not addressed and responded to it may undermine all the positive developmental and democratization initiatives of the last 30 years.

## Focus:

An examination of how these recent developments in the region create new challenges and opportunities can be instrumental in generating new frameworks and insights important to peace building, both in its theoretical and practical aspects. Moreover, by bringing together active and committed peace scholars, a global community with deeper, comparative understanding of and concern for the region is created.

### **Objectives:**

The APPRA Conference aims to build a community of peace researchers who will:

- Share research work, findings and methodologies in conflict areas in Asia and the Pacific;
- Reflect on experiences and generate analytical and practical insights on conflict resolution and peace building processes;
- Define priority area and approaches for individual and collaborative research and other peace action.

### **Methodology:**

The APPRA Conference 2001 will bring together scholars doing action research in conflict-ridden areas of the Asia-Pacific region as well as peace educators and peace advocates touching on the issues under discussion. “Best practices” case studies relating to conflict resolution and peace building efforts in the region will be prioritized for presentation. From among the case studies presented, methodologies and approaches to conflict resolution and peace-building will be synthesized and analyzed in simultaneous workshops in order to generate new insights, frameworks and policy proposals that can be applied to specific or cluster of cases. After the workshop discussions, a priority action research agenda that will provide a venue for continuing collaboration among the scholars will be defined and formulated at the plenary level.

### **Organizing Committee:**

Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA)  
International Alert  
Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women  
Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute  
Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines  
Center for Peace Education, Miriam College  
Coalition for Peace

### **A working, interactive gathering:**

This will be a different kind of conference. It will be not so much a call for papers but a call for collaboration and commitment, a 21<sup>st</sup> century interfacing of peace advocates, peace educators and peace researchers.

How can we look at the same issue together and cooperate in building peace?

A multidisciplinary, multicultural, contextualized approach is the style of the conference. Papers may be submitted for review and publication. But we shall avoid reading of papers that put people to sleep! Have an executive summary to share informally the research findings or best practices and strategies to operationalize. Evoke responses for a lively exchange. . . .

All are challenged to seek one another's help as we sharpen our analysis, tools, skills of moving towards transformative action!

## **SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS**

### **DAY 1: 8 December 2001**

The day started with the labyrinth exercise and the introduction of the participants. Sr. Sol Perpiñan, APPRA Secretary General, shared her reflections on the labyrinth exercise about light and shadows which represented her optimism about the outcome of the conference and the problems encountered respectively. She also conveyed the goal of the conference: "to bring harmony and peace and unity among the different groups to think about alternatives in our troubled world". She also gave a brief description of APPRA.

The workshop was led by Prof. Ed Garcia, International Alert, UK. There were three guide questions answered for that day:

- 1) What are the three chief causes of violent conflict in your area and their consequences?*
- 2) What was the impact of the September 11 attack on your region or area of conflict?*
- 3) What are the opportunities for peace in your area of concern despite the current situation?*

Prof. Ed Garcia also noted that the Asia-Pacific region is unique and crucial to the world for the following reasons:

- 1) *Sixty six percent (66%) of the 800 M poor people in the world live in this area. 80 M live on less than a dollar per day.*
- 2) *Nine (9) of the least developed countries are located here.*
- 3) *Three (3) of the most populated and the least populated countries are here.*
- 4) *Largest per capita gap among the countries.*
- 5) *Most number of regional organizations.*
- 6) *No regional forum on human rights.*

Results of the group discussions elicited diverse responses as to the causes of conflicts, effects of September 11 and opportunities. The causes of conflicts can be grouped into territorial disputes; political, social and cultural discrimination; colonialism and dictatorship; poverty; ethnocentrism and jingoism; and economic exploitation.

The aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attack brought actual war in certain areas like Pakistan; political polarization; economic retrogression; increased militarization and emphasis on national security; intensified violence due to frustration; discrimination against the Muslims; intervention of foreign powers in domestic violence; refugee problems; and gender inequality.

However there are many opportunities seen by the group to solve these problems. Some solutions offered were: peace networking and consolidation among NGOs and other civil groups; debate and talks on conflict issues to increase people's awareness; international support and solidarity; and inventing creative ways to deal. Five words sum up the opportunities: understand, prioritize, complement involve and sustain. The "Science of peace is patience".

The following people shared their own reflections:

- **Fr. Kevin Barr and Koila Costello-Olssen of ECREA, Fiji:** According to them, peace is multi-faceted – fight against domestic and economic violence, social and cultural discrimination, and poverty. ECREA promotes inter-cultural dialogue among the different ethnic groups especially among the youth, trains the youth on the process of reconciliation, and engages in research and advocacy activities.
- **Dr. Soon-Won Kang, Hanshin University, South Korea:** She explained that the problem of Korea is internal and external in nature. There is conflict between the North and South due to cultural and political differences in their histories. There is emphasis on Confucian democracy which the government uses to subjugate the people. Conflict continues with Japan due to the textbook issue and comfort women of WW II. US bases are also a source of conflict. NGOs have consolidated their efforts for peace. Peace education is taught in schools while peace camps are held to complement classroom experiences and

for the non-students.

- **Yean Sok Chea, Center for Social Development, Cambodia:** The problem of Cambodia is civil war between the Pol Pot government and the Khmer Rouge. The war killed thousands of women, children and soldiers. Today, Cambodia is relatively at peace but the people are still recovering from the trauma of war. Reconciliation efforts with the Khmer Rouge have started since 1996. Up to now, there are isolated skirmishes among small groups.
- **Senthil Ram, Central Asian Studies, India:** He talked about the violent conflicts among India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. He emphasized the Tibetan situation where the Dalai Lama has been in exile for many years. There is a need for international intervention to persuade China to give independence to Tibet. The media can be a powerful tool according to him.

The group also dealt on on-going peace endeavors in Asia-Pacific region:

#### **PEACE STUDIES:**

##### **Dr. Askandar of Southeast Asian Conflict Studies Network, Malaysia:**

The members come from different Asean countries. They conduct researches, training workshops and conferences. It supports research grants and exchange programs. Recently, it has sponsored workshops on regional conflicts in Jakarta, Philippines, Laos and Thailand.

#### **PEACE MUSEUMS:**

##### **Kazuyo Yamane, Kochi University, Japan:**

She cited the peace museum, Hiroshima peace Memorial, which can play an important role in peace education, public awareness, research, peace movements and in the creation of a culture of peace. Peace museums are different from war museums because they present the atrocities of war and the plight of the victims. War museums glorify war by presenting weapons. At present there is no Asian network that can contribute to the establishment of a regional peace museum.

#### **PEACE EDUCATION:**

##### **Dr. John Synott, Queensland University of Technology, Australia:**

He spoke on “mediation through voluntary process as the foundation in peace education”. Approaches to peace education vary according to three processes:

- 1) Psychological approach which works on the individual/small group level.
- 2) Socio-cultural and political approach which centers on the social, cultural and political structure of violence.

3) Historical approach which emphasizes the need to respond to emerging issues.

The youth should be involved because 60% of the Asian population is under 18. Culture and peace education go together for the better understanding of the nature and causes of the conflict.

## **PEACE PROCESS IN THE PHILIPPINES**

**Chito Gaston, GRP-NDF Peace Panel**, talked about the history of peace negotiations with different groups like the CPP, NPA, NDF and RPA-ABB. Government sent officials to handle the peace talks with these groups. The signing of the VFA with the Americans led to suspension of talks. Another factor is the killing of an ex-congressman. After the Estrada administration, the talks were resumed.

**Marinneth Babao, Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process** discussed the three programs for peace according to the Tripole meeting. They are immediate ceasefire; rehabilitation for rebels; and safe conduct for rebel returnees.

**Binky Palm Dalupan, UNDP Consultant**, clarified that the peace process is not only a round of peace negotiations. It is an ongoing process that started since Martial Law; a fulltime office for peace talks had been established during the Aquino administration; and there is continuous dynamic interaction between civil society and government.

**Soliman Santos, Jr., author of “Constitutional Accommodation of a Moro Islamic System in the Philippines”** stated that the peace process goes beyond negotiation. It should include the analysis of the root causes of the conflict, the study of the socio-cultural, political and economic factors, and involvement of people in the process at the community and individual levels.

### **DAY 2: 9 December 2001**

Different delegates shared their insights on peace and violence. Some explained the programs and services offered by their organizations.

#### **A. HOW RELIGIOUS LEADERS HELP BUILD PEACE**

**Fr. Edmund Ryden, John Paul Institute, Taiwan** talked about war and pacifism. He said that the most important factor that can contribute to peace is respect for the other person. It is important to see look at the other person and see his uniqueness. Loving one’s enemy is a capability that comes from a higher Being. Treat the other as a guest. Modern war is immoral because it usually leads to civilian casualties.

**Fr. Leonardo Mercado, SVD, Bishop's Ulama Forum, Episcopal Commission for Inter-religious Dialogue, Philippines** discusses the common feeling of prejudice against Muslims. The BUF consists of Catholic bishops, Protestant leaders, and Muslim religious leaders who are trying to work for peace. A very important component to peace is understanding cultural differences. The group aims to target the youth because they have less prejudices and biases.

**Sharon Duremdes** said that the NCCP helps by persuading conflicting parties to go to the negotiation table. It organized a solidarity conference with government and NDF panels.

**Ed Garcia** cited the important role played by religious leaders in any conflict situation. They can be both the solution or the source of the problem since some of the conflicts are due to religious differences. The church should be humble enough to ask for forgiveness. He presented his guidelines on the role of the church but he asked the leaders of different faiths to scrutinize it.

**Sr. Sol** cautioned the group not to use labelling or names to judge the other as "evil" but rather to open their minds.

## **B. WOMEN AND YOUTH BUILDING PEACE**

**Fr. Kevin Barr** related the experience of the people of North Solomons in fighting against one of the biggest mining companies in the world. The company was destroying the environment. For ten years the people fought the company. They won but about 10,000 people were killed. However a reasonable amount of autonomy was given to Bougainville. In South Solomons, The problems are graft and corruption in the government, the conflict between the Gwale people and people of Malaita. In Fiji, the source of conflict were religious differences among Christians, Hindus, and Muslims.

**Koila Costello-Olsson** cited the role of the women during the conflict. They went to the barracks to dissuade the young men from fighting. They would say "What are you doing here?" "You are killing your cousins." To get the man to fight they use hypnotism. The other group will use holy water. The young men were used as human shields. ECREA has been holding intercultural or inter-faith workshops. They also hold workshops for counselors.

**Blooming Night Kan, Women's League of Burma, Karen Women's Org.** Related her own story about the war and its aftereffects. Many Burmese people are still living in concentration camps. Education offered is only at the high school level so there is no hope for a better life. Foreign organizations are trying to help but it is not enough.

**Betsy Lan, Peacetime Foundation, Taiwan** expounded on the women groups of Taiwan and the peace movement which is still on the formation process. Their foundation engages in three activities: internationalizing, research and peace education.

Most of the youth are able to travel due to prosperity of the nation. Women groups focus on the following issues: comfort women, domestic violence, reproductive health, women in politics, teenage pregnancy, lesbianism, etc. The youth is important in all these activities.

**Bing Gachero, PBSP**, explained the goal of their organization to be the leader in promoting socio-economic growth. At present they are concentrating their efforts in Mindanao due to the conflict there. After making a study of the area, the organization discovered two important findings: ARRM region has the lowest HDI and therefore has the highest poverty incidence, the highest infant mortality, and very low literacy and life expectancy. So PBSP is concentrating on education and literacy; health; land tenure and governance and constituency building (with International Alert).

**Ed Bullecer of the Datu Paglas Corporation** gave a brief background about the corporation which is owned by Datu Paglas, the mayor of the town which also bears his name. He is an influential leader and acts like a benevolent patriarch with his people. In spite of the conflicts among different groups, he was able to invite foreign investors in his territory.

**Jerome Hansen of International Alert**, explained that their organization has two sectors: the corporate and peace sectors. They want to involve businesses in the peace efforts within the community. They are especially targeting the TNC's and the MNC's. Their approach consists of: research, advocacy, and policy. They link with charitable institutions to gain insight into relationship between economy and peace – building.

### **C. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS PEACE CATALYST**

**Bob and Helen Clarke, Quakers International Affairs Program**, discussed the program of their organization which has three components: dialogue, facilitation and mediation. However they do not engage in advocacy work.. They prefer to work for non-violent resolutions of conflict. They start from the grassroots to the international level. They emphasize face-to-face or people to people gatherings. They are promoting the use of dialogue, exchanges, leadership seminars, youth conferences, and encourage greater ethnic and inter-religious tolerance.

**Dr. Katsuya Kodama, Secretary General, International Peace Research Association**, says “Creating peace needs imagination-it needs imagination of what kind of world we want to make, a world of peace. The purpose of IPRA is to conduct research on the causes of war and other forms of violence and study the conditions for peace. The problem today is not nuclear war but poverty and indifference. The next

conference will be in Korea “ Globalization, Governance and Social Justice: New Challenges for Peace Research”.

**Loreta Castro** summarized the day’s presentations into seven issues: inner vision and commitment to life; capacity and courage to consolidate groups; innovation of the groups; need for safe spaces; need for peace and care and care-givers; need for skills and analysis; need for resources and support.

