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ROLE OF RECONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AFTER WARFARE

By KATSUHIDE TAKAHASHI

This paper examines the role of reconstruction assistance in Cambodia from 1990 to 1994. In terms of international cooperation, the case of Cambodia in the restoration period after a long civil war was an unprecedented success as a whole. This is mainly due to the continuous and consecutive runs of assistance, continuum of effective aids, which was appropriate for each stage from humanitarian and emergency aid, and repatriation of refugees to rehabilitation and reconstruction aid.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the role of reconstruction assistance and its significance in the maintenance of peace in developing countries after long-standing warfare. The role of aid in the reconstruction period after conflicts and the experiences of donor countries will be examined through the case of Cambodia in 1990-1994. The aid for Cambodia was an unprecedented attempt in that the international community took into full consideration the rehabilitation and reconstruction after the civil war. The success in the peace process during the period had been facilitated by the economic rehabilitation and reconstruction.

First, we outline the peace process in Cambodia and the global trend of aid. Then, we identify the attributes which are necessary for providing effective aid to a developing country after conflicts. Thirdly, the appraisal of Japan's aid to Cambodia will be conducted. Finally, based on the assessment of aid to Cambodia, we will draw some lessons that may prove applicable in future provisions of foreign aid to post-conflict developing countries.

2. Background of the Issue

2.1. The Peace Process in Cambodia

Conflicts in Cambodia had continued for 13 years between the Phnom Penh regime (State of Cambodia) backed by Vietnam and the former Soviet Union and the three factions of coalition (National Government of Cambodia) that consisted of the Pol Pot faction (Democratic Kampuchean Party) supported by China, and the Sihanouk faction (FUNCINPEC) and the Son Sann faction (KPNLF), both supported by ASEAN and the Western countries. In 1987, as the warfare was beginning to approach its end, talks among the Cambodian factions were slowly being initiated.

Then, the International Conference on Cambodian Problem was held in Paris in July 1989,
followed by the Tokyo Conference on Peace in Cambodia in June 1990. The hope for the return of a long-awaited peace to this war-torn country was definitely looking up. Until the establishment of the new Cambodian Government in the 1993 general election, it was agreed that the Supreme National Council (SNC) chaired by Prince Sihanouk founded in September 1990 would take temporary sovereignty of Cambodia. After the signing of the comprehensive peace agreements (Paris Agreements) at the Paris Conference in October 1991, a cease-fire in the civil war was finally realized.

In 1992 the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was established to conduct the U.N. peacekeeping operations (PKO) in Cambodia until the founding of an interim government by the constituent assembly election. To accommodate a full participation by all citizens, the repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons who, in efforts to escape from the civil war, fled to the neighboring countries, was actively pursued by UNTAC and the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). The repatriation program was officially started in March 1992. A year later on March 24, 1993, a train carrying the last batch of refugees headed for Phnom Penh, and the largest refugee camp located in Aranya Prathet, Thailand, was shut down on March 30.

In May 1993, under the supervision of UNTAC, the election of the constituent assembly was conducted intact. The Constitution was promulgated in September of the same year, and with King Sihanouk as the constitutional monarch, the Royal Government of Cambodia was established.

Thus, compared to other similar cases, the peace process in Cambodia ended on a successful note. Among the factors that enabled Cambodian to achieve successful results were: ➧ the presence of Prince (now retired) Sihanouk as a political centripetal force who had the greatest respect of the public; ➧ the feeling of war fatigue among the disputing factions after fighting over 13 years in the civil war; ➧ the absence of any ethnic or religious confrontation among Cambodians; ➧ Peace Agreements as a basic framework for a comprehensive peace process which were firmly abided by the factions; ➧ the transaction of proper international assistance through stages of political and diplomatic negotiations for the formation of agreements, the U.N. PKO, and aid for humanity, refugees, restoration, and rehabilitation; ➧ the actualization of the restoration and rehabilitation of Cambodia through economic assistance from the countries concerned which presented a positive and realistic future prospect to the disputing factions; ➧ the steady fulfillment of aid to Cambodia promised by the countries concerned, and the gradual stabilization in the daily lives of the public resulting from it.

2.2 The Global Trend of Assistance to Cambodia

During the height of the Cambodian civil war from the 1970's to the 1980's, foreign aid was mostly supplied by international organizations and NGOs in the area of humanity assistance. Of international organizations, UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) played the central figures, and were joined by FAO and the World Food Program (WFP), providing foods, medical supplies, and daily necessities. NGOs also made a great
contribution in their own ways. Moreover, aid programs for the Cambodian refugees who sought shelter along the Thai-Cambodian border were administered by UNHCR.

