



Global Peacebuilding Association

特定非営利活動法人 日本国際平和構築協会

Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan Student Presentation Session

February 27, 2021

10:00~12:00

Part I

Presentation 1 “Fragility of Peace Agreements in South Sudan”

Daiki Inoue, Fourth Year Student, Faculty of Global and Interdisciplinary Studies, Hosei University

Agreements in peace process are often violated in various forms. In civil wars, it is getting more and more difficult to realize a long-term agreement. This study tries to answer the research question: “Why are peace agreements in South Sudan often violated?” based on the hypothesis that peace agreements can paradoxically generate/promote/remain potential disagreements among actors. It aims at theorizing disagreement in agreement as a factor that induces a conflict.

There are mainly three theories on peace agreement: the Harvard Negotiation Method, Cooperative Conflict Resolution, and Transcend Approach. While the first two theories focus on how effective peace agreements can be realized, Transcend Approach, in addition to that, clarifies what would happen when they are not achieved. However, since Transcend Approach regards agreement other than those transcending each concerned parties’ goals as ineffective, it seems too idealistic. This study takes a comprehensive approach addressing agreements regarded as ineffective as well and clarifies how disagreement in agreement exists.

As to theories on factors in conflicts, Johan Galtung, Yuji Uesugi, and Hideaki Shinoda each point out contradiction, conflict context, and incompatible goals as factors stimulating conflicts. These put focus on difference of concerned parties’ goals. In addition to them, this study includes absence of their goals and direct and indirect factors, which is here defined as “disagreement”.

In this study, disagreement in agreement is divided into four categories: individual disagreement, party-based disagreement, structural disagreement, and international disagreement. Kenneth Waltz, in 1959, categorized causes of wars into three levels of analysis: individuals, states, and international system. This study applies his categorization of causes of wars to causes of disagreement and adds the relationship of each concerned party between individuals and states, considering the situation of contemporary conflicts.

As to the case study, South Sudan's independence in 2011, 2015 Peace Agreement, and 2018 Peace Agreement will be addressed as major agreements that determines the direction of the state. For example, discord between Gai and Machar triggered by decision in 2015 Peace Agreement can be regarded as individual disagreement. That 2015 Peace Agreement was proceeded only between Kiir and Machar and excluded other anti-governmental parties, which had battles continued around the country, can be party-based disagreement. Structural disagreement can be represented by that there was no concrete agreement over management of army and oil resources in 2011 independence, and it led to the unstable government. Pressure from the US on Kiir to sign 2015 Peace Agreement caused the remains of distrust, which can exemplify international disagreement.

This study is still ongoing. Therefore, it will further conduct research into how each disagreement interacts with one another, what kind of disagreement would stimulate a conflict and what would not, and/or whether shared goals generated from agreements can overcome those disagreements. Also, the end of the paper would include future suggestion for realization of long-term effective agreements such as the introduction of "hybrid peacebuilding" into the peace process.

Comments:

Keiichi Tanabe, Associate Professor, Tokai University

The case in Rwanda can be pointed out as an example that peace agreements make potential disagreements of conflict parties apparent. Based on Arusha Accords signed by Rwandan Government (Hutu) and Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF - Tutsi) in 1993, power sharing was stipulated such as equal share of the number of ministers, parliament seats, military commanders, etc. Rwandan Government, which was driven to sign it by international pressure, became afraid of the revival of RPF power, and Hutu radicals became extreme. Eventually this situation led to genocide in 1994.

In the case of South Sudan, President Kiir was not willing to accept Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan in 2015, however, eventually under the pressure of international community, he signed it against his will. Accordingly, he was not serious about implementing the Agreement, and in the following year, the Agreement in effect collapsed.

As such there are the cases which are in line with Daiki Inoue's hypothesis that peace agreements make apparent potential disagreements among parties to the conflict.

Attention tends to focus on signing the peace agreements, however, implementation of the agreements needs to attract more attention. In other words, the viewpoint of the influence of external factors such as monitoring and verification mechanism by international community including regional organizations and neighboring countries on internal dynamics of the

implementation of peace agreements would be meaningful.

Elizabeth Gamarra, Rotary Fellow, International Christian University

She commented on complexity of peace agreements while also questioning the concept of “fragility” itself.

She noted that the history of conflict includes the legacy of the two decades of Sudanese civil war in the current state of fragility which Daiki Inoue’s presentation further critically explored.

Furthermore, by singling out Machar and Kiir, the deeply rooted factionalism in South Sudan is apparent. Elizabeth suggested to reflect on the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement that led to the referendum for the independence of South Sudan; the 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan which was in effect abrogated in the following year; and the 2018 Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan - currently being 'implemented'. Overall, Elizabeth noted that the presentation was well rounded, informative and very thought provoking.

Discussion

Sukehiro Hasegawa, President

Arusha Accords in 1993, in which power sharing was stipulated, brought about preventive violence by Hutu extremists in fear of the revival of Tutsi power led to genocide in Rwanda in 1994.

