

Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan 44th Seminar ONLINE ZOOM CONFERENCE 29 July 2020 16:00-18:00

"The Impact of the UN Intervention on Contemporary Kosovo" HE Ambassador Leon MALAZOGU

The online seminar was held on purpose to understand further the UN's intervention in Kosovo and the atrocities that Kosovan people had witnessed during the war period 1998-1999. The UN's role in Kosovo peacebuilding process was one of the key topics discussed because its role has been emphasized as insufficient in the reconciliation between Kosovo and its former occupier Serbia. Additionally, it was examined the role of the International Criminal Justice Court (ICJ) and the Advisory Opinions and Orders in Accordance with the International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence regarding Kosovo Advisory Opinion (July 22, 2010).

特定非営利活動法人 日本国際平和構築協会 Global Peacebuilding Association



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Photo: ZOOM (GPAJ)

Following Ms. Sopaj's introduction, the Ambassador of Kosovo to Japan, Mr. Leon Malazogu started his presentation by giving a concise historical background of the conflict that took place in Kosovo from 1998 to 1999. He further revealed the obstacles that Kosovo citizens encountered during the breakup of Yugoslavia, and the time when Kosovo sought autonomy. He explained that Kosovo as an independent state welcomes foreign countries to invest in it due to its remarkable progress. He further showed that the UN's role back then as the major actor that was not mandated clearly for the nation-building.



He clarified the complexities that the UN confronted that took eighteen months attempting to acknowledge which law to rehearse in Kosovo. With respect to the UN command in Kosovo, Malazogu tells that the UN has not done as much as it was expected and said and that it is astonishing that Kosovo is frequently bantered in the UNSC meeting than any other countries who has gone through similar historical event. Until today, Serbia has not recognized Kosovo's independence, which is deficient regarding the advancement that the two countries could achieve in the regional and international level.

He gives the determination for a beneficial standpoint for the two countries if Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence by giving a green light to start membership negotiations with the European Union and the UN. Being Ambassador of Kosovo to Japan; he gave his view that Japan has been ceaselessly steady partner to Kosovo, and he enunciated the common interest of Japan and Kosovo in liberal order.

The first analyst, Mr. Ken Inoue, Vice President of Global Peacebuilding Association Japan (GPAJ), outlined his position when he was assigned as Municipal Administrator of UNMIK in Skenderaj and the intricated stage that Kosovo went through. He stated that during that time the UN had a strong impact on Kosovo's tested occasions. He pointed out three areas that the UN was focused at that time: humanitarian assistance, reconciliation between Kosovo Serbia, and the third is the establishment of basic administrations.

His query addressed to the Ambassador was regarding the land swap of Kosovo territory. How important is Kosovo taking this matter and whether it can solve Kosovo problems?

The subsequent analyst, Mr. Motoo Noguchi, who was Japanese Ambassador for International Judicial Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan seconded from the Supreme Public Prosecutors Office/ Ministry of Justice (2018-2020) proceeded with the discussions by beginning to share his perspective on the Kosovo case from the context of law and justice. He begins from Kosovo's revelation of freedom and the decision of International Criminal Justice Court (ICJ). At the point when the declaration of Kosovo independence was released, he was affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, International Legal Affairs Bureau in charge of state recognition. From his own view comparison to his mission in Cambodia, the most critical component in pursuing justice is how the entire effort is supported by the local community.

The third analyst Mr. Saturo Kurosawa visited Kosovo for the first time in August 1999 when the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) was established. He visited Kosovo in the excess of multiple times from 2009 to 2012 when he was in charge of ODA of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in the Balkans. Talking about the role of the UN, Kurosawa shows that the UN has contributed to Kosovo to a great degree via the UNMIK. However, the decree of UNMIK has been lowered as the power was handed over to the Kosovo government and the EU. Further, he said that the Kosovo Force (KFOR) was in charge of the security of Kosovo. He addressed two questions to Ambassador Malazogu. First, what roles do you anticipate the UN to play for the dialogue of Kosovo with Serbia, and can the UN facilitate the dialogue between these two countries? The second question is how the UN can moderate the membership of Kosovo in international organizations?