Foreign aid to Cambodia went into full gear after the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements in 1991. International organizations first began to carry out positive aid programs. Then, numerous foreign governments and NGOs also followed to begin or expand their aid programs. At the Ministerial Conference on Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Cambodia held in Tokyo in June 1992 under the chairmanship of Japan, a total of US $880 million was pledged by the participating countries and international organizations (Japan announced its efforts to provide aid of between $150 to 200 million).

It was also agreed at this Conference that the International Committee on Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC) would be established as the coordinating mechanism for medium-and long-term reconstruction assistance to Cambodia. The first ICORC meeting chaired by Japan was held in September 1993 after the establishment of the new Cambodian Government. In addition to the rehabilitation and reconstruction aid scheme decided during the last Ministerial Conference, an additional $120 million donation was announced, bringing the total aid funds to $1 billion. ICORC functioned as the core group for coordinating the disbursement of international aid to Cambodia. The new Government progressed to expediting the resettlement process of the repatriated Cambodians, and materializing the rehabilitation and restoration of Cambodia.

The total ODA amount combined from DAC nations and international organizations expended on Cambodia increased by two fold from the previous year, and consecutively from 1991 and 1992. Since 1993, the amount has been growing over $300 million (the 1995 capacity was $155.6 million from international organizations and $179 million from bilateral aid). International development and financial institutions such as IMF and IDA also began to engage in full-scale financial assistance from 1994. However, due to Cambodia's insufficient capacity to assimilate foreign aid, some countries carried out the disbursement of their aid through NGOs. Gradually, the functions of ICORC which has played a vital role in coordinating international cooperation was taken over by the Consultative Group Meeting (led by the World Bank) for Cambodia.
3. Assistance to Post-Conflict Developing Countries

Of the heeding points of aid to Cambodia, the country shares various common features and problems (lack of basic industrial foundation, lack of aid assimilation capacity, lack of human resources) with LLDCs, but at the same time, the long-standing warfare has further deteriorated the country's conditions.

3.1 Lack of basic industrial foundation

In many cases, LLDCs do not have the basic industrial foundation such as infrastructure that is indispensable for actualizing economic development. They not only lack the hardware, but also commonly lack such soft-infrastructure as regimens of all types, laws, and tax systems. Such lack of basic industrial foundation is a bottleneck for the vigorous activities of the private sector, and is a major cause of blocking the development effect from extending nationwide.
3.2 Inefficient capacity to assimilate foreign aid

LLDCs like Cambodia do not have sufficient capacities to assimilate foreign aid effectively and to link them to economic development. It is important to provide aid that is in accord with this condition. Additionally, it is also necessary to place a particular focus on improving LLDCs' assimilation capacities over a long-term.

Foreign aid assimilation capacity can be largely separated into two categories: \( \text{administration capacity such as coordinating foreign aid assimilation; and } \) local costs defrayal capacity and foreign currency deficiency. In the administration capacity, LLDCs, in most cases, have insufficient quality of administrative personnel as well as inefficient administrative bodies. These countries lack foreign aid assimilation and operation capacity, and aid appreciation (reconciliation with the donor countries) for conducting actual aid programs.

In the local costs defrayal capacity and foreign currency deficiency, LLDCs lack the capacity to defray consumption goods purchasing cost, running cost, and maintenance cost. They do not have the condition required for continually sustaining effects from foreign assistance. Importing necessary materials is also difficult with the lack of reserved foreign currencies. In the case of Cambodia, local costs including ministerial project expenses are expected to be covered by aid, since the country can only come up with about 5% of the estimated budget.

3.3 Lack of human resources at all levels

Due to historical, social and political factors, LLDCs lack human resources not only in the administrative field, but in a wide spectrum of social strata which make up the very foundation of economic development. The existence of superior human resources is fundamental to all nations in promoting social and economic development. In such regard, it is a limiting factor for LLDCs upon advancing the development of their economic activities. The shortage problem of human resources will become more acute with a rise in conflict. Particularly in Cambodia, the infamous anti-intellectual movement advocated under the Pol Pot regime exacerbated the shortage of human resources, especially of those middle-standing personnel. Education is not at all extended in the rural farming regions. Additionally, not only is the educational system properly established, but the absolute number and quality of teachers are also in deficit. Based on the recipient's conditions, the country's human resources must be fostered in a step-by-step procedure in a long-term perspective.