### **DAY 3: 10 December 2001**

#### **A. DEFINING APPROACHES FOR COLLABORATIVE ACTION**

There were two major questions resolved on this day:

- a) What are the issues in Asia and the Pacific that have to be addressed to build peace in the region?
- b) How do peace researchers, peace educators, and peace advocates collaborate in addressing these issues?

The three areas of peace work were defined as follows: peace research, education and advocacy. However each area has to be clearly differentiated from each other even if they are closely interrelated. The original purpose of APPRA is to join together peace researchers, peace educators and peace advocates from different parts of the world.

#### **THE RESULTS OF THE WORKSHOPS ARE AS FOLLOWS:**

**Group 1:** The group identified as their major problem the ineffectivity of the educational system in conveying the idea of peace to the youth. There is lack of awareness among the youth regarding major peace issues. They are not fully informed about the conflicts. Hence they are also unable to participate in advocacy activities. The proposal is to hold youth dialogues, disseminate quality information, research on issues, and enhance communication among communities to understand each others cultural differences.

**Group 2:** The group discussed the negative impact of globalization: consumerism, exploitation of labor; and environmental degradation by TNC’s. In line with the issue of poverty and inadequate resources is the rise of militarism, corruption in government, drug problem, gender inequality refugee problem and border disputes. Collaborative mechanisms that can be used are networking, research, education, and advocacy.

**Group 3:** The group focused on the diversity of the region and its problems namely: economic disparity; racial, cultural and religious discrimination; gender inequality; need for

self determination and human rights; corruption; militarization and the presence of US bases. Their response to the problem will be collaboration, cooperation, and complementarity; education and research; and advocacy.

**Group 4:** The group focused on the presence of the US bases in Asia; religious intolerance and ethnocentrism; racial discrimination; the impact of the Sept. 11 attack on the region; and internal and external conflicts among governments.

## **OPEN FORUM**

At the open forum, the participants shared their observations regarding peace conferences especially between donors and peace workers. Often donors give their own criteria or indicators to measure the success of a project. Often these indicators come from above and not the grassroots. Donors call it as professionalization standards. Sr. Sol stated that one of the aims of APPRA and the IPRA is to join their efforts to create their own set of standards or indicators for success since the real professionals are the people who are actually involved in peace work and not the donors. She also emphasized the need for “ participative research to re-conceptualize the terms peace and security”. Koila Costello-Olsson cited a problem of the Pacific Region in world conferences. Sometimes the region is forgotten due to lack of representation. Binky Dalupan commented that the conference itself is already an eyeopener and can be regarded as part of professionalization. Katsuya Kodama stated that it is important to produce professional work and research and to do the necessary networking.

## **RECONSTRUCTING THEORIES**

**Dr. Chalidaporn Songsamphan**  
**Thammasat University, Thailand**

He expounded on the three concepts related to peace theories: violence, conflict and peace. Peace is not the absence of war but the establishment of a just, inclusive and passionate society. There are three kinds of violence: direct, structural and cultural. What is needed is a contingent foundation that have structural and cultural implications. But the important question is how to do this without weakening the movement when it tries to accomodate all the differences.

## **SYNTHESIS: Ed Garcia, International Alert**

Three ways to continue the effects of this conference: communication, publication and consultation. The MECA is : mapping of organization; exchange of strenghts and weaknesses; cooperation and action. Three elements of peace building: participatory action research; peace education; and peace advocacy.

## **FUTURE PLANNING**

**AREAS WHERE GROUPS NEED HELP:** peace education modules, networking, information, publications on peace; information about museums; setting up a peace institute; personnel job opening.

**AREAS WHERE THEY CAN HELP:** e-mail messaging; expertise in peace education; set up a website for APPRA; information on women peace makers, change agents of Quaker organization; training workshops; research work; provide networking with international organizations; teacher training manual;

## **SOLIDARITY : TRIPARTITE DIALOGUE**

### **Dr. Naing Aung of Burma, National Reconciliation Program**

The National Reconciliation Program aims to facilitate the peaceful transition of the Burmese government into a democratic system of government through a Tripartite dialogue among the military, democracy movement and ethnic nationalities. The NRP is not a political organization.

The vision of this program is to build on the cultural differences of the country in order to establish a multicultural society which resolves its differences through dialogue and consultation and not by means of violence. It has four tasks: inter- and intra conflict consultations; conflict resolution; capacity building; and strategic planning and policy development. They bring together the providers and the stakeholders. They encourage the women and the youth to participate in the dialogues.

*Peace Advocates After September 11th:*

## **What Do We Do Now?**

**Susan Evangelista**

### *Bes Mellah Herrahman Nerrahim*

The beautiful Islamic call to prayer filled the chapel and floated out over the tagaytay Ridge, arresting our thoughts, truly calling us home to ourselves. A young man named Sher Zaman, a Pakistani Pashtun – ethnically the same as the Taliban – was sharing his own spirituality with a group of international peace researchers, educators and advocates, gathered at Maryridge, the Good Shepherd Retreat House.

We were there as people who work in peace-related activities, in NGOs or schools or refugee camps or government peace panels, and we were a wonderfully varied, colorful group. We had a Korean nun, a Japanese woman who runs a peace museum and networks with other such museums, two very cute and energetic young women who work with youth in Taiwan, a Canadian Quaker couple who work out of Thailand, a Cambodian woman, John Synott, a well-known peace educator from Australia, Fr. Edmund Ryden from Taiwan, our own Ed Garcia, now with International Alert in London, Chito Gaston and Soliman Santos from government peace panels, Binky Dalupan, formerly with a government peace panel but now with UNDP, the Pakistani, who is a student, and a young Indian student, two young men, Marco and Wilson, who teach Peace Studies at FEU, and on. Centers of interest for all of us were three Burmese refugees from the camps in Thailand, and a lovely Fijian-Portuguese woman and an Irish priest who also works in Fiji, where ethnic and racial tensions have caused serious problems since George Spate's coup attempt two years ago.

The Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA) conference was actually scheduled well in advance of September 11th, but the events of that day heightened the urgency – and the stakes – of the peace advocates' task.

Ed Garcia opened the conference with a workshop-like exercise designed to get the participants to catalogue both the *consequences* and the *opportunities* brought about, in their own regions, by the attack on the World Trade Center. We soon saw the similarities between experiences of peace workers in the Philippines, and those seen in the rest of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region, and on into South Asia and the Middle East. Indeed the trends – some very dangerous, some at least potentially helpful – are global.

There has been nearly universal militarization, with national security taking on number one priority in the United States and other countries. There is an increased tendency to attempt to solve problems with military force, out-and-out violence, a la Bush's bombing of Afghanistan. Israel has started a policy of "preventive assassination", targeting *possible* Palestinian "terrorists", and eliminating them before they do anything; the United States is not in a moral position to object. US military advisors have actually been welcomed back in the Philippines, to help deal with Abu Sayaf, who has been linked to Osama Bin Laden. (But neither group has yet been contained).

Because of this emphasis on national security, maintained through brute force, other priorities – dealing with ethnic tensions, providing for the welfare of refugees and other disadvantaged groups – have been sidetracked; national attention and funding can only go so far!

At the same time internal tensions have been heightened in many countries, especially those with both Muslim and Christian populations. Perhaps most Muslims feel some degree of solidarity with the Taliban, especially in the face of Bush's brutal attacks on Afghanistan. The US has forced such predominantly Muslim countries as Pakistan and Indonesia to vow support for the US war, undermining the governments of those countries in the eyes of their Muslim populations. The Pakistani-India conflict over Kashmir has intensified. The lives of Muslims in the United States have become more insecure. Blessedly Christian Filipinos have *not* increased their hostility towards their Muslim countrymen – but anti-terrorist government policies will weigh heavily on them.

Whole populations, especially travelers, have become paranoid, suspicious of other passengers on planes, particularly people who look even somewhat Arabic. Especially in the United States and other associated first world countries, there is very deep personal anxiety – and an awareness that there is really no way to protect oneself against "terrorist" attacks.

But on the other hand, the events of September 11th have given us all new opportunities to create peace. We find, first of all, that there is a new spirit of cooperation in the world – both people and governments sense a new urgency to work together, to be more open, more compromising, more willing to discuss situations that may be at the root of

problems. Even the US President Bush showed some openness, and has taken a more opened position in relation to the Chinese and the Russians, although his pronouncements of the “if you aren’t with us, you are against us” type have been helpful.

More people, too, have begun to look at some of the more basic problems of the world – for instance the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East – and to accept the idea that we simply have to work out these problems. Early statements of various militant groups after the attack of the World Trade Center indicated that this may have been Al Qaeda’s way of bringing that conflict home to America of its immunity to internal attack, and to fear. They may have succeeded, although at the present writing, that particular situation is worse than it was on September 10th. But it must be resolved, and most people in the world now see that that is so.

Values have changed, even in more personal ways, with more people this Christmas being thankful for love, for family, for safety, and with more people being willing to talk about fear and bravery and love. This too opens further opportunities for creating peace, on both micro and macro levels. So this too encourages peace advocates, peace educators: with hard work, this situation can be turned around to benefit the world.

The Tagaytay conference was engineered by Sr. Sol Perpiñan, a Good Shepherd sister, and currently secretary general of the Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association. Co-sponsors were Ateneo’s Gazton Z. Ortigas Peace Center, headed by Karen Tañada, and UP’s Third World Studies Center, directed by Miriam Coronel Ferrer. Sr. Sol, however, never really takes off her “other hat”, which is as President and CEO of the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women – she runs a lovely home for victims of rape, incest, and sexual exploitation. Sr. Sol’s staff helped out through-out the conference, even cooking the final banquet and entertaining us all with their Christmas songs during the final program. Their participation kept the group grounded – this was definitely not the five star hotel, high tech and competitive type conference that we sometimes find ourselves attending. This conference was for people who work at ground level, and who needed to meet each other, to listen to and encourage each other, perhaps to take time out and to enjoy the peace and beauty of Tagaytay. We went home late on a rainy Monday night, enriched, encouraged, and well-satisfied.

**Religious Leaders Building Peace:  
Reflecting on Faith-Based Work  
Prof. Ed Garcia**

Religion and religious leaders have often been significant factors for war and peace. In this light, experiences in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe suggest the relevance of faith-based practice in building peace to transform situations of violent conflict.

## **I. Faith-Based Peace Practice**

The role of religious leaders and communities in the Philippines and Columbia to convene people from different sectors of society to work for peace, for example, illustrates their potential to advance peace processes even in the midst of war. In Latin America, in general, and in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, in particular, religious leaders have played a facilitating and mediating role to help achieve progress in otherwise difficult situations.

Buddhist monks in Cambodia organized peace marches to raise awareness of the senseless violence that divided communities and damaged countless lives. In Sri Lanka, interfaith groups composed of men and women of different faiths have quietly worked together to encourage peace efforts amidst the mounting casualties of a protracted war. Interfaith collaboration have also taken place in Liberia, Nigeria and Kenya to move people of different faiths in common endeavours.

Imams and Bishops from mosques and churches respectively have collaborated in the Southern Philippines to galvanize the voices of concerned Muslims and Christians to halt the escalation of violence in that part of the world.

These experiences demonstrate the importance of the involvement of religious people, among other significant sectors, and highlight their potential to advance peace processes in their difficult phases or stages: the preparatory phase, the negotiation phase or the consolidation phase. In these various stages, they can play relevant roles.

Reflection on these experiences can also provide valuable lessons or guidelines, if you will, to contribute to more effective faith-based peace practice in collaboration with other sectors of society as well as inter-governmental agencies and governmental institutions.

## **II. A Different Dimension**

Reflection on faith-based work for peace provides insights into a different dimension in the field. Properly harnessed, faith-based work can unleash human and spiritual resources that can be put at the service of people aspiring to build sustainable peace.

The contribution of religious workers for peace may have the following distinct characteristics:

- Witness to spiritual values such as truth and justice, compassion and peace

- which are found among the major faith traditions;
- Service to all, irrespective of race or nationality, creed or gender;
  - Open to representatives of civil society, in particular, to the most vulnerable victims of armed conflicts;
  - Non-violent approaches to change;
  - Prophetic voice articulating certain positions or principles in an impartial and independent manner, in a critical yet flexible manner.

### **III. Possible Roles in Peacemaking/Peace Building**

Among the possible contributions and roles that religious leaders and communities can play in conflict situations are depending on the context and the stages of the process:

1. Convenor
2. Facilitator/Mediator
3. Healer/Reconciler
4. Educator/Trainer
5. Guarantor/Observer
6. Monitor
7. Advocate
8. Peacebuilder
9. Networker
10. Channel

### **IV. Possible Guidelines for Peace-Related Work: Perspective of religious Practitioners**

Based on relevant field experiences, a preliminary set of possible guidelines for peace-related work can be identified. They may inform the perspective of religious workers who aspire to better practice and become more effective in their effort.

11. Principled (drawing from universally-held values and from their shared humanity)
12. Faith-based (emanating from one's faith perspective)
13. Analytical (relying on critical analysis)
14. Interfaith Approach (open and respectful of other faith perspectives)
15. Pursuit of Truth and Justice (working towards truth and justice)
16. Seeking reconciliation (restoring relationships and exploring collaboration)
17. Sensitive to Social and Personal Dimensions (providing room for both the social and personal)
18. Sustained (committed to long-term aims, and sensitive to medium and long-

term efforts)

19. Process-Focused (oriented towards processes, not merely actions or events)
20. Action-Oriented (able to undertake effective actions)
21. Enabling People (allowing people to unleash potential)
22. Encouraging Hope (encouraging efforts even in the midst of obstacles and difficulties).