Ambassador Abazi began by remarking more on the KFOR and UNMIK role on the cohesion of Kosovo at the regional level. Being one of the people opposing the Serbian regime during that time, Ambassador Abazi disclosed to us further about his immediate commitment to the nation-building of Kosovo until the declaration of Kosovo independence. KFOR from the beginning showed progress in Kosovo being under the NATO observation by assuring Kosovo as a safe and amicable country. Unfortunately, UNMIK did not play a significant role in contrast to NATO. To clarify better, he divided the UNMIK's activity into two sections. The UNMIK's role in civil administration was significant on progressing but the current UNMIK's role in Kosovo is not doing much with regard to progress being settled on the north of Kosovo were the majority of Serbs lives. If Kosovo is to be taken as a case for the other countries in the nation's building and the UN's organization's role, there is a lot to learn of how certain roles of the organization could have changed the course.

Ambassador Qendrim Gashi continued with one aspect of the UN approach that has not been understood correctly, but which has a long-term impact: the territorial approach. When the UN was settled in Kosovo, all endeavors to have reconciliation were made within the territory of Kosovo, ignoring the fact that the war in Kosovo was not a conflict between two ethnic communities in Kosovo but rather between Kosovo and Serbia. Normally, the war gravely affected the relations between ethnic communities in Kosovo. The UN approach in the Balkans to a great extent disregarded the fact that there was no Kosovo problem but a Serbia problem in the Balkans. Undoubtedly, it was Serbia that waged wars against Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and finally against Kosovo. Kosovo has advocated for reconciliation, attempting to conquer its recent tragic past. Kosovo has demonstrated continually its willingness to settle outstanding issues and accepted reasonable compromises, as was the case during the war in Kosovo (Rambouillet accords) and during the Vienna talks (Ahtisaari package).

Ms. Merdiana Leci concurred with Ambassador Malazogu's presentation that UNMIK was initially welcomed in Kosovo. But, without a clear mandate, it was viewed as a hindrance on the way to the final status. The lack of local input and accountability to the mission raised questions about how much is the mission helping in state-building and making way for independence. So, there are lessons to be learn from many UN peacekeeping missions. There is a demand for a better balance between international responsibility and local ownership. For instance, one of the ways UN missions can increase their credibility where they operate is by incorporating local staff and input in decision-making. However, all UN agencies working in Kosovo are highly appreciated and the people of Kosovo are grateful for the humanitarian work and assistance they continue to provide in several projects around the country even today.

Dr. Dahlia Simangan's interest in Kosovo presented a unique perspective to the seminar as she witnessed the transformation of the development that Kosovo went through. She affirms that to understand the complications that Kosovar people have gone through its necessary to talk to people who lives there since the war ended. She addressed a question to the Ambassador Malazogu: What are the challenges and prospects for nation-building given the significant number of Kosova diaspora?

Dr. Sukehiro Hasegawa addressed a question about the position of Japan during the initial stage of the Kosovo resolution. He explained that each UN mission is unique depending on the conflict situation taking place in a specific region. The expectations of Kosovan people from the UN seemed more than the organization could convey. Further, Dr. Hasegawa explained that the advisory opinion of ICJ came as a result of Serbia's request that has provided Kosovo with the legitimacy of its independence. His concluding remarks were that the only way to overcome these problems is when two parties cooperate together in order to make their case in the international community better than Timor-Leste and Indonesia did, which enabled the entry of Timor-Leste to the United Nations.



The contribution of this seminar was the discussion of various perspectives of the UN intervention in Kosovo in 1999 and other countries such as; Timor Leste, Rwanda, Cambodia etc., and what could have been done differently to have changed the course of the event. Having Kosovo people present in this seminar and diverse practitioners and experts in the humanitarian field that have been either engaged directly or indirectly in the Kosovo nation-building made an efficient seminar simultaneously a delicate discussion between the participants.

# Other speakers who made relevant questions were:

- 1. Gamarra: In what Kosovo has fizzled to get more consideration from the international community?
- 2. Kubota: What is the challenge of nation-building from the fragmentation of national- identity in Kosovo (if it exists)?
- 3. Kumagai: In terms of reconciliation, is there any solid issue to be taken between Kosovo and Serbia?
- 4. Ishizuka: Why the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo hasn't been successful as it was expected?
- 5. Kihara-Hunt: As Kosovo had lots of actors involved in its nation-building, how can this experience be exported to UN or peace operation or peacebuilding activities (what can we learn from it)?



