



KYOTO UNIVERSITY OF THE ARTS

学校法人 瓜生山学園

京都芸術大学

**H.E. Mr. Xanana Gusmão**

**Former President and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste**

**Ceremony for Awarding of an Honorary Doctorate in Arts**

**Kyoto University of the Arts**



**November 23, 2021**

**2:00-5:00 p. m. (JST)**

**Report compiled by: Maciej Witek**



**Mr. Tokuyama, Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Kyoto University of the Arts read the certificate of the Honorary Doctorate provided to former President and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, Mr. Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. As a reason for granting the Honorary Doctorate, Mr. Tokuyama mentioned that Mr. Xanana Gusmão had continued the struggle for independence for 24 years when East Timor, which was the territory of Portugal, was occupied by the Indonesian troops. Once Timor-Leste achieved independence, he realized reconciliation with Indonesia, demonstrating his profound tolerance, a foundation of the culture of peace. About another neighbour, Australia, former President Xanana Gusmão resorted to international law to resolve the issue of the right to crude oil and other natural resources that existed in the territorial waters and continued negotiations under the International Arbitration Commission. He negotiated for a long time and achieved an agreement with Australia to establish a permanent maritime border between the two countries. In return, Mr. Xanana Gusmão expressed his gratitude for receiving the Honorary Doctorate.**



## Part 1: Complimentary Remarks



**Mr. Yasushi Akashi**

**Former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations for Public Information, Disarmament and Humanitarian Affairs and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Cambodia and Yugoslavia**

Mr. Akashi started his speech by expressing how honored he is to speak at this ceremony. He praised President Gusmão who, throughout his life, remained in the country of Timor-Leste and travelled everywhere to talk with and convince people for independence and unity of their country. His facial expressions were always calm, while his eyes pierced everything. It was essentially his genuine belief in human solidarity and sanguine optimism which overcame almost impossible 24 years of struggle for independence and many years of hard negotiations with two big neighbours, Indonesia and Australia to reconcile the past and to build the future of mutual trust and cooperation.

Then he briefly summarized Mr. Gusmão's career from being elected as President of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste in April 2002, serving as Prime Minister from May 2007 to December 2014, establishing in 2010 the small g7+, a group of Fragile States. It is an intergovernmental organisations that brings together a group of conflict-affected countries that are facing many difficult challenges to maintain peace and stability in their own countries. The group now has 20 members that are committed to self-reliant efforts for the democratization and development of their countries. Few international statements have been able to reach such a height of reputation and prestige in recent decades

Mr. Akashi finished his speech by stating that we can take many lessons from this turbulent and fruitful life, and the most enduring heritage is his firm belief in forgiveness and reconciliation. "I feel that only Nelson Mandela of South Africa belongs to the same most noble category of statesmanship above all hostilities and inhumanity in this world. President Xanana Gusmão achieved genuine reconciliation and sustainable peace with former occupier Indonesia. I believe the political leaders of Japan, China, and Korea have a lot to learn from him" Mr. Akashi stated, congratulating Kyoto University of Arts for its wisdom in conferring Dr. Xanana Gusmão his well-deserved Doctorate.



**Mr. Takehiro Kano**

**Deputy Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Director-General for South Asia**

Mr. Kano started by paying tribute to all those who have made dedicated efforts to organize this important event under the difficult situation of COVID-19. He underlined the importance of peacebuilding as critical for peace and prosperity in the international community and one of the most important diplomatic agendas for the Government of Japan. In its peacebuilding endeavour, Japan has attached importance to such aspects as respecting the ownership of the partner country, addressing root causes of conflicts, and consolidating peace, and ensuring its sustainability.

Mr. Kano referred to Timor-Leste as the first country that achieved independence in the 21st century and can be called a successful case of international peacebuilding efforts. Right from the very beginning, Japan has been together side by side with Timor-Leste for the consolidation of peace, through measures such as dispatching of DPKO, assistance in elections, and capacity building for police and law enforcement organizations. Currently, Japan is cooperating with Timor-Leste with a focus on infrastructure development and meeting Basic Human Needs.