3.4 Shifting from planned economy to market economy

In Cambodia, along with the rehabilitation and reconstruction project, the existing planned economy is being shifted to the market economy. Specifically, under the structural organization policy of the World Bank and the IMF, the market economy and the reformation of its various coexisting systems are being sought after. The shift to the market economy would require a social structural change in the recipient country. Hence, Cambodia and other post-conflict developing countries which are not equipped with complete social foundations are
expected to require a particularly long time to attain such a shift. A radical change or an excessive burden on the people would cause a wave of dissatisfaction to erupt throughout the country. There is an undeniable possibility that this may actually become a disturbing factor in the realization of ever-lasting peace.

3.5 Heedful Points of the Assistance to Post-Conflict Developing Countries

The following six points can be identified as the principal features and heedful points which must be reflected upon for effectively conducting aid programs to post-conflict developing countries.

□ To smoothly execute a series of assistance activities: humanitarian and emergency aid => repatriation of refugees => rehabilitation and reconstruction aid

First of all, it is important that an aid program reflects the changes that occurred in the situation of a post-conflict developing country coinciding with the changes in time. More specifically, the smooth transition to a series of assistance activities must be systematically carried out: humanitarian and emergency aid => repatriation of refugees (continuing humanitarian and emergency aid) => rehabilitation and reconstruction aid (full-scale assistance in the reconstruction development). This is the so-called "continuum" series of assistance activities. The rehabilitation and reconstruction aid must accommodate the urgent needs of the repatriates and the exhausted nation after conflicts while expediting development. An early execution of this aid leads to an improvement in the lives of the repatriates and the overall nation. Hence, it is important for making the peace everlasting.

Because these activities are very distinct in their purposes, however, oftentimes each assistance project is carried out by separate organizations. International organizations, for instance, divide up different activities. The humanitarian and emergency aid including the repatriation of refugees is managed by UNHCR, and the rehabilitation and reconstruction are done by UNDP and the World Bank. Therefore, it is important that these organizations collaborate with one another, and conduct small scale projects to link the humanitarian and emergency aid with rehabilitation and reconstruction to create a smooth flow of activities.

□ Consolidated assistance for the repatriates as well as for the inhabitants of regions where people are resettling

Secondly, as a means to ease the post-war phenomenon of regional antagonism, it is important to provide consolidated assistance for regional communities besides re-integrating the repatriates into these regions. Additionally, in the aftermath of the civil war, the social rehabilitation of former soldiers, especially young soldiers who have been relieved from their military duties, is another major concern. Thus, such issues must be considered as part of foreign assistance to regional communities.

A post-conflict developing country is characterized by the presence of a large number of refugees (and soldiers relieved from their duties) who, in efforts to escape from warfare, fled to the neighboring countries. The importance of smoothly carrying out the repatriation and the settlement of the repatriates was already mentioned earlier. In this regard, the emphasis of
assistance should be placed on accommodating the basic needs of the repatriates (and the former soldiers). In many cases, however, a large portion of the inhabitants in the regions selected for the repatriation settlement actually live under conditions not far different from those of the repatriates (and the former soldiers).

Thus, the assistance to the repatriates and to the regional inhabitants who are accepting these new settlers into their communities must be conducted as one integrated effort. To avoid any drastic conflicts between the inhabitants and the repatriates where there are enough sources of tensions resulting from the repatriation settlement (the antagonism of the inhabitants and the declining share of arable land, etc.), the re-integration of the repatriates to the society must proceed through a recovery in the overall regional economies.

To provide aid through international cooperation

The project of rehabilitation and reconstruction requires a vast amount of funds. Hence, such project must bring in participants from as many countries to secure the sources of funds. Additionally, by deliberating a favorable framework of rehabilitation to the international community under the collaboration of the countries concerned, the possibility of actualizing such a framework can be expanded through various activities including foreign aid. The attainment of peace supported by the collaborated efforts of the international community through assistance has been recognized and is believed to bring in economic aid, and subsequently, to lead to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country. It is, therefore, anticipated to function as a deterrent to conflict. Even for carrying out individual projects, international collaboration is necessary to effectively employ the unique features of each donor country.

Promoting regional stability through preventive diplomacy

When contemplating for the lasting peace in a post-conflict developing country, it is important not to focus only on the country in conflict. Assistance should also be systematically provided to the whole region including the neighboring countries. It is important to aim at achieving stability through regional economic development.

The outbreak and the expansion of a civil war are rarely impelled solely by domestic factors. In general, civil wars are overwhelmingly affected either directly or indirectly by the political and economic instability or the historical, political and cultural relationships with the neighboring countries. If these conditions are neglected, a temporary peace may well be attained, but it is certainly not expected to be everlasting. In this regard, the aid to a post-conflict developing country should expand its coverage to include the whole region, and seek to achieve political and economic stability in both the country in conflict and its neighbors.