# Provisional Program Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan 44th Seminar Online ZOOM Conference 29 July 2020

29 July 2020 16:00-18:00

"The Impact of the UN Intervention on Contemporary Kosovo" HE Ambassador Leon MALAZOGU

16:05 Opening by the Moderator, Arbenita Sopaj 16:10 Presentation

"The Impact of UN Intervention on Contemporary Kosovo" HE Ambassador Leon MALAZOGU (Ambassador of Kosovo in Tokyo, Japan)

16:30 Comments by GPAJ members followed by open discussion

- Mr. Ken INOUE, Senior Advisor on Democratic Governance, JICA
- Ambassador Mr. Motoo NOGUCHI, Iwata Godo Law Office
- Mr. Satoru KUROSAWA, Lecturer at Kyoritsu Women's

17:00 Open discussion (GPAJ members and guest participants)

17:55 Concluding remarks by the President of GPAJ, Dr. Sukehiro Hasegawa and Arbenita Sopaj 18:00 End of the Seminar

# **Additional topic:**

Discussion on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of International Court of Justice (ICJ) Advisory Opinions and Orders Accordance with the International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in respect of Kosovo Advisory Opinion (July 22, 2010). Link: <a href="https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/141/141-20100722-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf">https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/141/141-20100722-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf</a>

Report by Arbenita Sopaj



#### HE Ambassador Leon MALAZOGU



Leon Malazogu is Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kosovo to Japan, and non-resident Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kosovo to the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia and Tuvalu. He completed his studies at the American University in Bulgaria and the University of Notre Dame, specializing in international relations, governance and conflict resolution. Before taking this position, Leon ran Democracy for Development Institute (D4D), a think-tank

dedicated to research links between democracy and development.

Leon has served as a Board Member of the University of Prishtina and was a part of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group set up by the University of Graz. He taught in several universities in Kosovo and Macedonia and was a scholar in residence at the Arizona State University. Leon served as Regional Representative for the European Centre for Minority Issues, Research Director at the Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development, an adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister, and ran the Kosovo Office of the Princeton-based Project on Ethnic Relations. Leon has published numerous studies on democratization and regional affairs. Follow him on twitter @malazogu Photo by: Kageaki Smith

#### Mr. Ken INOUE



Ken INOUE has been working with the UN and the government agencies for over 35 years in the fields of development cooperation, humanitarian assistance, and peacebuilding. His current affiliations: Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS); Amnesty International Japan; Association of Former International Civil Servants, Japan; Experts Group on Peacebuilding and Democracy; Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan; Partnership for Democratic Governance; Japan Association for the UN Studies; Japan Society for International Development; Toyo University; UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), Peace Advisory Board. In 2013, he joined the Association (GPAJ). He was Auditor of the Association (GPAJ) from 2016 to 2020. Senior Advisor on Democratic Governance, Japan International Cooperation Agency (Japan) from 2015-

2020. Independent Consultant (Japan & Morocco) 2013-2015. Director & Chief Governance Advisor, Democratic Governance Support Unit, UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (Timor-Leste) 2007-2012. Director, Industry Department, Asian Productivity Organization (Japan) 2001-2006. Municipal Administrator, Skendraj/Srbica Municipality, UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (Kosovo) 1999-2001.



#### Mr. Motoo NOGUCHI



Motoo NOGUCHI became a member of the GPAJ after he retired from the Government services this March and started a private practice as a lawyer. He is Attorney (Special Counsel) at IWATAGODO (April 2020- Present). Retired from the Government services (March 2020). Ambassador for International Judicial Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan seconded from the Supreme Public Prosecutors Office/Ministry of Justice (2018-20). Chair of the Board of Directors of the Trust Fund for Victims at the International Criminal Court (2012-18). United Nations international judge of the Supreme Court Chamber at Cambodia Khmer Rouge Trials (UNAKRT/ECCC, 2006-2012). Prosecutor in Japan (1985-

1996). Professor at the Research & Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice (1996-2000). Counsel at the Office of the General Counsel of the Asian Development Bank (2000-2004). Professor at UNAFEI (2004-2012). Attorney at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs International Legal Affairs Bureau (2004-2014). Director of International Cooperation Department of the Research & Training Institute (2012-2014). Prosecutor at the Supreme Public Prosecutors Office Appeals Divison (2014-2018). His academic training consists of: LLB from the University of Tokyo, faculty of law (1983).