Japan has also donated vaccines for COVID-19. In the world today, there are still many countries that are struggling for peace. The international community engaged in peacebuilding also needs to learn lessons from the past cases, both success, and failure. Therefore, Timor-Leste can play a unique role to contribute to the international community, by sharing its experiences and knowledge in its peacebuilding. Mr. Kano noted that the next year 2022 marks the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relationship between Japan and Timor-Leste. Japan will continue to support the development of Timor-Leste and strengthen our partnership to realize a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)".



### **Congratulatory message from Governor of Tokyo Metropolitan City Yuriko Koike**

A message was delivered, where Ms. Koike expressed her heartfelt congratulations and deepest respect for outstanding contributions towards building the state of Timor-Leste and the cultural peace both within and outside the country. She also sent best wishes for Mr. Gusmão's good health and prosperity and expressed hope that the friendly relations between Japan and Timor-Leste deepen even more.

## **Part 2: Acceptance Speech of H.E. Xanana Gusmão, former President and Prime Minister of Timor-Leste and Eminent Person of g7+**

### **“Fostering Culture of Peace for Conflict Prevention and Mitigation”**



Mr. Gusmão started by thanking the Kyoto University of the Arts for the award that is bestowed on him and noted that is a great honour, perhaps also an inspiration for him to dedicate more time to painting and culture which he always loved, but which life circumstances did not allow him to pursue. He stated that arts provide human beings with knowledge, harmony, and happiness. Creativity is an increasingly rare talent. Politicians tend to pay little attention to culture, while they may consider it a less critical sector, he believes it is just the opposite. Culture and arts are important structural elements in our society and should be placed in the lives of everyone and particularly those in positions of leadership. He recalled of his seven years as a political prisoner, he devoted his time for painting and poetry and underlined that it was the culture that helped him me to endure imprisonment. *“I felt powerless and the only place where I could find relief from my frustration was in the arts,”* he said. *“My dream of world peace did not disappear neither when I was in a prison cell nor now when I am free once more. But many others remain prisoners. Imprisonment in poverty and conflict, millions of men, women, and children yell for freedom. The world cannot take any more violence and misery, the world needs*

*dialogue and patience to mobilize people to work for the common good. The world needs the arts, and the world needs peace.”*

Mr. Gusmão noted that today’s world is challenged and tested every day in a state of disorder and chaos. In all global conferences, such as the latest Climate Change Conference in Glasgow, world leaders came together to smile and make statements *“asking the poor to become even poorer, while the countries polluting the planet the most, sleep peacefully because they banned plastic straws and have electric cars”*. Still, one cannot say that summit was a failure. There was environmental awareness, dialogue, and communication, seeking to respond to the most serious threats looming over the future of humankind.

President also referred to the immigration crisis and the situation of thousands of men, women, and children trying to reach Europe, people on the US-Mexican border living in miserable conditions, and at the border of Belarus, where thousands of refugees flee at the doors of Europe. *“What cultural legacies created monsters unable to respect human lives?”* he asked. *“These are human beings like me, you, we all. Running from war, hunger, and political prosecution. How they can be used as a political weapon? And even understanding the pressure placed upon these nations, how can we let people live in such inhuman condition?”*. According to Mr. Gusmão, our powerlessness and passiveness, make us all more inhuman, and any type of prejudice and fundamentalism is a threat to stability everywhere. The world is constantly reminded that there is no oasis of security and peace in places where there is misery, war, and conflict, and yet, the western countries fail to acknowledge and face the consequences of their policies, preferring instead the continuous talking, face mistrust and uncertainty in the future. Over these nearly two years of the COVID-19 pandemic, many wanted to believe that this was a unique opportunity to build a better world, there was much talk about cooperation and solidarity across borders, that once a vaccine is created, no one should be left behind. Unfortunately, the vaccination rate in Africa is extremely low. It is a failure of international society because we continue to lack the capacity to reach those who need it the most.