**Zonepeace**

# **PHILOSOPHICAL INGREDIENTS OF THE MINDANAO PEACE PROCESS**

**Leonardo N. Mercado, SVD**

Philosophers have the stereotype of living in their ivory towers. But philosophy when applied to concrete problems is quite useful. That is why Plato advocates that the ruler of the ideal republic should be the philosopher-king. This study wants to prove the point by taking one example, namely, concrete measures for making peace.

The situation of Mindanao has recently caught the world's attention. The kidnapping activity of Abu Sayyaf of international tourists from Malaysia and holding them for ransom has hogged the headlines. Then the Moro Islamic liberation Front (MILF) has gone into a war in spite of the pleas for cease of hostilities. President Estrada opted for the military solution. Although the military gained the MILF camp, the bombardment failed because there was no confrontation. The MILF fled like guerillas. President Estrada failed to lead the nation in that particular crisis.

Critiques, like the Bishops-Ulama Forum, said that the military solution will not solve the problem. Even if the military will kill all the Muslim enemies of the republic, their children will erupt again in the future. History has shown that neither the Spanish colonizers, the Americans and the Republic of the Philippines have not solved the Muslim problem of Mindanao. In the thirteenth assembly of the bishops and ulama at Cagayan de Oro on May 17-18, 2000, these religious leaders proposed a holistic solution, namely, that other parties besides the MILF and the Philippine government not be the only players. Rather all sectors of society, especially the people of Mindanao should be involved in solving the unrest.

One success story is the Maladeg Peace Zone and Dungos Peace Pact (see the Appendix). Maladeg is a barangay of Sultan Gumander in Lanao del Sur. The purpose of this paper is to treat it as a case study. What are the philosophical principles in the case? Clarifying them may be a recipe for replicating it in other zones of peace.

We intend to proceed thus. First, we shall explain some cultural aspects which are presupposed in the case study. Second, we shall analyze the ingredients or factors for the success. Thirdly, we shall explain these peace ingredients into philosophical categories.

## **CULTURAL ASPECTS**

Before going to the factors, let us explain some terms. One is *rido*, the Maranao term for family feud. This is not only true with the Maranaos because the Manobos have the same term and the same mechanism.

A typical case of *ride* and its origin is illustrated in the following example. If a person elopes with the wife of another fellow-Manobo, the husband looks for the culprit who got his wife. The husband first consults the *datu* to solve the problem. If the *datu* cannot solve the problem, the husband will take law into his hands. He will intend to kill the culprit after much search, then he will take his revenge on any member of the family of the culprit. If the culprit and his family escapes, he will take his revenge on any neighbor of the culprit in the *barrio*. Even animals are not spared. When this incident happens, the whole neighborhood usually hide in the forest. The term is *magahat*, grudge. This is the start when people look down on their fellowmen. The trouble will become an inter-family or even inter-clan clash.

How is the fight solved peacefully? If the culprit wants to be reconciled with the husband of the woman, the culprit goes to a *datu*. The aggrieved husband also his own *datu*. Both *datus* confer on the way of peaceful reconciliation. There are two steps: First is the rite called *tampuda sa balagon* and the penalty. The ritual can range from a simple one to a most elaborate one, depending on the gravity. But the same elements are kept.

If the couple who eloped on their way to the place of judgment will be pass through villages which are aware of the incident, the *datu* will call the couple. If they pass through five communities, they must offer one pig each to each community where they will pass through. The pig will be used as a ritual for every community they will pass through so that temptations will lessen and will not affect the community and that such a crime will not occur in their community.

The final ritual, the *tampuda sa balagon*, takes place when they reach home. This ritual only takes place when there is a *magahat*, that is, when many have perished. It is a strife between one community to another. The rite will require one carabao, one chicken, a ginger which is sliced into small pieces, plenty of coins of small denomination. The coins are mixed with small pieces of clothes of different colors: red, white and black. The colors signify that sin was done. The *baylan* (shaman-ritualist) will pray over these things. All the curses are laid on these symbols. The curse and sins as symbolized by the colored pieces of fabrics that are then thrown away to symbolize that the bad thoughts will be banished for the two persons who want to be reconciled.

The coins and the sliced ginger are given to persons who are aware of the incident. The ginger symbolizes the waning of potential temptation of those who heard it. The chicken is then butchered. The feathers of the chicken is dipped on the blood which is smeared on the hands of the culprit: the man and the woman to symbolize the removing of what entered their bodies so that they will not do the sin again. Then a prayer is made that peace and reconciliation return. Then both parties hold both ends of the vine and the vine is cut on the middle. This symbolizes that the feud has ended and what remains is peace. Whoever will repudiate the rite, the curse will fall on whoever first repudiates the pledge.

Then the verdict takes place. If he has eloped with a single woman, then the *datu*, the parents and important people decide if there will be a wedding. But if the woman is married, the group will also decide on what amount the man has to pay. The carabao is given to the husband

who has had a great anger and anguish on what happened to his wife. There is no reconciliation unless these rituals are first fulfilled.

The same pattern is also true of the Kalingas of Northern Luzon, even if they have accepted Christianity. Sister Aurora Codian, a Kalinga, reports:

As far as I can remember, revenge among the Kalingas seems to be the normal thing to do. If somebody does not take revenge on a killing, his future generation of children and grandchildren will be laughed at and criticized for the failure of their father for not having avenged the death of their loved ones.

An example might illustrate the point. If one of the sons in a family is killed, the father and the brothers of the victim have to act and avenge their loved ones. They go to a *kayaw*, a venture to take revenge on the other side which had killed the sons or the brother. If they succeed in taking one of the people – not necessarily from the family who committed the crime – they even go to the point of beheading the victim and go home with the head. When they reach home they dance around the head of the victim. After his killing, of course the other side has to retaliate, to avenge the death of their loved one. They also go to the same process that the people did.

This state of war is very disadvantageous and impedes progress. If the enemy knows that the student in Manila is from another tribe, that student is also in danger. The effect of revenge goes far and wide. Many students would stop their studies as a result of their tribal conflict between the two barrios. So cultivating the fields near barrio is impossible. And because the fields are idle, people suffer economically.

There are times when the revenge and counter-revenge last many years. After they see that it has become senseless, only then will they try to negotiate for peace.

How many cases of litigation solved among the Kalingas? This process is known as the *bodong* or peace pact. In essence it is similar to the Manobo procedure just described above.

The traditional peace negotiation has no prisons. The sanctions are so heavy that the members of the tribe see to it that peace will be maintained. The person also is pressured by the tribe to keep his part.

The economic consequences of the *rido* as also experienced in Mindanao. Datu Bra says: “The bad thing about *rido* is that our livelihood is really paralyzed. The advantage of having no *rido* is you are free to move wherever place you like to go, no problem.”

So in the case, Rodil explains: “...Bob’s mortal enemies ... (were) at war for more than two decades. They were sworn to eliminate his family from Maladeg; his family fought them to survive.”

Family feuds and clan warfare are there not only true of the indigenous peoples but also among lowland Filipinos. Tagalogs or other Filipino groups have the same tendency. The term used is *ubusan ng lahi*, wherein family members will continue to take revenge until the lineage is ended. We think rido and its mechanism seems to be rooted in the Malay blood, long before there were Filipino Muslims and Christians.

The Filipino Muslims (e.g., Tausog, Maranao, Maguindanao) are also ethnically divided. Blood is more important than religion among them. So we find this division in Maharlika Village, Taguig, Metro Manila, where each tribe has a separate mosque. They tend to reside by tribe.

## **SUCCESSFUL INGREDIENTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS**

*Membership of the Peace Zone.* The members are represented by clans. That means full representation through designated leaders. The members process their cases to their leaders who do the negotiation with other leaders.

*Leadership.* The elected leader of peace zone, Manuel Anton or Bob is half Maranao and a Catholic. His father was “half Spanish, one-fourth Maranao, one-fourth Maguindanao, former Chief of Police and four-term mayor of Malabang, Lanao del Sur.” That means by blood he can belong to both sides and therefore acceptable to parties. Furthermore, “he protects ... not only his blood relatives but all people who believe in him in the peace zone.” He does not play favorites. Fairness does not consider social rank. For instance, he jailed his own son for a minor infraction. The leaders do not seek monetary compensation.

An important element in the peace zone is discipline of the members. “Each leader must discipline his followers and his subjects.”

*Process.* There is democratic participation. It is the same spirit as the *bodong* of the Kalinga or the *rido* process. That means leaders mediate in the spirit of harmony and reconciliation. There is also much social pressure. Also the committee immediately tries to settle conflicts.

The desire for peaceful co-existence must come from the people. The people do not have to wait for the government leaders to step in or take the initiative.

*The nature of the zone.* The zone must be neutral and non-partisan. This state of neutrality encourages openness on the part of the members. This non-partisanship renounces favoritism and nepotism which are weaknesses of being clannish.

*The law.* The peace pact is nurtured by self-regulation. That means the law is within. There is also the element of consensus. “... To maintain the integrity of the peace zone, the datus must first of all agree.”

*Values encouraged in the zone.* The value of being for others, the supremacy of moral duty, social rights over individual rights. Vigilance: to always expect the unexpected. Self-regulation, the constant check and balance of the community. The value of non-violence as supreme to violence.

## **PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLES**

What philosophical principles can we draw from the case mentioned above? We can mention several.

The Muslims of Mindanao, like the lumads, have a *holistic view of reality*. Religion is integrated to life.

This view is very different from the present philosophy of the government where religion (church) is separate from the government.

It is based primarily on the concept of the *individual* and the community. In other words, the social philosophy. As we said in our books, the Filipino is *sakop* oriented. He is not individualistic. This means duty over right. A weakness of Western culture is its stress on individual rights; but rights also have corresponding duties.

There is also the philosophy of *harmony*.

The law is holistic and from within. It is not something exterior. This philosophy is different from the traditional western practice where (1) the individual is the basis of the negotiation. (2) Secondly, the traditional legal system is dualistic in the sense that the verdict is either for one of the two parties. One party is either guilty and the other innocent. But such is not the case of Philippine legal philosophy, which is also Oriental, especially Chinese. There is both give and take. There are no true winners and losers. Both party save their faces.

The penal system is also defective. Most often prisons are not correctional but are schools of crime. In the present penal system in the Philippines, the jails are overcrowded. There is little room for rehabilitation.

In conclusion, let me cite a recent case of a peace zone. The MILF wanted to take refuge in a peace zone. But the peace zone leaders gave the condition: if they want to enter, they must leave behind their arms. The same condition was given to soldiers of the Philippine government.

However, every community is unique just as every individual is unique. The community may have its own human chemistry which cannot be replicated elsewhere. However, the main guidelines insure the success of copying it elsewhere.

In short, the peace zones are creating truly areas of peace. If these areas will be multiplied, the elusive peace of Mindanao will be attainable.

## APPENDIX

### **The Maladeg Peace Zone and Dungos Peace Pact**

*An excerpt from new book entitled **New Friendship Must Be Born, The Story by the GRP-MILF Peace Process 1975-1996**. The author, **Rudy B. Rodil**, is a peace advocate and professor of history at MSU Iligan Institute of Technology, Iligan City*

Homespun, and designed by the very people themselves, the Maladeg Peace Zone stands out as the most unique all over the country. It sprang forth in Maladeg, a coastal barangay of Sultan Gumander, Lanao del Sur, a province where more than 93 percent of whose population is Maranao Muslim. Suhan Gumander itself is nearly 98 percent Maranao.

But in Maladeg itself, the population is 90 percent Maranao and 10 percent Christian, made up of 876 houses. When the zone started, there were slightly more than ten Christian houses. Now there are more than a hundred.

Many of the Maranaos do not come from Maladeg. A good number of them hail from the nearby towns of Nunungan, Calanugas, Malabang, Ganassi, Karomatan and Balabagan. They either came as evacuees during Martial Law days or simply sought shelter on account of unstable conditions in their places of origin. Muslim

residents are clustered on the north side of the coast, while the Christians are on the south side. The leading families, the Antons stay in the middle.

They used to be mixed in the early days. But then because of differences in culture, like the sale and drinking of liquor and the raising of hogs among Christians, which were built-in irritants among them, they decided to live separately. Since Islam prohibits the sale and drinking of liquor, Muslims are not allowed to buy or take liquor in Christian stores. There has been no trouble ever since they made the agreement.

The elected leader of the peace zone is 60-year old Manuel Anton, more popularly known as Bob. He is half Maranao, a Catholic Christian, and the youngest in a brood of eight. His father Miguel was half Spanish, one-fourth Maranao, one-fourth Maguindanao, a former chief of police and four-term mayor of Malabang, Lanao del Sur. His mother is Mareg Limano of the respected Ibrahim clan of Pualas, Lanao del Sur. Her own father was the former Sultan Dalumangkob of Pualas. Married to a Trinidad Carpio, a charming Zamboangueña.

Bob is referred to endearingly by the Maranao residents as the Ama-Ina (FatherMother) of the zone. One reason he is called Ina-Ama, said Maanyag Ampuan, one of the original authors of the Peace Zone, is that "he protects his family, meaning not only his blood relatives but all the people who believe in him in the peace zone. When his family is in distress, he forgets himself and he will take maximum measure to save the lives of his family."