Political instability and public disorder

Even when peace is attained, the country is still faced with many problems of political instability and public disorder. The contributing factors of political instability and public disorder includes the presence of political guerrilla forces and of antagonistic powers (the Pol Pot faction in the case of Cambodia), a huge supply of weapons remaining after the civil war, friction between the relieved soldiers plus repatriates and the inhabitants, and the presence of
Foreign assistance is an important measure for improving the unstable condition of politics and for solving the problems of public disorder. Coincidentally, permanent political stability and public peace are prerequisite conditions for executing aid activities. Therefore, the aid to a post-conflict developing country is bound with a difficult situation that is quite different from those of other developing countries. For example, although a new government was established after the general election, Cambodia's peace was still being jeopardized by the Pol Pot faction, the country's primary destabilizing factor. Furthermore, the conflicting attitudes between different factions in the Cabinet had not been eradicated. It has also been indicated that although land mines planted in the central farming region are being removed, their number has been identified to be actually increasing as well. The removal of land mines is considered a major issue upon carrying out aid projects as well as promoting economic development as a whole.

- Providing positive psychological influence to the people

Lastly, the long warfare in the country has devastated the people with various psychological impacts, and once the peace is restored, these impacts are expected to impose various negative influences on the rehabilitation and reconstruction process. Regardless of the peace accord by the disputing faction leaders, the distrust to the government, the distrust among people, and the anxiety for the recurrence of conflicts are not easily expunged.

There is a high possibility that such mental conditions will appear as a lack of eagerness towards development by the people, or as a lack of unity in the people to undertake the development of the economic activities. Especially in the case of Cambodia, people suffered from the psychological disturbance by the horrific memories of mass genocide carried out by the Pol Pot faction.

While focusing on the aid contents such as the observable progress in democratization which provide a sense of assurance to the people, it is also important to gradually promote mental stability among the people by improving their lives.

4. The Role of Japan's Aid to Cambodia

4.1 The Attributes of Japan's Aid to Cambodia

The total amount of Japanese grants provided to Cambodia from 1989 to 1994 reached 29.49 billion yen, in which 26.507 billion yen was provided as grant cooperation and 2.983 billion yen as technical cooperation. According to the DAC statistics, the cumulative total of Japan's aid to Cambodia during 1989 to 1994 (year, net expenditure) was $133.17 million.

One aspect of assessing the effectiveness of Japan's aid to the post-conflict developing country is to determine whether or not its aid efforts have smoothly followed the series of transactions, progressing from humanitarian aid to repatriation aid and then to rehabilitation and reconstruction aid. In this section, focusing on the former point, Japan's assistance efforts
are examined while comparing with the activities of DAC countries and international organizations.

4.1.1 Aid from the international community as a whole

Let us first look at the activities of international aid organizations which played a significant role in the refugee repatriation and humanitarian aid. In efforts to gear up its refugee repatriation program, the level of UNHCR's aid to Cambodia greatly increased from $18.96 million in 1991 to $39.8 million in 1992 and to $26.2 million in 1993. Similarly, WFP's humanitarian aid to Cambodia showed a dramatic increase ($23.2 million) in 1992, conforming to the refugee repatriation aid. UNDP, which primarily conducts rehabilitation and reconstruction projects, also has been expanding its number of projects since 1992. In many cases, a project of bilateral aid contained elements of both humanitarian aid and rehabilitation and reconstruction. Hence, these activities were treated as a single event. The cases of DAC's bilateral aid increased at almost a doubling rate each year from 1990 to 1993, and the corresponding measures for the rehabilitation and reconstruction aid were taken swiftly yet steadily. Therefore, both multi-and bi-lateral aid from the international community as a whole can be acknowledged for their smooth transition of aid programs. They have advanced from humanitarian aid to repatriation aid and then to rehabilitation and reconstruction aid.

4.1.2 Japan's assistance

Japan's aid is compared to those of other principal donors and examined here. It is necessary for Japan's aid to be examined from two perspectives. One is from the overall aid perspective (aid through international organizations and bilateral-relations combined), and the other is from the bilateral aid perspective alone.

From the perspective of the overall aid that includes aid disbursed via international organizations, Japan acted positively from early on in contributing to the efforts of humanitarian aid, repatriation aid, and rehabilitation and reconstruction. At ICORC, Japan pledged to aid Cambodia from a very early stage. Then in 1991, Japan provided 4.4 billion yen in aid to Cambodia (including international organizations).