Mr. Gusmão stated that one cannot forget the intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the movements of the Arab Spring which started in the name of democracy and human rights. *“We challenged the dictatorial regimes, only to become a long winter. We cannot forget South Sudan, Somalia, the Central African Republic, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Yemen, and so many other countries. The conflict between Palestine and Israel, one of the longest in history. Are we really to believe that divides are so deep as*



*to leave no room for understanding?"* he asked. After nearly two decades of the intervention in Afghanistan that failed to produce lasting results, the US called the mission accomplished and departed from Kabul, leaving behind the country in chaos. The international community needs to consider problems more effectively and comprehensively. The only possibility that seems feasible is to re-establish the economy in Afghanistan and it requires considerable engagement with the Taliban regime. The Afghan peace process must be based on principles of ownership and inclusion. The universality of the western regimes is not in line with the reality of each country and its people. Therefore it is time to revise the engagement paradigm.

Mr. Gusmão referred also to the situation in Myanmar, where the Rohingya minority is not the only problem, the Burmese are also subject to the pressure of alienation of their culture and identity. Rohingya Muslims are indeed among the most prosecuted minorities in the world. *"I went to Myanmar more than 10 years ago, to seek an understanding of the situation, and concluded that it should not be seen through a single lens,"* he said. Wherever there is a conflict, there are people that need to flee.

Timor-Leste has also sent thousands of refugees abroad during the war, and at the beginning of independence, there were many internally displaced people. All refugees are human beings. If we want to live in the world of peace, then we must focus on capacity building. This is the time to revise the engagement paradigm, so they can contribute to peace.

Mr. Gusmão also mentioned the cultural roots of our countries, which also need to be taken into account when it comes to climate matters. If we are indeed serious about mitigating climate change, then over a little more than three decades we will have to change our culture all over the world. This is an enormous and collective challenge, however, those who contribute to the situation must also be the ones to take the first step forward respecting the needs and situation in the world. This is the only way that we will be able to save humankind.

In the final part of his speech, President once again underlined the importance of art, stating that art awakes and shakes consciousness to different realities, thus it can cause positive changes in behaviors, attitudes, and systems. In Timor-Leste, in addition to breathtaking beauty, strong connection to nature, the inclusion of several ethnicities and cultures, there is a perfect material for a world of art. Another key aspect of the country's wealth is the youth which represents over half of the Timorese population. *"I urge you not to forget those young people all over the world, who possibly have talents like yours,"*

*but who lack the opportunity to develop and explore their skills," he said. President Gusmão finished by expressing his appreciation to the Kyoto University of the Arts for its willingness of establishing a partnership with Timor-Leste to enable the Timorese people to achieve their full potential. "We must work together to create a new civilization with the artistic culture and the philosophy based on the law of nature and the humankind. Most importantly, stop responding to hatred with hatred, but instead respond with knowledge and art. As the great Mahatma Gandhi once said "art of living is about making life a work of art" and this university may for all of our worlds, be a foundation of peace".*





### **Part 3: Panel Discussion**

The following is a summary of the dialogue-based discussion between H. E. Mr. Xanana Gusmão, panelists, GPAJ/KPC/AFICS-Japan members and diplomatic representatives from g7+ countries, moderated by Professor Sukehiro Hasegawa. This includes President Xanana Gusmão response and comment to some of the issues that were raised by the panel discussants.



**Ambassador Tadamichi Yamamoto**

**Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan**

Mr. Yamamoto was impressed by the very fundamental nature of the speech, and referring to the case of Afghanistan, said that naturally there are political realities that made the efforts go in certain ways.

What the international community tried and the goal remained unchanged, was creating a stable society where human dignity is respected by all the people. However, now there is different actor there, the government of the Taliban rather than the Afghan government, and the key question is why? Mr. Yamamoto stated that perhaps the international community may not have paid sufficient attention to the realities and traditional history of the country which would have made things much more acceptable and more durable and sustainable.

We have in the past, through UNESCO, or individual governments, try to look at how arts can help to prevent international conflicts. There had been some studies, where people recognize that arts make people try to seek identity in their expression through arts. When you end up in a divided state in a country or community, one can look back and see whether there are common elements that they can share to build a future. Those can be works of arts, sports, anything that people can find their identity. Mr. Yamamoto agreed with President Gusmão and said that his statement is the statement for the future. We have gone through various roots of conflict in Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria, and we are still in a troubled maze in Israel and Palestine. To come out of that maze, we should now try a new beginning with a new paradigm, that will appeal to the hearts of the people. He then thanked His Excellency, for making the participants aware that when we are passive, we are guilty of not being able to help resolve the conflict.