All the signatories of the Covenant of Peace and Development - the original of this document is in Maranao-used to be Bob's mortal enemies, *ridu-ai* in Maranao, with whom his family was at war for more than two decades. They were sworn to eliminate his family from Maladeg. But his family fought them to survive. In the process he lost some members of his family. He himself is a veteran of countless armed encounters with them. Now, they are allies, sworn to protect each other in a peace zone.

When they arrived in Maladeg; said Sangcupan Kilab, one of the authors of the peace zone, there were about ten houses there. They conferred with the Antons. They decided to create a committee whose task was to fix all kinds of *rido*, and also to prevent the escalation of trouble particularly inside the zone. There were quite many *ridos* all around them at that time. Now, the committee has more than 30 members and the houses have increased to more than 800. They also decided to create a Peace Zone. The area is about seven kilometers in width and about 15 kilometers in length. It is bounded by Turayas in the east, by Liangan-Subuan in the west, the kalumpang or Kaludan in the north, up to Mamaanan and back of Turayas.

The members of the peace zone represent clans; they even have MNLF and MILF commanders among them, all sworn to uphold the eight rules and regulations of the zone. The zone did not have a name in the beginning, just a Committee made up of 13 leaders, and the covenant was not written either (but put on paper later). From the original 13 in 1978, the zone covenant's signatories now has increased to 41. Four of the signatories are MNLF commanders, one a Chief Inspector of the PNP and a colonel of the Philippine Army. The incumbent mayor of Sultan Gumander is so pleased with the peace and order situation in Maladeg he decided to relocate his office there.

A Council of Elders sees to it that these rules are implemented. To ensure proper implementation the rules are disseminated to all the families in the zone. Where a family or clan is unable to implement the rules, the signatories - datus and leaders - of the covenant will take over the implementation. They have a community jail for violators. The first tenant was the son of Bob himself for a minor infraction, a proof that he favored no one. The community respected him for that act. Many others have been imprisoned there, including soldiers, CAFGUs. No exceptions are made as long as they violate the rules.

Armed conflict, gambling, the use of prohibited drugs, any form of criminality, in fact, anything considered bad, are prohibited inside the Zone of Peace. Good deeds, however, are encouraged.

Outsiders who wish to reside inside the Zone are required to seek the permission of the Council of Elders and commit themselves to a strict compliance of the rules and regulations prior to approval.

Any outsider of the Zone who has *rido* or a family feud but does not wish to be part of the *rido*, can avail of sanctuary inside the Zone, provided he will promise to renounce violence and cut off his support for his relatives involved in the *rido*. This also means that he may not use the Zone as his base of operations to participate in *rido*. The Zone leaders, in turn, will provide him protection and assistance from any trouble maker.

They also have a committee whose members are constantly on the alert for any outbreak of actual conflict or potential conflict. If they feel that a conflict is about to break out, they would immediately visit the involved parties and talk them out of it. Where armed conflict has already broken out, they will visit the contending parties and persuade them to have a cease-fire. As soon as the parties agree, the next move is to get them to negotiate for a peaceful resolution. In cases of murder or attempted murder, Zone rules require that the weapon used in the crime must first be turned over to the Committee before resolution.

The Committee has not only confined its services to the people of Maladeg, it has also extended assistance to those in need in nearby Maganding, Malabang, Nunungan, and Karomatan. Women violators, married or unmarried, may not be subjected to interrogation without the presence of male relatives of the first degree.

The Committee's record of success in settling conflict has been spectacularly high. Contrary to the practice of mediation common among Maranaos of requiring a fee of 30 percent of the settlement sum, they as mediators do not charge a single centavo for their services. Neither are they compensated for their work. They have also built a reputation for fairness, regardless of social rank.

### ***Feedback from the People***

Some feedback from the signatories will reveal to what extent the Peace Zone has been successful in creating a new way of life in Lanao del Sur. In the interviews with the Maranao leaders, they were asked to respond especially to two questions: (a) Describe life with *rido* and life without *rido*, and (b) Why did he choose to live in Maladeg?

Mauyag "Mawi" Ampuan, originally from Nunungan, has lived 40 years in Maladeg. He is one of the authors of the Peace Zone and is also one of the signatories of the Covenant of Peace and Development. When asked about his opinion on life with or without *rido*, he said: "A person without *rido* can go anywhere. A person with *rido* is like a carabao tethered to a tree. He can only move around as far as the rope will allow."

According to Ustadh Ampaso, originally from Uyaan, a leader of more than 50 families from the same place and one of the original signatories of the covenant, life with *rido* is like being a "prisoner inside your own household." What attracted him to Maladeg was that the place is "peaceful and I decided to stay here because this is where I found peace of mind."

Kadi Abbas, hails from Nunungan, heads more than 200 families. He has lived in Maladeg in the last 20 years. He commented: «When you have *rido*, you are never stable. You are like a prisoner. You cannot work; you cannot go out of your house; you cannot extend assistance to anybody because you are afraid to go out. Your enemy might be somewhere else and might take any a chance on you. He can kill you."

He chose to stay in Maladeg. He told Bob Anton: «because of you and your brothers, we have identified you as people who are concerned about helping other people especially when they are oppressed, when they are hard up. Your family is always there to extend assistance to these oppressed people. To these people who are

financially hard up. And most of all, your place is identified with peaceful coexistence among the inhabitants. We find this place very ideal for future plans. This is the place where we can rest with peace of mind. This is a place where we can feel safe even if we have enemies. We believe you will not leave us unprotected."

Datu Bra who has lived in Maladeg for 40 years said: "The bad thing about *rido* is that our livelihood is really paralyzed. The advantage of having no *rido* is you are free to move wherever place you like to go, no problem." Why did he choose to stay in Maladeg. This is where he discovered that he can make a living in peace.

Alim Abu Jabir, originally known as Khalid Rajah Muda Ali, is from Nunungan. He studied Arabic in Matampay, Marawi City and went to Kuwait University on a scholarship. He graduated in 1991. He came home when Iraq attacked Kuwait. As an Islamic teacher, he moves around a lot. Even if he does not concern himself with the *rido* of his clan, he still takes precautionary measures. He plans his movements. He is aware that *rido* is prohibited in Islam. One of the things he does in his travels is to tell people the efforts being made by the people of Maladeg.

But how does one sustain the peace zone? Makaorao Sarif, Sultan of Liangan and regular emissary during settlement processes, believes that to maintain the integrity of the peace *zone*, the datus must first of all agree. Every leader must discipline his followers and his subjects. When the datus agree among themselves, it means that they have one motive, which is to find peace for themselves and their followers. Leadership is very important. The leaders and datus participation is very important to achieve this aim.

### **The Dungos Peace Pact**

I visited Barangay Dungos in Tulunan on September 11, 1999. One month before the visit, Barangay Chairman Mario M. Baloniebro Sr. said that a group of MNLF arrived at the place to inform the people that they were going to establish an armed detachment there, Dungos being part of MILF Camp Rajarnuda.

Christian and Muslim residents of the place met with them to inform them that the peace pact in Dungos does not to allow any armed person inside the area. And this includes the military and police as well.

This Peace Pact was signed on March 20, 1995 by representatives of the Christian and Muslim inhabitants of the Barangay. Among the signatories were the barangay chairman, Mayor Rodolfo Peñafiel of Tulunan, the parish priest, Father Buenaflor. The witnesses included no less than Governor Rosario Diaz of Cotabato, Congressman Gregorio Andolana of Cotabato, Mayor Ibrahim Pagtas III of datu Pagtas, Mayor Saidona Pendatun of SK Pendatun, the Provincial director of the PNP, the Battalion Commander of 401B, 61D, and Boy Hasim, MNLF Brigade Commander of the Upper Kutawatu Revolutionary Command.

Sometime after the signing, a delegation led by Mayor Peñafiel traveled to Camp Abubakar where they informed Hadji Murad, MILF Vice Chairman for Military Affairs about the peace pact. The response of the MILF leader was encouraging. As a result of the August attempt of the MILF to establish a detachment in Dungos, the people again conferred with the MILF leadership. The latter decided to respect the agreement of the people.

The Dungos peace pact was born out of the turbulence of the early 70s and the insecurities resulting from the raging war between the AFP and the MNLF afterwards. It was also inspired by the successful creation of the Peace Zones of Sitios of Miatub and New Alimodian and barangays Bituan, Banayal and Tuburan in the same municipality of Tulunan that became one of the Ten Outstanding Awardees for development programs throughout the country. Declared as a Special Development Area (SDA), the Peace Zones gained the support of the national government and were extended financial support for the people's livelihood program.

Among the agreements of Dungos were the settlement of internal conflicts by peaceful means and the disallowance of armed groups, including the military, to enter the area unless requested by the members of the Ad Hoc Committee.

### ***Lessons from the Peace Zones***

What the peace zone of Maladeg and the peace pact of Dungos teach us is that the people need not wait for top level negotiations between Government of the Philippine (GRP) and MNLF or GRP and MILF to come to terms.

They know what kind of peace they want and they can agree among themselves within the community. Self-regulation is an important ingredient here because it illustrates that establishing a peace zone or the creation of a peace pact area and maintaining the same requires vigilance and a constant demonstration of the stakeholders' political will. There is nothing better than peace that flows and is nurtured from within.

## **COLLABORATIVE METHOD: A PARADIGM SHIFT IN PEACE EDUCATION**

**Prof. Wilson Chua and Mark Gutang**

The age of globalization ushered in a paradigm shift in the educational landscape that approaches and recognizes that world and worldview are not altogether '*pre-given*' but rather develop in history (Wilber, 1995). In short, it's highly evolutionary in content and context. Today, a variety of interactive approaches had been devised to enable educators to effectively engage and teach students or participants as well.

Responding to the potential of anytime, anywhere learning, we had produced a structured learning experience called collaborative approach. It easily conveys complex ideas, encourages collaboration and interactivity while providing broader access to resources that enrich learning, and enables experiential learning to take place. There are two important elements involve in such process, namely, content and context. Based on our experience, we found out that the common dilemma in inter-active approach, lies often than not, in the execution of the activity to enhance learning, but on the evaluation, processing and synthesizing of the experiential learning. Therefore, we would like to share the collaborative techniques to equip the participants

from any field, to transform learning into the more flexible, personalized, media-rich, and accountable endeavour required by today's knowledge-based economy.

Content, in this approach includes the developing of the following skills:

1. Communication skill
2. Analytical skill
3. Processing skill
4. Facilitator skill

Context, on the other hand, looks into the structured learning experience and it's evaluative tool.

The convergence of these elements is creating an opportunity for a more mature environment, in which students/participants take better advantage of inter-active education, providing them with experiential, simulated activity to produce expanded learning and in the end, push educator/facilitator with considerable evaluative tool to measure the effectivity and efficiency of the method utilized and consequently, better address their needs.

The participants are to undergo hands-on exercise on the following collaborative framework for a duration of one and a half hour seminar-workshop:

- I. Experiential Activity
- II. Sharing
- III. Publishing
- IV. Processing
- V. Synthesizing includes evaluative tools to participants performances.

In these efforts, we are reconciling facilitator skills with the long standing educators culture, moving from virtual to real day to day life experiences. Thus, as a result, collaborative learning approach empowers not only the students/participants with integrative techniques, but providing educators/facilitators a paradigm shift by adopting end-to-end solution into the traditional instructional models.

## **ECREA, Bougainville, Fiji and Solomon Islands**

**Koila Costello-Olsson**

For Solomons and Bougainville, not everything about the Crisis is well documented. For some of the people they felt it would "endanger the people's lives if they wrote it down. The women who shared their stories with us did so because they saw it as a "safe space". I did not know that I would be presenting here so I did not prepare before hand. I can only share what I know from our contacts in Bougainville and the Solomons.

In Bougainville and Solomons the women did mobilize during the conflict. They would go to the camps and address the young men, saying, "What are you doing here? You are killing your cousins...go home now". At times superstition was used to get men to fight each other; it would hypnotise them and put them in trances. The other group would use holy water on them to make them "wake up". These young men were used like human shields - this happened in the Solomons.

Women mobilized themselves and made themselves known to so that they could be involved in the negotiations and the peace talks. The women in Bougainville especially the Leihana Nehan Women's Development Agency were instrumental in facilitating the peace process in Bougainville. They also won a

United Nations Peace Prize. The groups' in the Solomons and Bougainville also provided counselling for those who have been victimized in the conflict. Some of the women attended training at the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre to learn counseling skills to help the victims/survivors of violence.

In Fiji, some of the activists have been involved since 1987 in pacifist protests. After the May 2000 Coup civil society groups like the National Council of Women through its WadaP campaign together with the Ngo Coalition of Human Rights, Citizen's Constitutional Forum, ECREA, FemlinkPacific, Catholic Women's League, Fiji Women's Crisis Center and The Fiji Women's Rights Movement, Inter-faith Search Fiji were apart of the Blue Ribbon Peace Vigils that first happened on May 19th 2000 and continues until today on the 19th of every month. The Vigils helped to bring together the women and men of the different groups to talk about how they were feeling and their visions for Peace in Fiji. It helped in the process of healing all the mistrust that occurred. It was also a place which brought together the former hostages and their families. Inter-faith worship also occurred in the Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral, the venue for the Peace Vigils. This was only the beginning of Peace activities initiated by Women in Fiji.