#### Mr. Satoru KUROSAWA



Satoru KUROSAWA is currently Lecturer at Kyoritsu Women's University/ Aoyama Gakuin University. He is external member of the consultant selection committee of JICA. From 1980-2012 he has been director of Global Issues Division, Team Leader of Middle East, Managing Director of Peacebuilding Office and Resident Representative of Balkan office at JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency). He worked at Aid Policy Division, Latin America Division 1 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1983-84). Embassy of Japan in Bolivia (1984-86). Programmer Adviser, Bureau for Programmer Policy and Evaluation (1988-1991). Senior Development Adviser, Reintegration and Local Settlement Section, UNHCR (2001-2004) Deputy Managing Director, Sector Strategy Department, JBIC (Japan Bank for International Cooperation) (2006-2008)

Professor, Kyoritsu Women's University(2012- 2020). He qualified with Master of International Economics from Aoyama Gakuin University (1994) and University of Tokyo (Master of Science) in 1980.

#### Mr. Hajdin ABAZI



HE Ambassador of Kosovo in Canberra, Austrialia (2020-Present). Abazi has earned his BA and MA in Lund University, Sweden in Theoretical Philosophy. He completed Ph.D. from University of Tirana, Albania at Faculty of Social Science. His political career started with the position as a mayor of Ferizaj city, Kosovo in 2000. Member of Parliament (2007-2010). Deputy Minister, Ministry of Cuture, Sports and Youth in Kosovo (2011-2014).

Lecturer at "Hasan Prishtina" University, Kosovo (2005). Lecturer at "Victory College", Prishtina (2006-2012) and Lecturer at "AAB College", Prishtina (2013-2017).



# Mr. Qendrim GASHI



HE Ambassador of the Republic of Kosovo in Paris, France (2020-Present). Ambassador Gashi was born in capital of Kosovo, Pristina. He earned his BA degree at University of Pristina and after pursued his MA at University of Cambridge in Mathematics. He completed his Ph.D. degree in Mathematics from University of Chicago. He has been Member of the Kosovo State Council on Quality (2015-2016. President of Alliance française de Prishtina (2013-2015). Member of the Board of the Kosovo -American Education Fund Member of the Board of Directors of ProCredit Bank Kosovo (2012- 2016). Foreign Policy Advisor to the President of the Republic of Kosovo, Madame Atifete Jahjaga (Associate Professor, University of Prishtina (2010-2016). EPDI Post-doc (Bonn, Cambridge, Paris) 2008-

2010. Has received a number of prizes, awards, scholarships, etc., including MPIM Bonn Visitor (2015-2016), Supporting Prize (Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014), Young Scientist Award (MEST, 2012), Liftoff Fellowship (Clay Institute, US, 2008), EPDI Fellowship (2008), Carlos Isnard (UChicago, 2008), Eastern European Bursary (Trinity College, Cambridge, 2002), etc.

# Ms. Merdiana LECI



Ms. Merdiana Leci from Department for Bilateral Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kosovo.

Ms. Leci graduated from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University with a master's in public administration specializing in International Development, and a Certificate of Advanced Studies in Civil Society Organizations. She has worked for different consulting and research projects, including projects for the World Bank, CRIF in Bologna, the Global FoodBanking Network in the U.S. and evroenergie in Pristina. She holds a bachelor's degree in Business and Management from the University of Bologna in Italy and the University of Pristina in Kosovo.

Dr. Dahlia SIMANGAN



Dr. SIMANGAN has started her career in Philippines by completing BA in Sociology at University if Philippines, Diliman (2006). Further she pursued her MA degree in International Relations at International University in Japan (2010). She is qualified with a Ph.D. in International Political, and Strategic Studies from Australian National University (2017). Her continues research focus has been in Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor Leste, and Philippines. She has joined Global Peacebuilding Association in Japan with the aim to contribute her time and skills to research and outreach objectives of GPAJ. Besides her regular duties, she plans to focus on expanding GPAJ network by engaging further with Japan-based international students, researchers, and practitioners. Currently, she has been selected as a board of directors. Meantime she is Assistant Professor Network for Education and Research on Peace

and Stability (Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Hiroshima University).