Until 1992, all humanitarian and repatriation aid was carried out through international organizations that had the capacity to appropriately aid the needs of Cambodia. Once the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase began in 1992, bilateral aid activities were launched on a full scale basis, and the role of each donor country was also taken into consideration. In this sense, Japan's overall aid had smoothly proceeded from humanitarian aid to repatriation aid and then to rehabilitation and reconstruction aid. As assistance to a post-conflict developing country, Japan has certainly provided proper considerations in its aid to Cambodia.

Meanwhile, in terms of bilateral aid alone, official exchange notes for grant cooperation were presented and full-fledged technical cooperation was conducted in 1992. However, while Japan's net aid expenditure in 1992 was $4.71 million, it went up to $61.34 million in 1993 and $64.5 million in 1994. Therefore, a dramatic increase in Japan's aid was not seen until after
In executing bilateral aid programs, the smooth transition from humanitarian aid to repatriation aid and then to rehabilitation and reconstruction aid is also stressed. Thus, a reduction of delays in payment processes, the curtailment of project construction periods and the consideration of simpler procedures to import machinery are being attempted. Nevertheless, due to the uniqueness of the contents of Japan's aid, payment delays are almost inevitable, and thus, it is inappropriate to compare Japan with other donors who mainly conduct technical cooperation with much lower per-project expenses. Yet, though Japan became by far the top aid donor to Cambodia after 1993, its bilateral aid was placed at eighth out of all DAC countries in 1992. It was exactly this year when the aid to Cambodia shifted to rehabilitation and reconstruction. This is one issue to be considered in the future. In future aid to post-conflict developing countries, an investigation on measures to deliver bilateral aid payments from a much earlier stage is desirable.

Of the total increase of $101.2 million from the previous year in the DAC bilateral aid to Cambodia in 1993, $56.6 million (55.3%) came from Japan. Even in 1994, while the total DAC bilateral aid was on a declining path, Japan continued to steadily increase its aid spending. That being the case, Japan's contribution in the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase is undoubtedly significant.

The features of Japan's assistance to Cambodia can be summarized as the following:

- donation of large funds to international organizations operating repatriation-related aid activities;
- provision of large aid (grant cooperation);
- execution of comprehensive aid activities including infrastructure aid;
- tripartite cooperation through cooperative aid of the neighboring countries and consolidated aid to the regional community;
- collaboration with NGOs (positive sanction of grass-root grant cooperation);
- aid focused on the Phnom Penh region (urban area);

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<td>(Unit: $1 million)</td>
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<td>90    91    92    93    94</td>
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<td>Grand Aid Cooperation</td>
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<td>Government Loans</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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Source: The ODA White Paper, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

5. Lessons Learned in the Aid to Cambodia and the Topics for the Future Aid

Based on the past experiences of Japan's aid to Cambodia, this section considers desirable
measures to be implemented in the aid to a post-conflict developing country for the establishment of permanent peace.

5.1 Agreements for peace, and the significance of aid in maintaining agreements

In the process of peace realization in Cambodia, such unique factors as the presence of Prince Sihanouk (which enabled the unification of the people), the feeling of war fatigue among the disputing factions, and the absence of any ethnic or religious confrontation played significant parts. Even greater contributions were provided by the international community which recognized the importance of peace in Cambodia.

The contributing factors were: the comprehensive agreements achieved with the support of the international community through a series of political and diplomatic negotiations; and the well-directed international support from UNTAC in the administrative management and adequate transition from the repatriation of refugees to the aid for humanity, refugees, rehabilitation and reconstruction. It can be concluded that the formation of national and international comprehensive peace agreements and the international aid that follows are necessary conditions for the realization of peace.

The first step in the peace process is the formation of agreements. In this stage, one of the primary interests of the disputing factions and the countries concerned is the way foreign aid to the post-conflict country is executed once agreements are settled. In terms of international aid for rehabilitation and reconstruction, a clear and bright perspective will facilitate the formation of agreements and will ultimately accomplish the peace realization. The continuation of peace is enabled by the "announcement effect", and is realized through presenting the disputing parties with economic incentives brought forth by peace. It urges them to endeavor towards a conflict resolution by proposing the dividends of peace. By clearly defining the peace realization as a prerequisite condition, foreign aid could also function to restrain conflicts. Furthermore, it is important upon securing the maintenance of peace agreements to actualize the prospects for a brighter future through conducting the rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance from an early stage and realizing the operation of rehabilitation and reconstruction sooner.