Other community groups joined in a campaign called Fiji Blue. They comprised of the members of the Ngo Coalition on Human Rights, Inter-faith Search Fiji, trade union groups and Business houses to remind the government of the economic repercussions of the Coup and the need to settle the Conflict in a democratic manner. I joined ECREA in June 2000 and we began our media campaign messages in July 2000 and had our first intercultural workshops in August, September, and November in 2000 with people for our member churches and people from Interfaith-Search Fiji.

As program coordinator, one has to acknowledge that everybody is part of this process. We have begun to play a facilitating role to help people to analyze why these things have happened and why we need to understand ourselves. Also, we need to acknowledge the need for the youth to be part of this process. Young Adults with Concern was an initiative that grew out of Ecrea where the youth on September 18, 2000 went around giving peace candles and they organized a gathering in Sukuna Park so that the youth could share their views as they felt they were being left out.

The people have also been very confused about the leadership in our country. For example, the President of the Methodist Church and the Head of the Fiji Council of Churches, officiated some of the ceremonies of the illegal provisional government. Now he has been appointed as a Senator in this new government.

## **Creating a Culture of Peace through Peace Museums: Activities for Reconciliation between Japan and China**

**Kazuyo Yamane**

*A Part-time Lecturer of Peace Studies at Kochi University The Editor of Muse: Newsletter of Japanese Network of Museums for Peace*

### **I. Introduction**

There are about fifty peace museums in Japan. It is said that there are about four million visitors a year according to Professor Ikuro Anzai, the director of Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Peace museums play important roles in peace education and creating a culture of peace. I'd like to focus on peace museums that play a large part in creating a culture of peace in Asia, especially in the relation between Japan and China.

As for the methodology, a questionnaire and participant observation will be used. I sent questionnaires to fifty peace museums in summer and there were forty responses. Participant observation is based on my volunteer activities at International Exchange Section of Grassroots House, a small peace museum at Kochi City

in the southwestern part of Japan since 1992. It is also based on my trip to China to investigate the results of the germ war in China in 1998.

I am also the editor of Japanese Network of Museums for Peace since 1998, which helps me know activities of peace museums in Japan and abroad.

Since networking of peace/war museums in Asia has not been done yet, the necessity of making Asian Network of Peace Museums will be emphasized at the end.

## **II. Peace Museums in the World and Japan**

How is it possible to know peace museums in the world? There is a guidebook called *Peace Museums Worldwide* published by the United Nations in 1995 and revised in 1998. The first International Conference of Peace Museums was held at the University of Bradford in 1992 and the International Network of Peace Museums was made. The International Newsletter of Peace Museums started to be edited by Dr. Peter van den Dungen of the University of Bradford and published by Give Peace A Chance Trust. It is possible to know activities of peace museums in the world through this newsletter, but unfortunately news in Asia is very limited.

The second international conference was held at Schlaining, Austria in 1995, and the third conference was held in Osaka and Kyoto in 1998. Japanese Network of Museums for Peace was made then and *Muse*: its newsletter started to be edited by Kazuyo Yamane and published by Grassroots House twice a year. Since it is written in English, it is possible for non-Japanese to get to know activities at peace museums in Japan.

How are the contents of peace museums in Japan? They can be classified into several types as follows:

### **1. Peace Museums Emphasizing the Victim Aspect of Japan during World War II.**

Most of the peace museums show the victim aspect of Japan during World War II such as the atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The well known peace museums are Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. Public peace museums often show the results of U.S. air raids such as Kawasaki Peace Museum in Kanagawa Prefecture and Peace Museum of Saitama. Japan was air-raided by the U.S. bombers from November, 1944 to August 15th, 1945. There are three periods of bombing according to Report of Investigation on U.S. Strategic Bombing.

- (1) Bombing of military establishments from a high altitude from November, 1944 to March, 1945.
- (2) Air-raids of urban areas using incendiary bombs from low altitude at night beginning with Tokyo air-raids on March 10th, 1945 to mid-May. Japan was heavily damaged.
- (3) Air-raids of residential areas of big cities using incendiary bombs from the end of May, 1945: Tokyo and Yokohama in May, Osaka, Kobe, Kagoshima, Hamamatsu, Shizuoka in June, 34 cities including Sendai, Kumamoto, Takamatsu, Kochi, Koufu, Wakayama in July, Hachioji, Mito, Nagaoka, Toyama in August. Kumagaya City in Saitama Prefecture was completely destroyed on August 14th. The air-raids were stopped by the end of the war on August 15th. The estimated casualty of civilians is about 380,000 and over 2.4 million houses were burnt down. Many public peace museums hold exhibition on such U.S. air-raids in Japan.

### **2- Peace Museums Showing the Aggressive Side of Japan during the War**

There are some peace museums that show the aggressive side of Japan during the war. Oka Masaharu Memorial in Nagasaki is a good example. It was found in 1995 by private citizens, and the director is Yasunori Takazane. The museum was established to bring Japanese aggression to light by exhibiting historical facts and to keep alive the legacy of Rev. Oka Masaharu who devoted his life to calling Japan to account for Japan's invasion of other countries. The content of the museum is Japan's aggression in the Asia-Pacific region, Korean slave laborers and Korean Atomic- Bomb survivors. Activities are lectures, meetings, films and Hangul class, and newsletter is published in Japanese. The numbers of visiting secondary school students is increasing, and exchanges using a computer are getting popular.

There are public peace museums showing Japan's aggression such as Osaka International Peace Centre, Sakai City Peace and Human Rights Museums, Osaka. Since there have been criticism on exhibits about Japan's aggression by the right wing, it is not easy to hold such exhibition.

Other museums are peace museums showing pacifists and war resisters, peace museums on environmental issues, museums on human rights and comprehensive peace museums.

### **III. The Role of Peace Museums**

Visitors learn the horror of war and the importance of peace through exhibits, lectures, symposiums, film, art works such as paintings, concert, literature such as poetry and so forth at peace museums. A peace museum plays an important role in peace education not only for children but also for adults in a community.

It can also be a center of NOGs for peace, environment and human rights. For example, citizens and artists get together and make a plan for a peace concert against war in Afghanistan.

A peace museum can also be a place for peace research. Citizens get together and research any topic that they are interested in. There is usually a library at a peace museum. Then they can start working for creating a culture of peace.

The following is a case study at Grassroots House in Kochi City.

## **IV. Creating A Culture of Peace: An Exchange of Japanese-Chinese Opinions on Germ Warfare in China**

### **1. The Grassroots House Peace Trips to China**

It is surprising that over fifty years after the end of the Second World War II, the Japanese government, in a joint declaration issued by former Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and Chinese President Jiang Zemin in November 1998, finally acknowledged Japan's aggressive role in World War II. Many historical facts concerning this aggression have been hidden or ignored; they have not been taught at school in Japan. This situation is very different from that in Germany.

The peace trips to China organized by Grassroots House were started in 1991, both to investigate Japanese aggression in China, and to promote friendship with the Chinese people. During- the trips the members of the Grassroots House visited various places where Japanese troops from Kochi invaded. It was not easy trip because these were not simple sightseeing tours. There were various difficulties; for example, an old man said

to them, "I don't even want to see any Japanese. I'll hate them until I die." In 1998 an old man said to us, "I don't think you are Japanese because you are so gentle", which was very shocking to hear. This, however, shows how cruel the Japanese soldiers were during the war.

The members of the Grassroots House have gone on peace trips six times since 1991. Four booklets on the peace trips were published describing them. They have been used as teaching materials, not only for young people, but also for ordinary people who had not been aware of what had happened in China. Some drawings of Chinese victims are displayed at the Grassroots House to show the reality of the aggression and violence that characterized war.

According to Mr. Shigeo Nishimori, the director of the Grassroots House, the effects of the peace trip to China are a change in public opinion away from violence toward non-violence. A huge anti-war monument was constructed in a corner of the Johsei Peace Park in Kochi City in 1992 to pledge that Japan will never fight against China again. Since Japan's aggression towards Asian countries has not been emphasized in the public school curriculum, many college students were shocked to read the Grassroots House booklets in peace studies classes at Kochi University. This shows that peace education in Japan is inadequate; the emphasis is placed on Japan as a victim of the war, that is atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and mostly ignores Japanese aggression.

## **2. How will History be Passed Down to the Next Generation?**

We had learned of the damages wrought by Japan's army in past trips to China through our meetings with older people. In 1998, in contrast, we had an opportunity to meet the younger generation and to see how the history of the war has been passed down to them.

First, we met Chang Chunyuan and Chang Wenyuan at Chang chia chieh City of the province of Hu nan. They were born in 1945 and 1948 respectively. They are brothers; the Japanese Army during the war killed their grandfather on their father's side. They did not have any direct experiences of the war, but often heard accounts from their maternal grandfather. He described how terrible the air raids were while their family was escaping from the province of Liao Ning in the south, to the province of Hu nan. The distance is almost the same as the length of Japan from Hokkaido to Kyushu. This surprised us very much, and made us think how much we didn't know about Japanese air raids on Chinese cities. In contrast we know and remember the U.S. air raids on various Japanese cities, including Kochi City, during the war. The Chinese told us that they learned about the Nanking massacre and Japanese germ warfare from their grandparents as well as from books, movies, and TV programs.

Historical knowledge between the Chinese and the Japanese seems to vary greatly. Japanese aggression in World War II has been extensively taught at home, in schools and in communities in China, while it has more or less been ignored in Japan. For example, the Ministry of Education deleted descriptions of Japan's germ warfare unit and the Nanking Massacre from school history textbooks. Emeritus Professor Saburou Iyenaga of Tokyo Education University wrote a high school history textbook for students, but it was not approved by the Ministry of Education. He sued the Ministry in 1965, and it took 32 years for the court to award him a partial victory in 1997. As a result, Unit 731, the germ warfare unit, is starting to appear in high school textbooks. The Japanese army also forced many Asian women to act as sex slaves for their troops. Coverage of the use of sex slaves also appeared in textbooks in 1998.

It is also incredible that various conservative and nationalistic groups have attacked exhibits focusing on Japanese aggression during the war. These groups are fiercely nationalistic and seek to glorify the Second World War as a holy war. The Grassroots House has experienced many nuisance telephone calls during both day and night.

### **3. The Investigation of the Facts Concerning Germ Warfare in China**

One of the objectives of the Peace Trip to China in 1998 was to investigate the use of germ warfare by Japanese Army during the Second World War. We met some Chinese people and learned about incidents in Changde City in 1941. We also heard about the results of the use of biological weapons and further Japanese aggression in 1943.

#### **A. The Use of Biological Weapons in 1941**

We met Liu Ita who talked to us about germ warfare in Changde City in 1941. He-yingchen told us how she had lost six members out of thirteen members in her family during twenty days in 1941. She, along with 107 other Chinese, initiated a suit against the Japanese government seeking an apology and reparations in February, 1998. Both of them made clear what happened concerning the use of biological weapons in 1941. They explained how much they have been suffering and what they are demanding Japan.

Liu Ita was born in 1936 and is sixty-two. He told us that he had thought of Japan as a lifelong enemy until 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded. He was then able to distinguish between Japanese militarists and average Japanese people. He told us that he now regarded us as people fighting for the same cause. He reported on 1941 Changde City incident as follows.

On November 4, 1941, a Japanese airplane flew over Changde City and dropped soybeans, grain, cloth, and cotton that had been contaminated with the plague. As a result, many people started to get sick and then perished. The number of the dead is not clear, but number at least 3000 in 1998. Many people feel that 15,000 people died as a result of the plague. A citizen's group was organized in March of 1998 to investigate this instance and was approved by the Chinese government. The number was found to be 7,643 as of 2001.

We noticed a change in the Chinese government upon hearing this. In 1995 when the members of Grassroots House went on the fourth Trip to China, they found that Chinese public safety commissioners had followed them. They had planned to meet Tung Tseng, who had initiated a petition drive in 1992 to demand Japanese apology and compensation for war atrocities. His campaign had been canceled suddenly and Tseng was sent away because the government did not support the plan. This year we saw officials of the Chinese government working to cooperate with germ warfare victims. We thought that this was a sign of the increasing democratization of China because a grassroots movement had been approved and had gained official support.

Later the Asahi Newspaper reported that Tung Tseng had been fired from his work. This makes us feel anxious about the future of China.

#### **B. He-yingchen's Testimony as a Victim of Germ Warfare**

She was born in 1934 and is sixty-four years old. She was unable to recount her experiences without tears.

The following is her testimony.

Nobody in my family wants to forget the past. When Chinese officials asked me to meet with a Japanese research group in 1996, I said, "My grudge against the Japanese is so great that I don't want to meet any of them." We were poor, but we ran a pharmacy and had a happy life. But in 1941 I lost six members of my family in twenty days. Even my pet dog was killed. When my sister-in-law died, we couldn't even cry because we were afraid of being found and told to cremate her by government officials. Instead we buried her. Six members of my family died and our house and pharmacy were closed down. My brother was not infected with the plague, but he was killed in a Japanese air raid. My grudge against the Japanese was great, but as Mao Tse-tung said, I started to think that Japanese militarists, not the ordinary Japanese, are to be blame. I gave a speech about my experiences at ten places in Japan, and I was moved when family members of Unit 731 apologized to me for the atrocities committed during the war. I found that most of the Japanese are friendly. We brought the germ warfare case to trial in February 1998, and I can't understand why the Japanese government still doesn't admit that it used biological weapons in China. I hope that you will support our activities. I want the Japanese government to apologize to us and compensate us for the terrible damage done to us during the war.