**Mr. Naoto Hisajima**

**Director-General, Secretariat of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters, Cabinet Office**

Mr. Hisajima noted that Timor-Leste received Japanese peacekeeping operations eight times and is by far the most frequent country that Japan conducted peacekeeping operations with. The year 2022 is the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the independence of Timor-Leste and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan. Next year also marks the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Japan's peacekeeping operations. In 1991, the International Peace Cooperation Law was enacted, enabling Japan to dispatch peacekeeping operations overseas. Since then, approximately 2,500 personnel overall were dispatched to Timor-Leste, and in 2012 the eighth mission left Timor-Leste. Stability has been maintained to this day, peace has been made and being kept. As of today, Japan is dispatching personnel to South Sudan and the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt, and has also begun the so-called trilateral partnership program, which enhances the capability of other personnel dispatching countries to the UN missions. Those present activities were made possible by the rich experiences that Japan has gained through peacebuilding activities in Timor-Leste.

#### **Response from President Xanana Gusmão**

Mr. Gusmão replied by stating that unfortunately, in many places the peacekeeping operations do not work. Timor-Leste came to a crisis in 2006, resulting in fights, burned houses, and internally displaced people. The country asked for international intervention, but as President says, *"they did nothing. Every Friday they flew to Bali and came back on Sunday. And we decided to tell them, the international forces, to go to the barrack and do not come out with weapons. We will solve our problem and we did."* This action resulted in criticism from UN Special Representative who said that the Security Council Resolution is being violated, but Mr. Gusmão insisted that the problem will be solved and it was. As he said, solved without any bullet.

Then he referred to the case of the Central African Republic, where during his visit, he noticed that the country did not change at all since the period of French colonization, and regaining independence, and the peacekeeping operation seemed to not bring any effect. President Gusmão also criticized the recruitment system of representatives, who lack experience relevant to the needs of the mission. What

we need is a change of paradigm. We need to get the result, not reports which the UN is too focused on. Also, the money must be well used for the benefit. If not, we only talk about peace and nothing happens.



**Professor Toshiya Hoshino**

**Former Ambassador to the United Nations and Professor, Osaka University**

Mr. Hoshino stated that the point he was very interested in, was the emphasis on respect and the dialogue. He has the privilege of visiting Timor-Leste, where he encountered a very interesting initiative called RESPECT: Recovery, Employment, Stability, for Ex-combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste. Those are very interesting and useful initiatives, to help the most vulnerable. Another one is the process of international dialogue. It reminded him of the foundation of the sense of ownership that President Gusmão emphasized, the sense of ownership is so important for him, also the importance for human security and development. President said there is no peace without development, no development without peace, and Mr. Hoshino cannot agree more. Security continues to be a key pillar, but we must see it in a broader context. COVID-19 pandemic did not spare Timor-Leste, and President Gusmão also emphasized the challenges of climate change. That is a new reality and new threats that we must bear in mind. Mr. Hoshino also emphasized the importance of education and capacity building and academic agreement with the National University of Timor-Leste which he initiated. *“We invited students and we learned from each other. That I think is an important exercise, the human exchange, not just the education for public policy, cultural peace, arts.”* Mr. Hoshino also asked President Gusmão about his expectations towards the new generation, young people aspiring to build the country.



**Mr. Daisuke Sato**

**Director for International Peace and Security Cooperation Division, MOFA**

Mr. Sato highlighted two important points. The first is PKO. It is not a perfect mission, there are a lot of deficiencies, but he still believes it is important to have a PKO in a conflict situation to take time, give opportunity for the political process to succeed. One of the challenges that PKO faces is a mandate, if the mandate is not successful, the PKO will not be successful either and community engagement is also important. Another challenge is a lack of capacity. Japan started the trilateral partnership program in Africa, but now expanded it to Asia, last year Vietnam was participating, now many other countries are joining. The training program started in engineering, but now they also cover area such as medicine and communications. Japan is trying to provide high-quality training and capacity building with the SDF and the Ministry of Defense.