5.2 Initiatives in the promotion of assistance through international cooperation

Important factors in the aid to a post-conflict developing country are: □ the promotion of stability through strengthening the commitment of the neighboring countries to the everlasting peace, □ the effective and efficient operation of the overall assistance, and □ the promotion of assistance in the aspect of effective and reasonable technology transfer through international cooperation including the neighboring countries. These factors contribute to the prevention of conflict recurrence by enabling the process to exhibit visible results at an early stage. Under such circumstances, as exemplified by the commitment of ICORC in the scrutiny and the execution of aid activities, there is a need for a country or an organization to take up a leadership role to positively guide other countries. Only then can the establishment of the
reconstruction aid framework under the collaboration of the international community and the early execution of necessary aid programs become feasible.

5.3 Regional development and cooperation with neighboring countries

In order to maintain an enduring peace, it is necessary not only to focus on the interior of the post-conflict developing country, but to expand the coverage to include its neighboring countries. Then, over a long-term, it is important to reduce the number of destabilizing factors in the whole region to eliminate any undesirable influences from entering the country. Foreign assistance can play a significant role in such an area as well. This is made possible by: ᶃ the economic development of the neighboring countries, and ᶄ the strengthening of the reciprocal relationship in the comprehensive development of the whole region. Under these circumstances, the outbreak of conflicts or the political intervention in the neighboring countries become economically undesirable. Additionally, the economic development of the neighboring countries is expected to prevent the influx of economic refugees and other negative impacts. The international aid activities carried out in the Indochina region include the trainee acceptance program by the Thai government, the establishment of the Mekong River committee, and the sub-regional economic development program by ADB.

In terms of promoting regional development involving several countries, a greater regional stability will be realized through strengthening the development and the reciprocal relationship. This is because the process of the development involves the coordination of the ideas and the interests of the recipients and the donors. Thus, there is a need for a leader whose responsibility is to propose a blueprint of the regional development project, and to direct and coordinate the ideas of each country. Many post-conflict developing countries, however, have mixed feelings about their neighboring countries, particularly those who are major powers. These feelings of resentment come from a long line of historical reasons. Therefore, it is important to take this fact into account when promoting cooperation.

5.4 Smooth transition from humanitarian and emergency aid to repatriation of refugees, then rehabilitation and reconstruction aid

It is very important for the aid to follow a smooth transition in the aid activities from humanitarian to refugees repatriation and then to rehabilitation and reconstruction. As was seen above, the repatriation of Cambodian refugees was executed relatively smoothly due to a timely provision of foreign aid. Furthermore, in addition to its refugee's repatriation aid, UNHCR also conducted QIPs (positioned between humanitarian aid and rehabilitation and reconstruction aid) for the resettlement of repatriates in Cambodia. Meanwhile, UNDP facilitated a joint cooperation with UNHCR by adding refugee aid to its activities. More specifically, small-scale development projects (promoting social understanding by accommodating emergency needs) are carried out by UNDP also at the interim stage between humanitarian aid and rehabilitation and reconstruction aid.

In addition to the aid in the resettlement of repatriates, the role of rehabilitation and
reconstruction aid is to provide refugees with a sense of assurance of maintaining a fixed level of livelihood after they are repatriated, and the importance of the induction of early repatriation of refugees was indicated. Thus, in the future, rehabilitation and reconstruction aid should be implemented before refugees are repatriated, from the refugees sojourn period, and should be developed in parallel with humanitarian aid while linking them together. In reality, a hypothetical case is considered in which the target country is in a war, hampering the execution of effective rehabilitation and reconstruction aid. Also in this case, it is necessary to undertake the preparation of aid policy foreseeing the post-war situation as early as possible, in addition to the humanitarian and emergency aid and cooperation.

In its overall aid to Cambodia including those provided through international organizations, Japan effectively utilized the functions of international organizations and operated a smooth transition of aid activities, from humanitarian and emergency aid => repatriation of refugees => rehabilitation and reconstruction aid. In terms of bilateral aid alone, the aid amount (net expenditure) in 1992, while aid activities were shifting to rehabilitation and reconstruction aid, was not necessarily high. Especially with grant aid cooperation, payments to those projects with many activity items tend to get delayed due to such characteristics. Hence, a further investigation on the measures of early execution and proper activity selection is necessary.

5.5 Assurance of safety
The next major topic for the aid to a post-conflict developing country is to determine measures to operate aid programs in regions with a large population of repatriates while assuring safety. Additionally, with or without repatriates, security assurance is a major concerning factor common to all relevant donors providing aid to rural regions. Nevertheless, if the current concentration of aid activities in the metropolitan area and its outskirts continues and the aid to rural regions is kept at a minimum level in the future, the central-rural gap at various levels is expected to further increase.