Naoko Kumagai, Vice-President

Regarding Transcend approach mentioned in Daiki Inoue’s presentation, interventions by external mediators were required in order to clarify the goals of the factions of President Kiir and First Vice-President Machar before urging them to reach the agreements. In this process, it would be also possible to grasp the dynamism within each faction.

In the process of reaching Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan in 2016, the UN put off the sanctions with the anxiety of affecting the internal negotiation process. However, the Agreement did not last long and in effect collapsed in the following year. On the other hand, in the process of reaching Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan in 2018, although the UN took sanctions against South Sudan, the Agreement has been maintained. As such, the research of the influence of UN sanctions on the internal dynamics and on the peace agreements would be interesting.

Ken Inoue, Vice-President

Four types of disagreements are categorized in the presentation by Daiki Inoue, such as Personal, Party-based, Structural, and External, however, the criteria of these categorizations are not clear. Ultimately, it seems that all the categorizations are attributed to Structural level disagreement.

We have a common understanding that reaching the agreements is a good thing, however, we need to reconsider it. We need to be aware that there are parties to the conflicts who have different interest from reaching the agreements. We need to be reminded that they consider the conclusion of the agreements as only the means of gaining economic interests and political powers.

Takaaki Mizuno, Director

Agreements can be categorized differently, depending on the targets to be achieved such as ceasefire agreements and comprehensive peace agreements which cover repatriation of refugees/IDPs, governance issues such as establishment of legitimate government, etc. The case of South Sudan does not fit into these categories. It can be considered as the example of peacebuilding efforts in which the foundation of peace itself needs to be built up.

It is important to proceed with the studies realistically, considering both the resources available in international community and the targets of peace agreements to be achieved.

Presentation 2

“The transitions of the dynamics of armed groups in Sahel region”

Kazumi Takasaki, First year student, Human Science I, University of Tokyo

The research question is, “Why is it possible for non-state armed groups (NSAGs) in Mali to gain more power under the pandemic of COVID-19?” I mainly focused on Mali in this research, and analyzed the activities of the non-state armed groups, Mali government, France, EU and the United Nations, which are taking important roles in this region.

In Mali, the NSAGs rule the northern part, and the government rules the southern part. Then, NSAGs are hostile against the government, France and EU. France and the UN are operating armed forces in order to prevent terrorism committed by NSAGs from happening.

Analysis of what these four actors did in 2020.

First, as for NSAGs, they declared that COVID-19 pandemic is retaliation against European countries which have been intervening into Mali, and that used the pandemic to justify their

activities to eliminate them from the Sahel region. In addition, they caused many battles with the state forces, and built strong bonds with local people through providing them with basic service that the government cannot sufficiently do.

Second, as for the Mali government, it focused on preventing COVID-19 from spreading, and couldn't manage other tasks. In addition, it suffered from political instability by a coup d'état. Moreover, violence against civilians by state forces or the government increased.

Third, France and the EU experienced no significant change in human resources, range and military activities. However, it may reduce its military activities in 2021, according to President Macron.

Lastly, the UN experienced no significant change in human resources. On the other hand, its activities were limited due to pandemic, and it had difficulty in communicating with local people directly.

Then, my answer to this question is as follows. First of all, one factor is that the UN and Mali government, the counterpart of the non-state armed groups, lose power under the pandemic of COVID-19. The UN has faced limitations of activities and it has been difficult to have direct and close contact with local people. Thus, it has been losing its influence on them. In addition, the Malian government is losing trust from citizens because it has been focusing on preventing COVID-19 from spreading. Then, it cannot provide enough service for citizens, it is facing political instability because of the coup d'état, and it committed violence against citizens.

Taking advantage of such weakness of the counterparts, non-state armed groups can gain more power. For instance, they can gain support from local people through providing necessities and other basic service for residents living in the control void of the government, and the place where the government used violence.

Comment

Katsumi Ishizuka, Kyohei University

First of all, it's good that Kazumi Takasaki uses references of good qualities. And, it's meaningful to focus on Mali, which does not attract attention in Japan.

It's also good that various actors such as Mali government, Non-State Armed Groups, France and the UN are presented in the presented, however, it would be also beneficial to specify the actors in the analysis.

One point to be improved is related to the structure of the presentation, which is not clear enough whether the focus is on Sahel region or the effect of corona virus on Non-State Armed Groups.

For example, presentation title “The effect of corona virus on Non-State Armed Groups in Mali” would be more lucid.

Discussion

Ken Inoue, Vice-President

It’s meaningful to focus on Mali which is not covered by media in Japan. At the same time, the regional viewpoint is necessary beyond the focus on Mali, accordingly “Sahel region” is better as an analytical unit. Besides, the viewpoint should not be limited to the effect of corona virus on the Non-State Armed Groups, instead, the overview of the dynamics of Sahel region is necessary. Then, the effect of corona virus can be placed in the whole picture of the region.