The Japanese government also has a program called Peacebuilder Program which allows participants to participate in 5 weeks of domestic training, and after that, they are dispatched to international organizations in fragile countries, to gain on-site experiences in peacebuilding. Mr. Sato was personally involved in the interview process and was very much impressed with their enthusiasm to contribute to peace in the world. The younger generation is much more courageous, they take global challenges and other issues very seriously and take them as their issues. Young Japanese who gained experience in these programs will contribute to finding a solution to the challenges that the president mentioned.



**Ms. Mikiko Tanaka**

**UN Resident Coordinator in Guyana 2016-2021**

Ms. Tanaka recalled the time when between 2010-13, she had the privilege to serve in Timor-Leste, where she learned a lot, and what became the most moving assignment. Timor-Leste's example for her was not only about development, state-building, eliminating poverty, but it also was about human rights and of course peacebuilding. Ms. Tanaka went to Yemen and felt the limitations of the international development assistance. With all

the best intentions, everybody wanted to help and be useful, but the way the projects are formulated and implemented is not always sustainable. There are layers, and layers of complex dynamics in the country and society. It is so difficult to get to those people left behind. We are in that privileged status, with a comfortable home, good salary, holiday, and leave. The realization is that we do not know how to be in their shoes. She stated that everybody needs to work together across countries, genders, religions, to provide impact and create a free peaceful world, and she wants to contribute to the process.

**Dr. Sukehiro Hasegawa**

**Distinguished Professor, Kyoto University of the Arts**

Professor Hasegawa summarized questions asked to President Gusmão. What kind of assistance the international community should provide in terms of education, peacebuilding training, and development? what Japan should be doing?

**Response from President Xanana Gusmão**

Mr. Gusmão stated that the situation of youth in Timor-Leste is a very big challenge to the country. Timor-Leste does not produce and cannot export anything. Half of the population is under 30, and after the independence, Timorese parents wanted to do everything and to send their children to universities. *“As parents, we are living in misery, but at least we allow our children to be someone in the future,”* he said. He recalled a time when he served as a chairman of UNESCAP and used to attend the World Bank meeting in Washington, advocating for help for countries transitioning from conflict to peace. The answer was no help that supposed to come only after achieving peace. President Gusmão also underlined the importance of small credits given to the people living in misery, that allow them to start a small business or agriculture. People who can help only theorize and that is the problem. While thinking about the potential of the country and a strategic plan, he refers to agriculture which should be promoted as an economic opportunity for the private sector. There is a need for a debate about the economy. Currently, Timorese youth decide to go to university only for the sake of being at the university, they do not think about what they need for the future. *“I told the students who asked me about their future, don't think that all of you will be state servants. Don't think you'll all go to the military. Before they choose, they have to see in what area they can do something”* President Gusmão says.

Regarding peacekeeping, countries like South Sudan can learn from the experience of Timor-Leste, where it took just 2 years to solve their internal problems. Countries that are currently under the process of peacebuilding should avoid unnecessary fighting since it causes only a disaster for the population. *“If there is a need for peacekeeping, not only to go around but also do something good. If people don't have shelter, build houses and train people to build. If they don't have water, help them to get water. Create confidence, trust, and they will come and ask for more. We have to start thinking, to train military to be more helpful to the communities.”* The help that the international community provides, should be relevant to people's needs . When people receive things they need, they will make good use of them, but when if they ask and are given other things, that will not work. There is a need to reduce the inefficiency, reduce the amount of money spent, focus more on reality and do something good.



**Dr. Sukehiro Hasegawa**

**Distinguished Professor, Kyoto University of the Arts**

In concluding the ceremony and the Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum, Professor Hasegawa expressed his gratitude to Mr. Gusmão and summarized his remarks. Each country's reality is different from the others. Perceptions of any reality and needs by the donors and the people in a recipient country are different. There is a need for a paradigm shift and mentality among the leaders and people of both donor and recipient countries. For the people in host countries to be more self-reliant, donor countries should respect the people to make their own decisions and build their peace and achieve sustainable development.