The safety assurance of the aid personnel is indispensable, yet at the present state, the choices for problem solution are very narrow. The general view is to carry out aid activities in relatively safe areas first, and then to gradually expand them to cover other regions while thoroughly focusing on security. In any case, there is a need for the reconciliation of desirable aid operations and safety assurances. This reconciliation can be accomplished with the assurance of security endeavored through the exchange of information between aid organizations and governments, the promotion of cooperation activities and the development measures involving many participants, and with the effective utilization of NGOs and international organizations capable of carrying out rural development projects. A further investigation on the method of reconciliation is necessary in the future.

5.6 Limitation of Japan's aid scheme in the implementation of tripartite cooperation
Tripartite cooperation (for example, Japan and Thailand) was effective from the point of regional (rural) development, and the implementation of the UNHCR (UNDP) scheme was
indicated as one of the principal contributing factors. Some of the specific merits were: WithData the procurement of sufficient counterparts with the provision of allowance (around $100) from the Japan Fund;WithData the capacity to conduct activities earlier than the case using the Japanese scheme; andWithData the capacity to carry out aid activities from a long-term perspective by eliminating the one-year budget structure.

Conversely speaking, these merits indicate the areas of capacity not possible to be fulfilled with Japan's aid scheme. Therefore, in executing effective aid programs based on the conditions of post-conflict developing countries and LLDCs, these are considered as major problem points. Japan's measures to enlarge aid effects by grasping the limitation of Japan's aid scheme and utilizing the schemes of international organizations were appropriate. Nevertheless, it is necessary to re-examine Japan's aid scheme to enable it to carry out effective aid programs in the future.

5.7 Execution of aid with respect to the regional community structure

When conducting aid programs aimed at regional communities (rural), it is important to provide aid with respect to community structure, in order to attain stability in the region. Villages in a developing country are well-equipped with unique facilities and management system rules (different for each regional community), and normally, emergency handling and problem solving methods are also already established for each region. If these methods do not conform to the products and the systems of assistance, they become double standards and fail to serve their purposes in many cases. Most of the post-conflict developing countries are LLDCs, and the minimally required standard of living is maintained by the regional community.

It is vital to strengthen such maintenance and to build a foundation for sustainable development. There is a danger that immoderate development can result in poverty, destitution, and social gap intensification, and may ultimately destabilize the regional community. In this sense, it is necessary to reinforce the consideration for social issues when carrying out aid.

Looking from these perspectives, the substance of the "tripartite cooperation" fundamentally emphasizes the regional community structure, and is a desirable aid method. The extension of these schemes in the future is favorable. Furthermore, the concurrent dispatch of many various experts and large-scale development brought forth positive effects to the regional community in the forms of the comprehensive aid to the region, the expansion of regional impacts, and the promotion of cooperation activities with NGOs. Thus, intensive development is also considered effective. However, a means for sustaining aid impacts is a major topic to be determined in the future.

5.8 Human resource development, the importance of software assistance

As a result of long warfare, post-conflict developing countries are not fully equipped with basic systems essential for states. They also lack in the supply of human resources in
administrative and public sectors. The aid to this area functions as a foundation for country development. Therefore, in addition to the effective execution of aid programs and the magnification of aid impacts, it is important to positively provide aid through dispatching experts and accepting trainees. From the point of the effective aid operation, the immediate issue is the unification of the aid receiving functions under the coordination of the recipient and the donor countries. Considering the present situation, however, it is difficult, in many cases, to anticipate early results from assistance in this area. Thus, the aid must be conducted from a long-term perspective. The shift to the establishment of a special curriculum that conforms to the actual conditions and the needs of the recipient country, and to the implementation of the south-south cooperation is important to be sought efficiently.

Generally, to carry out aid programs in the software area, fully equipped facilities and other hardware are essential. In the case of post-conflict developing countries, however, they have neither the capacity nor the financial means to maintain these hardware effectively as well as continually. Hence, it is fundamental to choose a scheme for aid that does not require the presence of large-scale hardware unable to be administered by the developing countries. When the aid is accompanied with the construction of hardware, it is important to combine the aid with the expansion and the upkeep of the capacity to bear the maintenance cost and the enforcement of a policy with a special emphasis on the reasonable technology.

Because of Cambodia's little capacity to maintain the hardware, it is also desirable in the aid to economic infrastructure to select projects upon taking into account the often expressed discreet views on such aid effort, and to give priority to those projects with low maintenance costs and direct benefits to the inhabitants.