All of the members who went on the peace trip knew about Unit 731 because a member of the unit had written about what they had done in China in the Kochi Newspaper in 1995. Still, we were all shocked to know what the biological weapons had done to the people of Changde City.

### **C. The Attack on Changde City in 1943**

We met a local historian named Yeh Jung-k'ai who has published a book on the Japanese attack on Changde City. According to him, 100,000 Japanese soldiers invaded the city in 1943. Changde City was then a beautiful city with a rich history of 1000 years. The city was ruined by the Japanese attack, including air raids. According to an American journalist, only a Spanish church and a small hotel survived the onslaught. Yeh Jung-k'ai detailed various atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers. He mentioned, for example, an old woman who lost her family in various ways. Her two brothers were killed in the air raid. Her uncle died because of the use of biological weapons. Her cousin died after being raped by 19 Japanese soldiers. She was injured when her house was bombed in an air raid.

When Yeh Jung-k'ai talked about demanding apology and compensation from the Japanese government, some survivors told him that they would rather kill some Japanese instead of receiving compensation.

Ye Rong-kai also mentioned that some Japanese soldiers also died in the plague that resulted from the 1941 germ warfare attack. He suggested that the Japanese occupation of Changde City was regarded as more important than Japanese casualties. Japanese military officers and members of the military government held little regard for the lives of the Japanese or Chinese.

The more we listened to these accounts of the past, the more we felt ashamed of being Japanese. Ye Rong-kai said that the true friendship between the Chinese and the Japanese would only be possible when public pressure forced the Japanese government to admit responsibility for the war. This will influence the future actions of our group:

### **4. The Significance of the Peace Trip to China**

A woman in our group had previously been to China on a 1997 trip sponsored by the Association of the War Bereaved. The Japanese government supports this group, and participants in its travel program receive financial support. The woman's father had been killed in the war in China. Since her mother was too old to travel, she was asked to go in her place. She found that all the group members considered themselves as victims of the war, without taking the actions of the Japanese military into consideration. As a result, they hated the Chinese and looked down on them. They had to have a secret memorial service for the war dead in a hotel room because they were afraid of the Chinese. They were particularly concerned that the scent of incense would drift out from under the door and give them away. There was no exchange of opinions and hardly any communication between the Japanese and the Chinese. The woman concluded that the Grassroots House peace trip to China was much better. She also mentioned that she started to feel friendship and sympathy for the Chinese after realizing that Japanese militarists were to blame for the death of her father, not the Chinese.

Other members who attended the peace trip, on learning about the Japanese use of biological weapons, decided to support the legal actions of the Chinese victims. There was true and mutual understanding between the Chinese and the Japanese in this grassroots exchange.

## **5. Problems to be Solved**

Military leaders responsible for the use of germ warfare in China were acquitted of the charge at war-crime trials in Tokyo. This was because they secretly gave the data they had collected on the use of biological weapons to the United States. They also gave the U.S. the results of related experiments they had conducted on prisoners and civilians. The United States used this information during the Korean War. These Japanese leaders were given high social standing in the field of medicine.

This later resulted in the greatest scandal in Japanese medicine in the postwar period. From 1982 to 1986 they produced tainted blood products for the treatment of hemophilia. These were marketed and sold even though they knew their products had been contaminated by the AIDS virus. They were subsequently arrested, but the utmost caution must be taken so that inhuman acts such as these will not be repeated in the future.

We published a booklet about the Japanese campaign of germ warfare in China. We feel it is our responsibility to take a hard look at the acts of the Japanese military during World War II and disseminate this information to the general public. Too many Japanese are ignorant about the war the Japanese military waged against other Asian countries. It is generally left out of school textbooks. We feel that Japanese belligerence during World War II should be taught in peace education, as well as the traditional view of Japan as the victim of the atomic bomb. If the Japanese government doesn't admit its wrongdoings during the war, it will be isolated internationally. Grassroots movement and international exchanges are needed more than ever to create a culture of peace.

UNESCO launched a program to promote a culture of peace in 1994. The year of 2000 was declared as the Year of the Culture of Peace. There have been grassroots exchanges between people all over the world. The Peace Trips to China were started in 1991, slightly earlier than the UNESCO's program. I think that these trips have greatly contributed to creating peace even if the scale is small. If activities like these were conducted all over the world, the international peace network would be strengthened for the benefit of the future. One part of this is the strengthening of the international network of peace museums.

## **V. The Necessity of Asian Network of Peace Museums**

The International Network of Peace Museums is growing since 1992 when the First Conference of Peace Museums was held. However, peace/war museums in Asia have not been organized as Asian Network of Peace Museums.

It would be nice if such network would be formed and contribute to creating peace in Asia in the future. Researchers can analyze issues, write them and talk about them. What is important is what to do to solve the issues. A peace museum is good means to deal with those issues and create a culture of peace.

## **VI. Conclusion**

A peace museum can play a great role in peace education, peace movement, peace research and creating a culture of peace. Ordinary people can learn current issues and think what they can do in a community-based peace museum.

The collaboration among various networks would lead to create peace: the International Network of Peace Museums, the International Peace Research Association and the International Forum for the Literature and Culture of Peace, for example. A peace museum is a good place to inform people of research results. Poetry in a panel can be exhibited to send peace messages. A peace museum doesn't have to be big. It can be small, but it would be nice to have many peace museums in many communities. They say, "Think globally and act locally." A peace museum is the place to realize it.

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## **Karen Women's Organization, Burma in Exile**

### ***Blooming Night Zan, Women's League of Burma***

I was born and grew up in Burma but am now in exile. I am a Karen.

Burma shares border in the east and north with Thailand, west with Bangladesh and India. Burma gained its independence from Britain in 1948. Since then the country has been plagued by civil wars. Currently, civil wars are being fought in the mountain borders. Along the Thai-Burma borders, there are eight refugee camps with over 100,000 refugees.

When I was 3 months in my mother's womb, our family had to escape from our village because of the fighting. Women with heavy loads had to cross the river. Now I am nearly 50 years old and I am still a refugee, and so are thousands of people in Burma. I dream to see the day when we will all be free from this situation.

During this time of conflict, three women organizations were formed. The Karen Women's Organization, the Kawthoolei Karen Baptist Women's Organization, and the Women's League of Burma.

My organization, the **KAREN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION** was formed in 1949 with the aim of supporting and organizing the Karen women's contribution to the Karen struggle for freedom, democracy and equality. Due to the effects of the civil war in Burma, the KWO's activities and its development were restricted. In 1985, the KWO held a congress and reorganized from the central level to the grassroots level. At present, the KWO is active in all Karen refugee camps in Thailand along the Thai/Burma border and in Karen districts within the Karen State. It has a membership of approximately 30,000.

The KWO is a member of the Women's League of Burma. The KWO is happy to participate actively within the WLB and work towards greater unity between ethnic groups and the empowerment of women. We focus in 3 main areas:

#### 1. SOCIAL WELFARE

Counseling and support for the elderly. Set up of shops.

Sewing Project

Cotton planting

Weaving Project

Relief Assistance

#### 2. ORGANIZATION AND INFORMATION NETWORKING

Capacity Building

Documentation

Publishing

Training of Grassroots

#### 3. HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Traditional Birth Attendant Programme.

Teenage Reproductive Health Education Programme Baby Kits for New Mothers

Sports

Women's Literacy Training

Young Women's School

Nursery School

Project for Internally Displaced Persons

**DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED:** KWO has a very large constituency. There are 46,040 females in the Karen alone. It has members both inside and Burma and in the refugee camps. There are many, many needs that we want to meet. In all areas that where we are working we continuously struggle with lack of funding, difficulties in transportation, and security. In order to work more successfully and effectively with our current and future projects for Karen women, we need a lot of support from you and other organizations.

The **WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA** was formed in 1999 by women from all ethnic groups within Burma. The WLB works in four main areas:

1. Capacity Building

2. Peace Education

3. Advocacy

4. Information

One important project the WLB launched in 2001 is the Signature Campaign. They were able to get the signatures of over 50,000 migrant workers, refugees and internally displaced persons along the Thai/Burma and India/Burma borders. This helped prove the existence of these groups which the Burmese government has categorically been denying. These signature were submitted to the United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees during the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa where it was sealed and put into safe-keeping.

December 8, 2001 is the 10th anniversary for when Aung San Suu Kyi received her Nobel Prize Award. WLB organized a celebration that was simultaneously held at Chiangmai, Mae Sot, & Mae Hong Son (all in Thailand) and also in India. Everyone was encouraged to wear a yellow ribbon on their lapel, symbolizing the rays of the sun and calm peace, in remembrance Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners in Burma.

The KAWTHOOLEI KAREN BAPTIST WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION was formed in 1991 in order to organize the women within the Karen baptist movement. Through trainings and seminars they aim to build up their leadership, develop skills, encourage these women.

On the first week of November this year, we held our women's conference in one refugee camp and 160 women came to participate. During the seminar, we heard a report about three families that escaped from Myanmar (Burma). During their escape, one child kept on complaining that he was very hungry. His mother tried to comfort him and tell him that there would be food in the refugee camp where they were headed. But, the next day, the mother found that her child had died of hunger.

Another woman gave birth during their escape and she had to cover her baby with leaves because there was nowhere to get clothes for the child.

THE REFUGEES in all the 8 camps along the Thai/Burma border are being supported by various non-government organizations that help provide food, medicine, education and shelter.

Education in the camps is available only up to the 10th or 11th level. Teachers (all of whom are Karen volunteers) receive a minimal allowance equivalent to \$100 per year.

*I would like to appeal to APPRA to continue to join hands with us in our peace-building efforts along the borders of Burma.*

## **Civil Society and Democratization in Cambodia**

**Miriam Coronel Ferrer**

### **ABSTRACT**

The reformatting of the Cambodian state in the 1990s has engendered the development of autonomous groups like non-government organizations, publishing firms, multiple political parties, and business establishments. These developments reflect the emergence of a variegated civil society with a positive role to play in the democratization process. Historically, this was not the case in Cambodia. Though the seeds for autonomous civil society groups were planted in post-World War II period, severe repression and civil strife under the Sihanouk, Lon Nol and Pol Pot regimes killed all such independent initiatives. Under Heng Samrin and later Hun Sen's People's Republic of Kampuchea, a more orthodox Marxist-Leninist state and society with the typical state-sponsored sectoral organizations were put in place. But the United Nations-sponsored Cambodian peace process offered a transition process largely guided by the ideals of pluralism, democratic governance, and popular empowerment.

Since the time of the election period in 1993, these new independent groups making up the new Kingdom of Cambodia's civil society have grown in number. They have exerted significant influence in major policy measures,

notably the drafting of the constitution and the promotion of sustainable rural development. A major gain on these counts have been achieved by the women's groups. The new constitution contains broad protective measures for respect of human rights, with considerable portions attending to women's and children's special interests.

The continuing political instability which reached its peak in the July 1997 ouster of First Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh has endangered the free movement of these civil society groups. However, their presence, along with support from the international community, continues to put checks on the extent Prime Minister Hun Sen can override democratic procedures.

In Kampong Cham province, there are two human-made hills known as Phnom Pross and Phnom Srey. Phnom Pross was built by men, and Phnom Srey by women in a contest meant to settle the question as to which gender is more industrious and wise. The rule was to work only at night so that daily tasks would be carried on as usual. On the first night, the women saw that the men's mound of a hill was higher. So the women met, mapped out their strategy and organized their flank. Every night, the two camps carried mounds of earth for their respective hills, stopping only when the star of Sirius rose. The men did not know that the women were actually flying a lantern to confuse the men that the star had risen. So while the men wended up their work for the night, the women went on till the real star of Sirius rose. By the time the men saw through the trick, it was too late. The women had built a higher hill through their wisdom, industry and solidarity.<sup>1</sup>

The contest to build the higher and more solid hill between the two genders may be likened to the race to build a strong state and a strong civil society in Cambodia today. Both are important for Cambodia to set off on a progressive democratization path.

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Paper read at the Conference of the International Federation of Social Science Organizations, 5-11 December 1997, Phitsanulok, Thailand.

A strong and stable state, with functional and transparent institutions whose roles are clearly delineated by law, and with relative autonomy from any sectarian interest, is important to institutionalize democratic governance, undertake sustainable economic development, and put an end to the continuing civil strife. A strong civil society, on the other hand, is crucial to guard against authoritarianism, instill a democratic culture, rear and nurture future government leaders, and create avenues for popular participation in formulating and implementing policies affecting political, economic and cultural life.

In a situation of a weak state, civil society is important to ensure that the nature of the state, its laws and institutions that eventually stabilize are in conformity with civil society's goals of a just and humane society. For this reason, it is preferable that civil society gets to build Phnom Srey, the women's hill.

This paper will focus on the growth of civil society in contemporary Cambodia. While the discussion on the evolution and roles of Cambodian civil society cannot be detached from the development of the Cambodian state, the latter cannot be covered exhaustively in this paper. Also, I have not had the luxury of an intensive field research in Cambodia to give a comprehensive review of Cambodian civil society. From my limited field work and research, I can at best provide some of the trends and landmarks from which deeper studies can be made.