#### Ms. Elizabeth GAMARRA



Elizabeth is a founder of GOL, an NGO focused on education and indigenous sustainability efforts in Latin America and the U.S. She is a former Fulbright Assistant Professor at IE University in Madrid; She has a double master's from the University of Utah (Mental Health Studies) and International Christian University (Peace and Conflict Studies) as a World Rotary Peace Fellow. Researcher at the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies; Activist Coordinator for Amnesty International USA; Therapist at the Urban Indian Center; Fellow for the Oxford Consortium and Pax Trustee. Her interests lie in Human Security, Refugee, Peacebuilding and Space Law.

Currently she is part of the Board of Directors at GPAJ.

#### Mr. Yuichi KUBOTA



Mr. Kubota current affiliation Faculty of International Studies and Regional Development, University of Niigata Prefecture (April 2015 – March 2020). Policy Research Center, University of Niigata Prefecture (April 2013 – March 2015). He has completed his Ph.D., Political Science, University at Albany (State University of New York), New York, USA, December 2012. M.A., Political Science, Nihon University, Tokyo, Japan, March 2003. B.A., International Relations, University of Shizuoka, Shizuoka, Japan, March 2000. His academic trainings involve: United Nations University International Courses (UNU-IC), United Nations University, Summer 2006. Completed the Seminar Course (United Nations System: Structural, Institutional and Normative Challenges). Post-

Graduate Program for Preventive Diplomacy, The Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP), Summer 2000. Completed the Seminar Course.

His publications "The Rebel Economy in Civil War: Informality, Civil Networks, and Regulation Strategies," International Studies Review, forthcoming. "Politicization Effect of Wartime Service Provision on Public Opinion in the FATA, Pakistan: Who Favors Democratic Reforms?" *Asian Survey*, forthcoming (with Hidayat Ullah Khan). "Civil Conflict and Third-party Intervention in the Asia-Pacific," Takashi Inoguchi (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Asian Foreign Policy*. London: SAGE, February 2020.



#### Ms. Naoko KUMAGAI



Naoko Kumagai is a Professor at the Aoyama Gakuin University, where she teaches international politics, international organization, and conflict resolution. She earned a Ph.D. in political science at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. She has been working on the issue of comfort women from the perspectives of politics and morality. In her current research on reconciliation, she compares the Asian Women's Fund, the Japanese government-initiated moral atonement project for former comfort women, and the German Fund of Remembrance, Responsibility, and Future, for moral compensation for East European slave and forced laborers under the Nazi era. She published a book, Ianfu Mondai (The Issue of Comfort Women), in 2014.

#### Mr. Katsumi ISHIZUKA



Katsumi Ishizuka is professor in the Department of International Business Management at Kyoei University, Japan. He got a PhD at Keele University, England, in 2000. His research interests include UN peacekeeping operations and peace-building. He wrote several books including The History of Peace-building in East Timor (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India, 2010). Ishizuka, Katsumi. (2013). Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 石塚勝美『国連 PKO と国際政治—理論と実践』(創成社 2011). Ishizuka, Katsumi. (2010). The History of Peace-Building in East Timor: The Issues of International Intervention. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Recently he has been selected as part of the board of directors of GPAJ.



#### Ms. Ai Kihara HUNT



Ai Kihara-Hunt is currently Associate Professor, Graduate Program on Human Security, the University of Tokyo, since January 2017. She also serves as Deputy Director, Research Center for Sustainable Peace at her university. She was member of the UN Police Doctrinal Development Group, Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations in 2016. She has obtained a PhD from the University of Essex with her research on individual criminal accountability of UN police personnel, under the supervision by Prof. Françoise Hampson. Recently she joined the board of directors of GPAJ (2020-Present).

Ms. Arbenita SOPAJ



Arbenita Sopaj is a Ph.D. candidate at Kobe University, Japan, and Teaching Assistant. Her experience involves projects focused on educational improvement, chair of various conferences focused on UN and EU work and decision-making process, business development manager, diplomatic intern, teaching assistant. She has completed double bachelor and master's focused on International Relations and UN- work on peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Activities in the Association: The Role of Emerging Powers in UN Peacebuilding Challenges and Opportunities for the 21st Century' (presentation at Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum, 2 November 2019) She is assistant at ACUNS- Tokyo since July-2020. She is a regular member of Global Peacebuilding Association Japan.