5.9 Neutrality and the importance of agricultural aid

Hostility towards a country which provoked a war yet exists in post-conflict developing countries. To realize a long-lasting peace, a heavy emphasis must be placed on measures to mitigate and eliminate such hostility through aid efforts. In particular, once the humanitarian aid completes its first stage of the work, the selection of aid areas and regions should be conducted with a focus on the preceding point. The hostility structure in a war varies infinitely with countries and regions, and to accommodate this, a thorough understanding of the historical and cultural background is necessary. The aid should also be carried out upon such understanding. In the case of Cambodia, the basis of the conflicts between factions was the struggle for the farmers. These farmers took the side of a faction that could improve their daily lives. It is important to show through aid that a democratic system leads to a comfortable livelihood for farmers. To this regard, the agricultural development is an extremely important area of assistance.

Additionally, while fully acknowledging the confronting relationship and clearly displaying its firm maintenance of neutrality, it is important to make every effort to eliminate the conflicting impacts if Japan is to carry out effective aid programs.
5.10 Cooperation with NGOs (limits of the government-based aid)

Aid provided through NGOs has several advantageous features: ① abundant experience in Cambodia; ② the capacity to collect information and to excavate project topics by gouging into regional communities; ③ the execution of aid programs in unsafe areas; ④ the effective operation of small-scale projects aimed at Cambodia; ⑤ the flexible dealings with the early aid programs of high priority (localization of aid operation); and ⑥ the possibility to carry out relatively cheap and yet effective aid programs. This is a very effective measure upon considering the distinct nature of post-conflict developing countries, to be implemented as a solution policy. Therefore, a positive support to NGO activities becomes important from the aspect of effectively utilizing the above properties of NGOs. Although ODA and NGOs have some conflicting features, effective aid programs based on a close connection must be executed by maintaining the transparency of ODA activities, and positively calling out for the ideas of information proffer and cooperation. Furthermore, schemes like the "tripartite cooperation" facilitate the establishment of a complimentary relationship with NGOs, and should be used more actively to promote collaboration with NGOs.

Japan's grass-roots grant aid cooperation is very practical for the activities of NGOs, and is expected to expand its operational scale in the future. In the present situation, however, NGOs are considered for the grass-roots grant aid cooperation only after they make their requests. For the future effort, while respecting the independence of NGOs, Japan needs to vigorously approach NGOs instead of staying receptive. Additionally, due to the increase in the number of eligible cases, necessary examination and administrative procedures have become more time-consuming. Thus, new measures such as the expansion of the embassy structure must be taken in order to effectively operate and expand the grant aid cooperation.

5.11 Support for democratization

To realize the rehabilitation and reconstruction of a post-conflict developing country through everlasting peace and aid, it is important after the peace settlement to facilitate the repatriation of refugees from an early stage and to establish a legitimate government through open elections. With the establishment of a legitimate government, the environment for the post-war reconstruction for the first time can be prepared, uniting the people together, and the capacity to effectively utilize aid from the donor countries is increased. The development of democratization is vital for stabilizing the psychological conditions of the people devastated by the warfare, and for strengthening the will to engage in economic development activities. In this sense, the operation of fair elections, the establishment of democratic systems of all types, and other aid activities aimed at democratization must be heavily focused on in post-conflict developing countries. For Cambodia, the dispatch of election observers for the constituent assembly election, the establishment of the judicature and the justice systems, and the acceptance of trainees in the assembly operation were executed, and reinforcement of these activities is anticipated for the future.

Moreover, with a constant scrutiny of the measures taken for the democratization of a post-
conflict developing country, and by increasing the aid to those endeavoring for democratization and reconsidering the aid to those retrograding the measures for democratization, it is important that the promotion of democratization creates an environment that can have direct economic benefits.

5.12 Importance of the localization of the aid operation system

To make the aid to post-conflict developing countries more effective, the donor side also needs to establish a suitable aid operation system. Firstly, in order to begin the rehabilitation and reconstruction aid smoothly after the repatriation of refugees, the aid structure must be arranged ahead of time. In the case of Japan’s aid to Cambodia, relevant staffs for economic cooperation were sent in immediately after the construction of the embassy. In the future aid to post-conflict developing countries, the early preparation of the operation system must be considered. There is also a need to promote the localization of the operation system. In the aid to post-conflict developing countries, swift and flexible responses to circumstantial changes are necessary. Sometimes, a large number of small-scale projects are conducted, and thus, to carry out these aid activities, the procurement of sufficient local aid staff and the power transfer are essential to be realized.

REFERENCES