For this discussion, civil society is defined as the public sphere where non-state, autonomous groups and individuals relate with each other on matters of collective concern. Such groups include non-government organizations, people's organizations, religious institutions, media establishments, academic institutions, business groups, social and political movements and parties, and basic communities where families, clans and ordinary people live. The 1980s collapse of authoritarian states resulting from peoples' protests led by independent non-state groups has tightly linked civil society participation with the democratization process. Moreover, the difficulty in building and sustaining democratization in the post-authoritarian state has put the onus on civil society to somehow see through the process. Civil society groups have thus assumed the roles of guardians of the people against state abuse, provider of social welfare which many states fail to deliver sufficiently, and active advocates of structural transformation.<sup>2</sup>

The study of socio-political processes where civil society relations vis-a-vis the state is a key area falls within the broader concept of the political system as described by Josef Blahoz (also in this volume). While the narrow concept confines itself to the state authorities, the administrative divisions of the state territory and the political party system, the broader concept includes the varied organizations of society participating, directly or indirectly, in political life.

The broader concept allows us to appreciate democratization as a more dynamic process where people can actually intervene in governance other than in exercising their right to vote, even as they remain outside of the formal state institutions, and despite the weaknesses of these institutions; and where power is de-concentrated (away from the state) and multiple centers of influence are created. In addition, the particularity of the evolution of civil society groups in different countries undergoing different sorts of transitions (post-communist, post-dictatorship, post-colonial, etc) highlights the fact that democratization processes are ultimately unique to each nation(s)-state. Unlike the notion of "democracy," therefore, democratization can more easily liberate itself from the dominance of a set of values and institutions as found in Western democracies that has straitjacketed the debate between so-called universal/western values and particular/eastern values.

### **Civil Society Before and After Pol Pot**

Prior to World War, Cambodian society was unvariegated. Society was a loose conglomeration of peasant villages inhabited by nuclear families and clans without any direct link to a national community. Secondary education was introduced only in 1935. There was only one Cambodian doctor. No modern intelligentsia had evolved to successfully lead an independence movement apart from the monarchy.

Cambodian civil society began to show some dynamism in the late 1940s up to the early 1950s when the Cambodian monarchy, pressured by the rise of a small bourgeoisie, undertook selective liberalization measures such as the holding of elections, the recognition of press freedom and freedom of association, and the drafting of a constitution. The period saw the birth of several political parties and newspapers in Phnom Penh. In the mid-1960s, there were 13 dailies, two weeklies, three monthlies, a Sunday supplement, and a daily mimeographed press summary being published in Cambodia.

But Sihanouk's Sangkum government (1955-1970) was not committed at all to an open political system. In 1960, four newspapers were banned and their editors imprisoned for a time. One victim of such government repression was leftist intellectual and Pol Pot's future Foreign Minister Khieu Samphan, and his paper, *L'Observateur*. In early 1967, a peasant uprising in Samlaut was brutally suppressed. Leaders of anti-Sihanouk demonstrations in Phnom Penh in the early 1960s were arrested.

The downslide of the growth of autonomous non-state groups and institutions hastened in the late 1960s when Cambodia's domestic politics could no longer escape the overarching impact of the Vietnam war and American Cold War politics in the region. Domestic repression intensified under General Lon Nol's Republic of

Kampuchea (1970-1975). The monarchy joined forces with the communists. Active resistance was effectively channeled through the Khmer Rouge organization and leadership. When the U.S.-backed Lon Nol regime collapsed, the Khmer Rouge took over, giving no space even for the monarchy.

Under Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979), Cambodian society reverted to basic rural communities engaged in agricultural production but without autonomy from the state. But instead of peasant households, production brigades and villages became the basic economic and social units. State cadres monitored all movements and organized all aspects of life, from eating to marriage and death. Except for the Angka, no other organization existed. No independent groups engaged in business nor the mass media. Religious, academic and other professional pursuits were not allowed. Nor did anybody inside Cambodia organize any political or social movement, except in the border areas.

When Heng Samrin and Hun Sen's communist party faction overthrew the Pol Pot regime, they put in place a more orthodox Marxist-Leninist regime. Governance was exercised by the State Council and Council of Ministers which drew US people from the Communist Party organized at the Kampuchean-Vietnam border in January 1979, and the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea organized in December 1978.

The provinces and two independent municipalities, Phnom Penh and the port of Kompong Som, as well as most districts were administered by local People's Revolutionary Councils (PRCs). Provincial PRC chairs were mostly former Khmer Viet Minh or former Khmer Rouge; while district chairs were chosen from members of the local community.

The Front served as a political and administrative organ of the state, gathering all classes together under the leadership of the party and the state. While effectively a state organ, it was also a mass organization, linking the people and the communist party. It had an overwhelmingly party character to it, however, since most of its leaders were also party members. Likewise, it was difficult to distinguish between the party and the state, since the structure and leadership of one and the other were practically one and the same.

Mass organizations in the form of the standard party-sponsored Women's Association, Youth Organization, and Association of Kampuchean Trade Unions were set up. All three held their respective National Congresses in 1983. Typically, they became the conduit for disseminating government policy, mobilizing state-directed grassroots participation, and dispensing state welfare. No other local NGO nor non-state media operated. On the whole, the party was the most dominant institution, especially its ruling clique and it pervaded both the state and the mass organizations. (see chart below)

Political System of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (approx. 1979-1989)		
MASS ORGANIZATIONS	COMMUNIST PARTY (KHMER PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY)	GOVERNMENT SYSTEM
National Front	National Congress -- Central Committee	National Assembly (Legislative)
Women's Association	Political Bureau	Council of State (Executive)
Trade Union Association	Executive Committee	Council of Ministers (Administrative)
Youth Organization	Provincial Congress	Local Government Councils
	(Lower Organs w/ respective Executive Committees)	Provinces (#18) & Municipalities (#2)
		Districts
		Subdistricts
	Party Cells	Villages

This absence of nonstate-sanctioned formations fit Thayer's description of "monoorganizational socialism," which he used to describe the case of the *pre-doi moi* Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Given another decade, one can ask whether the PRK could have gradually evolved into the more orthodox socialist model of state and society. In contrast to Vietnam, there were effective limitations to this type of development. For one, the total devastation suffered by Cambodia made reconstruction needs very basic. Economic activity was taking off at a primitive level of capital accumulation. A modern educational system had to be reestablished under severe resource constraints, since this disappeared under the previous regime. Given the circumstances, the PRK did not go about full scale socialist economic transformation. BK-enforced communes were broken, enabling people to engage in private economic activity as they could and where possible. State, co-operative and family enterprises co-existed. Many freely took up to buying and selling commodities, which until 1983 were not even taxed. Besides, Vietnam itself was already moving into *doi moi* by the 1980s, and the soundness of large-scale cooperativization and of continued subsidy to poorly performing state enterprises were already under review.

Secondly, the PRK state and its institutions were weak. In the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, socialist state formation in the North began as early as 1945. After the Vietnam War, the South was incorporated in this fairly stable and functional state led by a powerful and cohesive Communist Party. In contrast, the constitution of PRK was adopted only in June 1981. Its communist leadership and membership base was spare, and the organizational strength of the *Party* was derived largely from Vietnamese support. The PRK also suffered from the dearth of professionals due to purposive extermination of the intelligentsia by the Khmer Rouge and the continued exile of survivors. Moreover, it was beset by the armed threat posed by the Khmer Rouge. Internationally, the PRK was isolated. US diplomatic ties were limited to Vietnam and the rest of the Soviet bloc. Except for international donor agencies who organized refugee centers in the borders of Cambodia and Thailand, its people did not receive assistance from outside the Soviet bloc.

In Vietnam, the reinvigorated state-society relations since the late 1980s has been described by Porter as a "creeping pluralism" and, by Thrift and Forbes, a "penetrating civil society." People's actions have helped propel the state to institute open market reforms, and there have been increasing initiatives among groups to enlarge civil and political spaces for influencing state policy and for engaging in autonomous action. Such a "creeping" development emerged within a largely orthodox socialist political system characterized by the continued dominance of a single powerful ruling party and a pervasive state slowly embracing a market economy. No regime change has taken place, and the process is managed, gradual and evolutionary.

In Cambodia, the institutional set-up for the development of civil society has been different. It involved a

change in regime-type, although the process was less abrupt as in the case of Eastern Europe's socialist states. Changes in regional and international politics eventually provided this opportunity: an alternative to the People's Republic of Kampuchea's international isolation and the slow, difficult rehabilitation and construction phase guided by socialist principles. The alternative came in the form of the October 1991 Paris Peace Agreement.

### **Prime Peace Dividend: The Growth of Civil Society**

The alternative Cambodian state was conceptualized at a time when the rest of the world was experiencing waves of democratic transitions from authoritarian regimes. It was also a period when non-government organizations (NGOs) as agents of change and provider of social welfare have been legitimized and institutionalized at the highest levels, including in the operations of the United Nations, and multilateral financial institutions like the World Bank. The UN and the International NGO community, although not totally in the same sense, carried this general democratic; framework of pluralism and popular empowerment when the UN-supervised peace process was put in motion in 1990.

The Cambodian peace process served to jumpstart Cambodian civil society pluralism. This effectively, has been the premium dividend earned from the process, and less the institution of a stable democratic government nor the end to Khmer Rouge insurgency. Twenty political parties, notably, fielded candidates in the 1993 election. Except for the royalist FUNCINPEC, the Cambodian People's Party (the former Communist Party) and the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party {launched by Son Sann's Khmer People's National Liberation Front), the other parties represented initiatives independent from the leaderships of the four warring parties that dominated the political scene in the past decade. MOLINAKA, for instance, was founded by Prum Neakareach, a former army officer in the royal family who fought in the Thai-Cambodian border from 1986-1992. "I started my own political party because I did not agree with FUNCINPEC, who kicked out fighters who had helped the FUNCINPEC since 1979" he said. Like MOLINAKA, most of the new parties were set up by educated Cambodians who returned from exile or from the border camps.

The major political parties published their own newspapers. Dailies and journals were also put up by independent editors. This profusion of groups and the big electoral turnout showed the enthusiasm of many Cambodians to construct a peaceful and democratic citizenship based on pluralism and civil rights.

However, the period between the election on 23-28 May 1993 and the adoption of the new constitution by the Constitutional Assembly in Phnom Penh four months later on 21 September, was fraught with many difficulties. For one, the Khmer Rouge even before the ejections had pulled out of the Agreement. The new state was on the verge of collapse resuming from an inconclusive victory by a single party. The FUNCINPEC had garnered 45% of the votes, against the CPP's 38%. This turnout translated into 58 seats for the FUNCINPEC in the Assembly, 51 for the CPP, 10 for the SLDP and 1 for MOLINAKA. In June, to prevent the outbreak of civil war, Norodom Sihanouk engineered the formation of a Provisional National Government with both Ranariddh and Hun Sen as co-prime ministers. The power-sharing arrangement was continued after the signing of the constitution and replicated at the Cabinet level, the local governments and the police and military commands.

A document prepared by the Australian Government during the election identified and examined the following problems of transition: continuing internal security problem, a collapsed economy and dilapidated infrastructure, an inefficient and under-resourced administration, a lack of trained middle management, a limited set of options for raising revenue, a near-total breakdown in law and order, and a police force and army suffering from low moral and deficient resources. On top of this, factionalism among the ruling groups threatened to break the government apart. Thus, while the electoral process proceeded well, the post-election

period required gargantuan efforts to prevent a slide to anarchy.

Despite the difficulties, several Cambodians tested their hands in NGO- building. Note that prior to this, only international NGOs existed and operated in Cambodia. Moreover, it became possible to employ local Cambodians as staff members in these NGOs only in the early 1990s, in the period of liberalization that began in 1988. This period was preceded by the first time meeting between Hun Ban and Prince Sihanouk in December 1987, and marked by the final withdrawal of Vietnamese troops in 1989, and other internal political and economic reforms adopted by the Hun Sen government.

By the second-half of 1993, the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia listed 13 local Cambodian NGOs and associations that had contacted it. They included women and sectoral associations for the youth, the elderly and rural folk. One was religion-based (the Buddhist Association for the National Reconciliation of Cambodia). A significant number were human rights organizations - the Cambodian Human Rights Association, Human Rights and Community Outreach Projects, Human Rights Vigilance of Cambodia, and Ligue Cambodgienne pour la Promotion at la Defense des Omits de l'Homme. All were Phnom Penh-based.

The issue of the moment that got these and other groups working together was the drafting of the constitution. The draft writing was led by a 13-member committee of the Constituent Assembly working in secrecy. The UNTAC itself was allowed to see the draft only at the end of August. The draft appeared to give undue power to the chief of state, lacked provisions on the protection of the rights of citizens and foreign residents; and did not mandate the creation of an independent judiciary.

To safeguard the process and come up with a democratic constitution, Cambodian monks, women, students and 14 human rights and development NGOs organized the Ponleu Khmer, A Citizen's Coalition for the Constitution. It was headed, by Samdech Preah Maha Ghosonanda, venerable leader of the Dhammayietra, or Walk for Peace and Reconciliation. Among Ponleu Khmer's objectives were to study and publicize the drafts of the constitution, to solicit people's opinions and consolidate these into a set of recommendations to be submitted to the Constituent Assembly and the Judiciary Branch. Its three main working groups were Women's Rights, Education and Culture, and Media and Publicity. From the original 14 member-organizations, Ponleu Khmer grew to 30 member-organizations as of 1 November 1993. They included organizations of various professionals such as pharmacists, writers, conductors and Buddhist monks.