It is also necessary to have an insight into the goals of the armed groups whether they are politically motivated groups seeking for independence or simple violent extremists.

Finally, it worth considering exit strategy of France and the UN currently intervening in Mali.

Takaaki Mizuno, Director

The viewpoint should not be limited to Corona, instead, grasping the whole picture of the dynamics is necessary. Based on that comprehensive picture, the viewpoint can be narrowed down to the effect of corona virus on the Non-State Armed Groups.

Regarding Non-State Armed Groups in Mali, it is necessary to classify Islam extremists associated with Al-Qaeda and Tuareg which seeks for independence.

When analyzing the behavior of France, understanding the backgrounds that France has been caught in impasse in Mali in the context of anti-terrorism war. The articles of Ms. Sylvie Kauffmann, former chief editor of Le Monde, give us analytical views, and recent Economist (Feb. 21, 2021) also covers conflicts in Africa, which is also suggestive.

Naoko Kumagai, Vice-President

It seems that the political, social, and economic impact of Corona virus on developing countries will be more apparent after several years, and Kazumi Takasaki has a foresight because she focuses on its effect at this moment.

Tuareg in Mali have strong nationalism while some are also Islamic extremists. Accordingly, we need to have multilateral perspectives of them.

Finally, the following institutions would be good information sources for further studies:

International Crisis group

International Institute for Strategic Studies

The Minorities at Risk Project
Upsala Conflict Data Program
Heidelberg Institute for Conflict

Part II Group Presentation “Seven Habits of Highly Effective People”

Yuuki Watanabe, Second Year Student, School of Political Science and Economics

Taketo Yamauchi, Second Year Student, Faculty of Global Studies

Daiki Inoue, Fourth Year Student, Faculty of Global and Interdisciplinary Studies, Hosei University

Paradigms and Principles

The author, Stephen R. Covey, introduces fundamental cultivation of one's character that initiates long-term success as the character ethics and paradigms and principles as the key to realize it. Paradigms are the way to see the world, and it is important to take an approach called inside-out that sees the world based on one's own principles. The seven habits in the book are what guide this approach. The first, second, and third habits lead to private victory, the fourth, fifth, and sixth habits to public victory, and the seventh habit continuously improves them.

Private Victory

To succeed privately, independence, intellectual creation, and physical creation are important. To improve independence, it is important to broaden the “circle of concern” in the area of the “circle of influence”. Intellectual creation means leadership. A principle-based mission statement is needed for it. Physical creation means management, and the schedule with the emphasis on the important thing is necessary.

Public Victory

The author defines public victory that people work together to produce results.

The author uses the term trust account to explain the relationship of trust between people. If you treat them politely, be kind, and keep your promises, your trust account will increase and you can rely on your trust balance when you need it.

In order to build a good interpersonal relationship, it is first necessary to understand the other person.

If you can achieve the habits mentioned so far and create synergies, you will not only be able to produce greater results, but you will also be able to deepen your knowledge and grow further.

Renewal

In the last chapter of the book, continuous improvement of private and public victory is introduced. Continuous improvement of them requires renewal of four dimensions: physical, spiritual, mental, and social/emotional. Also, private and public victory are carried out in a spiral of learn, commit, and do, and it would be an upward spiral by adding the conscience to them.

Discussion

Sukehiro Hasegawa, President

In the presentation, the relations between “Circle of Concern” and “Circle of Influence” is explained, and the latter is concerned with the leadership which involves people for solving problems. Young people are expected to be an agent to take a lead in this “Circle of Influence” through coming through the habits mentioned in this book, interdependence based on self reliance is promoted. It is also named as “Public Success”, which is well realized in Japan, and young people are expected to be an agent to extend this practice to international community.

Ken Inoue, Vice President

As this book also emphasizes the importance of enduring personality rather than immediately effective know-how of life, it is recommendable to learn the essence of the human through Greek philosophy (such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristoteles), Chinese Classics (such as The Analects of Confucius), and Tempu Nakamura in Japan.

Although reading books is important, the personality is cultivated through practicing the learnings gained from books. Accordingly, as Mr. Eiichi Shibusawa used to referring to The Analects of Confucius in his life, it's important to have a book which offers valuable guidance in how to live a life and practice it.

Takaaki Mizuno, Director

In the area of peacebuilding, the book titled “The Fog of Peace” by Jean-Marie Guéhenno is recommendable, in which backgrounds of the independence of South Sudan, internal fragile situations of Afghanistan, etc are described in details. For those who aim at pursuing the career in peacebuilding, the gap between the ideal and the reality of PKO can be learned.

Naoko Kumagai, Vice-President

In this book, the importance of target-setting of each social group based on its expected roles is explained. However, it cannot be helped having concern that such expected roles might be fixed in the society, and accordingly, it would be necessary to reconsider them.

Masakuni Tanimoto, Secretary-General

The philosophy of Karl Jaspers (considering how to live based on the self-consciousness of

own finiteness) is recommendable.

End