In the second week of September, the Assembly opened debate on the constitution. The discussion was broadcast on radio and television. Ponleu Khmer organized a demonstration outside the Assembly, attended by about 600 monks, nuns and civilians.

Along with international pressure, local pressure succeeded in securing a liberal democratic Constitution, as can be gleaned from the various democratic provisions in the new Cambodian constitution, starting with the Preamble:

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA ...

Having endured sufferings and destructions and having experienced a tragic decline in the course of two decades,

Awakened, stood up with a resolute determination to strengthen the national unity, to preserve and defend Cambodia's territory and its precious sovereignty and the prestige of Angkor civilization, and to restore Cambodia into an island of peace *based on a multi-party liberal democratic regime guaranteeing human rights and the respect of law*, and responsible for the destiny of the nation always evolving towards progress, development, prosperity and glory. ... " (italics supplied)

The Constitution's Chapter IV on Policy affirms the state's commitment to liberal democracy and pluralism (Art. 51). Chapter III on The Rights and Obligations of Khmer Citizens commits Cambodia to all the international instruments on human rights (Art. 31); guarantees the right to establish associations and political parties (Art. 41) and to participate in mass organizations (Art.42). In contrast, Vietnam's 1992 *doi moi* Constitution affirms the preeminent role of the Communist Party, and citizen rights are discussed side by side with obligations, effectively constituting a restraint to full exercise of human rights. 19 There is no commitment to a free press. As though the reins were not tight enough, in December 1997, Vietnam's powerful Interior Ministry further declared the creation of a press and information center that will control the supply of information to the media and monitor reporting.

The Cambodian Constitution also guarantees economic freedom. The state has been prohibited from obligating its citizen to sell their products to the state (Art. 60) and shall respect market management (Art. 133). Economic development shall be promoted in all sectors and remote areas (Art. 61).

Since the adoption of the Constitution, many more NGOs have been organized. Local human rights organizations who coordinate closely with the UN Center for Human Rights, boast a total membership of 250,000. Although mostly based in Phnom Penh, the bigger groups like the Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC) have field offices in the provinces where staff members enjoy relatively less protection from the center.

## **Women's Gains**

Since Cambodia's transition process occurred at a time when women's rights and welfare are given high priority in the international environment, the women's agenda was thus a high-priority concern among foreign NGOs working in Cambodia. The availability of funding for this type of projects accounts to a large degree for the rise in women-centered local NGOs and the thrust to integrate the women's agenda in all aspects of the social and political development of Cambodia.

As such, the first Cambodian-initiated and managed NGO in Cambodia is a women's NGO, the Khemara (meaning "Khmer Woman"), which was formed in July 1991. The Khemara backstopped the National Women's Summit held in March 1993. On March 8, International Women's Day, summit participants and supporters staged a march in Phnom Penh. The Summit was funded by the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

The Summit sought to highlight the women's agenda in the electoral process and encourage Cambodian women to participate in the election. It noted that while women make up 4% of the 4.6 million registered voters, less than 5% of the candidates for the Constituent Assembly were women. Although women make up about 60 percent of the population above age 25, only 5% of the estimated 10,000 Cambodian communist party members of the provincial party committees were women. Among Cambodia's new high officials, the only female was the deputy minister of justice.

Significant lobby work by women's groups proved fruitful in producing positive government action. In between the election and the adoption of the constitution, the provisional government led by Ranariddh and Hun Sen was pressured to set up a women's section. They came up with an incongruous Ministry of Youth, Sports and Women (MYSW) whose head and deputy were males. The MYSW was one of more than 25 ministries that made up the transition state.

In the constitution, one would find an emphasis on the enjoyment of rights of "citizens of either sex" in Chapter III (Rights and Obligations of Khmer Citizens). whether to vote or stand as candidates (Art. 34); to participate actively in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation (Art. 35); to receive equal pay for equal work and to form and be members of trade unions (Art.36). Article 45 guarantees against

exploitation of or discrimination against women in employment and with respect to marriage and family matters. The state shall establish nurseries and help support women and children who have inadequate support (Art 73), a situation very common. In Cambodia because of the loss of men in the war, and the disabled state of many individuals due to landmines, women head 3.0% of all households, make up 6.0% of the agricultural work force and 67% of state factory workers, dominate small-scale enterprises, work at least 16 hours a day, and have an average of five children.

Nonetheless, defining the women's urgent issues and the appropriate responses are set by the present consciousness, culture and resources available in Cambodian society. Women's NGOs are mostly engaged in developing the economic autonomy of women as starting points for them to regain control over their lives.

For its part, the state-sponsored Women's Association organized during the PRK period chose to work with the Ministry of Rural Developments since this ministry's work is more in line with the WA's focus. At its height, the WA had chapters down to the commune and village levels. But while they had important programs in food production, nutrition, literacy and day-care, they were not very vocal in advocating women's rights and seemed not steeped at all in gender issues. The new women's NGOs do not dose the door to working with groups like the WA and the government. However, the WA is perceived as too tied up to party politics to take independent action.

### **The July 1997 Political Shake-up and Aftermath**

The continuing political instability which reached its peak in the July 1997 ouster of First Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh has endangered the free movement of civil society groups. The use of violence to permanently dislodge First Prime Minister Ranariddh from the power-sharing arrangement showed how the political leadership could turn away from legal processes to suit its power agenda.

The climate of fear generated by the violent attacks on rival FUNCINPEC generals and followers has made human rights NGOs fearful for the people's and their own safety as they went about monitoring the human rights violations and seeking redress for the victims. Many groups engaged in social development work likewise had to rethink the fielding of personnel and to make program adjustments as they awaited the outcome of events. NGOs and development workers, however, were not directly targeted. Attacks were concentrated on the FUNCINPEC and other opposition parties, and the looting and shooting victimized the public at large.

Significantly, the NGO Forum in Cambodia has taken a less confrontational stance toward the new power arrangement, compared to the strong condemnation from the international community of Hun Sen and the Western media's overall bias for the royalist over the communist forces. The NGO Forum has a membership of 46 international and 38 local NGOs. In its NGO Forum Statement to the International Donor Community issued shortly after the July violence, it appealed

*"to the international community and our governments to avoid taking sides with parties to the conflict; to pursue all efforts toward constructive dialogue and negotiation; and to continue providing development and humanitarian assistance to the Cambodian people."* (italics supplied)

This more balanced positioning on the political situation may be justified on several counts. One, Ranariddh is not exactly the democratic alternative to the strong man Hun Sen. Ranariddh ruled his party like a feudal lord, engaged in corrupt practices, and had a weak sense of the governance and development needs of Cambodia, having been in exile for a long time. His dalliances with the Khmer Rouge as a counterweight to the more consolidated forces of Hun Sen presaged a situation where the KR may be back in the fold as co-government partners. Insistence on the unconditional return of Ranariddh and isolation of Hun Sen would play into the

Khmer Rouge (Ta Mok) agenda. In contrast, most NGOs believe that the KR must not be allowed to return to power and must, in fact, be tried for their crimes. Hun Sen likewise holds this position.

Secondly, a repeat of the isolation suffered by Cambodia from 1979-1989 under the PRK will only bring untold suffering to its people, allow for more repression, and lead to a loss of the gains already achieved. The development agenda developed by Cambodian NGOs would be derailed. As the NGO Forum stated:

*"The international community has made tremendous investments in support of Cambodian people's efforts to reconstruct their country and to bring about a peaceful and just society. With international support, the seeds of a democratic process were sown; civil society was strengthened; infrastructure was partly restored; the economy was stabilized creating an environment more conducive to development; and significant progress was made in human resource and institutional development.. .*

In this situation, the solution to Cambodia's problems goes beyond the question of who should rule. The silence on this matter at the first mass action since the July coup, a peace march to the Independence Monument in Phnom Penh held on 3 August 1997 and led by the venerable Buddhist monk, Maha Ghosananda, said as much. The only call raised was peace. Peace was perceived as a precondition to continue with the unfinished development agenda, while the answer to who rules unfolds.

Hun Sen, for his part, has been very cautious in ensuring that his actions conform with democratic procedures. He apparently recognizes this constraint, as evidenced in the steps he has taken. First, he replaced First Prime Minister Ranariddh with Ung Hoot through the constitutionally mandated process - at least two-thirds vote by the National Assembly, although this was achieved along with direct and indirect harassment of remaining Members of Parliament and of the opposition press. Second, he promises to hold elections as scheduled in May 1998. Towards this end, the process of drafting the Political Party and Electoral Law and constituting the Electoral Commission has been started.

Hun Sen will definitely be dealing with a more plural society compared to the monopolistic set up enjoyed by the communist party during the PRK period. He would thus be hard put to merely revert to this old form. During an interview with him, he mulled over the Malaysian model where there is a dominant party working in alliance with other secondary parties. Opposition parties would be allowed to exist but will find it difficult to break the dominance of the ruling party.

## **Conclusion**

Development work in Cambodia remains driven by foreign funding and managed by foreign aid workers. Writing in June 1993, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) lamented the lack of participation and control of Cambodians in the design of policies, programs and projects for reconstruction and rehabilitation. The report attributed the problem to the shortage of trained Cambodians, the limited capacity which exists to absorb large amounts of aid, weak planning and management infrastructure, the absence of a central Cambodian aid-coordination mechanism, and the lack of sensitivity of the part of many agencies and donors to the question of Cambodian participation. On the role of non-government organizations, the report revealed that "many international agencies by pass or do little to strengthen local institutions which could play an important role in the reconstruction process." The tendency had been to look around for new NGOs to support while several well-intentioned and competent local NGOs have been established in 1990 and 1991. Donors ending up tapping agents who implement projects designed by the donors themselves, no matter their lack of understanding of Cambodian society.

In this sense, Cambodian NGOs have not escaped the problem of other Southern NGOs coping with the superior resources and technical know how of Northern NGOs and their workers, who have only a basic knowledge of indigenous culture and history.

Nonetheless, the foundation for building a big dynamic civil society hill has been put in place in Cambodia, as evidenced by the rise in the number of local NGOs, the press and other autonomous institutions. Over the last four years, more Cambodians have been trained for various technical and managerial tasks.

## **INTER-FAITH LITURGY**

(Created by Ms. Sharon Rose Joy Ruiz-Duremdes, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines)

## **FOCUSING**

(At the strike of eight o'clock in the morning, the participants are asked to go outside the plenary hall and blend with the inhabited earth for no more than 15 minutes. Each one has to pick up something from nature that symbolizes his/her peace in the world. The symbol is brought into the plenary hall. All take their seats).

## **INVOKING THE PRESENCE OF THE DIVINE**

(As the sound of the gong reverberate through the plenary hall, each one is to bring to the front his/her symbol and lay it on the table).

- Candle lightning
- Incense burning
- Water pouring

Unison Prayer:

The Humanist's God of Reason  
The Socialist's God of Struggle  
The Poor's God of Hunger  
The Catholic's God of Love  
The Protestant's God of Conscience  
The Muslim's God of Righteousness  
The Buddhist's Immanent God  
The Hindu's God as bridge toward Nirvana The Jew's God of Torah and Chosen People  
May all the gods spirits  
Who spur us to action  
Fill us with wisdom and courage  
To seek peace and pursue it.

(Adapted from "May God" written by Frans Swartele)

## **CONFESSING OUR WEAKNESSES AND FAILURE**

Liturgist: Let us open our selves to the God who sees our pain and hears our cry. Let us recognize our weaknesses and failure to live up to the high calling for which we have been called.

People: O Great and Gracious God, we come before you today as a humbled people. Our hearts are heavy with the burden of our participation in the hostilities and pain that are far too common in this world you have given us. We know that there is suffering close to us, next to us, and within us, and we know that too often we do not act in ways worthy of your children to heal this suffering. Forgive us, Creating God. Proclaim your goodness within our hearts so that we might embrace your call to life. And unbend our willful ways so that we might become healers in this broken world. This we ask that all Creation might thrive and that we might find favor in your sight. So be it.

## **REFLECTING ON PEACE FROM THE SACRED WRITINGS**

(A Muslim, a Buddhist, and a Christian shall each read a brief passage on PEACE from their respective Holy Book.)

## **SONG OF AFFIRMATION "We Who Bear The Human Name"**

Verse 1: We who bear the human name are like flowers of the field,  
Without status, without fame, trampled down and made to yield,  
Unprotected and exposed to the scorching wind that blows,  
Let all the world now blossom as a field.

Verse 2: We are people of the field crowding Asia's city streets;  
We are people called to build the community of peace.  
We remember as we toil hope is springing from the soil.  
Let all the world now blossom as a field!

## **SHARED HOMILY: The Panel Discussion**

- \* Presentations
- \* Brief Open Forum

## **FINAL BLESSING: Unison Reading**

(Face the North)

Hail, angels of the North,  
Shower us with your reason  
And fullness of grace  
For our fulfillment

(Face the East)

Hail, angels of the East  
Grant us Your New Birthing  
And fullness of grace  
For our fulfillment.

(Face the South)

Hail, angels of the South  
Warm us with your fire  
And fullness of grace  
For our fulfillment

(Face the West)

Hail, angels of the West,  
Pour upon us your power  
And fullness of grace  
For our fulfillment

(Excerpts from Blessing of All Corners by Ms. Rhodora Veloso)