

## **Seminar Report**

# **TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY ROADMAP FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS**

Seminar Coordinator: Lt. Col Sanjay Barshilia



**Centre for Land Warfare Studies**

RPSO Complex, Parade Road, Delhi Cantt, New Delhi-110010

Phone: 011-25691308; Fax: 011-25692347

email: landwarfare@gmail.com; website: www.claws.in

The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, is an autonomous think tank dealing with contemporary issues of national security and conceptual aspects of land warfare, including conventional and sub-conventional conflicts and terrorism. CLAWS conducts research that is futuristic in outlook and policy-oriented in approach.

© 2017, Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi

All rights reserved

The views expressed in this report are sole responsibility of the speaker(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Government of India, or Integrated Headquarters of MoD (Army) or Centre for Land Warfare Studies.

The content may be reproduced by giving due credit to the speaker(s) and the Centre for Land Warfare Studies, New Delhi.

Printed in India by

**Bloomsbury Publishing India Pvt. Ltd.**

DDA Complex LSC, Building No. 4, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor

Pocket 6 & 7, Sector – C

Vasant Kunj, New Delhi 110070

www.bloomsbury.com

# CONTENTS

<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Detailed Report</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Inaugural Session</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Session I: The United Nations and Conflict Resolution</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Session II: Contemporary Challenges to the United Nations</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Concept Note</b>	<b>33</b>



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United Nations (UN) peace-keeping forces have been deployed to help monitor ceasefire agreements, create buffer zones or support complex military and civilian functions to help in the reconstruction of societies devastated by war. The nature of conflict has changed dramatically over the years. Contemporary peacekeeping has become increasingly dangerous. Complexities and challenges have pushed the UN to adopt multi-dimensional approach towards peacekeeping. The scope of UN has enhanced hence, there is a need for force restructuring, better equipment, and training.

The biggest challenge to the UN peacekeeping is intra-state conflicts which have become increasingly internationalised, thus prolonging the conflict. Protection of civilians remains the first priority for any peace-keeping mission or for any Troop Contributing Country (TCC).

Bringing more nations specially developed world into the folds of UN peacekeeping and deepening existing ties with major TCCs can ensure that the UN peacekeeping retains its model of impartiality and draws upon the various technologies and capacities that developed countries possess.

Conflict prevention is the paramount function of the UN; however, it depends on the political will and consensus that the UN can muster. Lasting peace cannot be achieved or sustained by military engagements but through political solutions. Peacekeepers must be deployed as part of a broader strategy in support of this political process.

West Asia (Syria and Yemen), East Asia (China, Korea, and Japan), South Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran) and Eastern Europe (Ukraine and Baltic) are likely to be the global flashpoints over the next decade or so.

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Al Qaeda are likely to be defeated territorially in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen but are likely to spread (ideologically and virtually) across the world and spearhead

## 2 TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY ROADMAP FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

terror groups/lone wolf attacks, especially in the Middle East (Libya), Africa, Af-Pak, and Western Europe.

UN lacks the political will to act decisively in localised regional conflicts due to the direct/indirect involvement of P-5 powers. It is also not capable of conducting military operations against terror groups.

UN needs to strengthen peace and security by bringing about a structural overhaul in its structure. UN has increased focus on human rights, priority on peace continuance, and investment in the capacity building of local institutions to strengthen existing governments. It has also started to implement the legal and moral duties to end terrorism by fostering inclusion, coherence, and multi-cultural societies.

The primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security rests with the UN Security Council under Article 24 of the UN Charter. Under Article 12, the powers of the UN General Assembly (UNGA) are severely restricted. UNGA cannot make recommendations on any issues which are being addressed by the UN Security Council. Article 12 has in effect an overriding impact and the real decision-making powers rest with the UN Security Council where again, it is the voice of the Permanent Members that echo the loudest. The UN Security Council continues to act like global policemen without recognising the changed world realities.

The key components of UN's preventive diplomacy are empowering national and local actors, rule of law, empowering regional organisations, and reliance on mediation and negotiation programme as an effective tool.

The High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) has recognised that the three principles of peacekeeping, which are—consent of the parties to the conflict, impartiality and the use of force in self-defense, and support of the mandate—are under tremendous stress lately. Member States do not have the same type of interpretation concerning these three pillars.

The development of the Peacekeeping Capability Response (PCR) system to improve the capability and performance of the

peace-keeping forces is underway. This ensures only those countries with better capabilities are able to reach the last level of capability response, i.e. deployment to conflict situations. Efforts are also on to provide greater mobility, intelligence, and better situational awareness to UN peacekeepers. However, the use of technology tends to impinge on the sovereignty of the host nation.

Peacekeepers need to be given the ability to operate in theatres where the asymmetric threat exists, this can only happen with better training, better technological resources, access to information, and contingency planning.

The process of post-conflict peace-building to sustainable peace passes through three stages, i.e. stabilisation, transition, and long-term development. This is achieved with the involvement of multiple actors such as the UN institutions, foreign governments, and donor agencies. The most important post-conflict tasks are governance and security.

UN has also taken specific measures to involve women in the peace-keeping exercises. The whole idea of preventive diplomacy works around reaching out to the locals and understanding their concerns rather than building metaphoric walls and shutting them out.

### **Key Recommendations**

UN's co-operation with regional actors needs to increase in both peace-keeping and peace-building operations.

There must be more representation of developing countries, where the bulk of international crises occur, in both categories of the Council, permanent and non-permanent.

UN's success will largely depend on reforming the UN Security Council, adopting the multi-stakeholder approach by giving smaller nations voice and ensure greater transparency in the functioning of the UN Security Council which is largely run behind closed doors currently. There is a need for an approach where countries are held accountable for their positions.

#### 4 TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY ROADMAP FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The existing UN Secretariat structure has to be made more effective, responsive, and accountable. The UNGA should compile a pool of experienced negotiators for preventive diplomacy, which should be drawn upon when the Secretary General appoints Special Envoys or Special Representatives.

The peace-keeping operations need to be made more efficient by adopting a more holistic approach. A crucial step will be augmenting resources (e.g., there are only eight senior Mediation Officers in the Department for Political Affairs).

UN must avoid institutional and funding gaps by increasing cross-linkages between different bodies working under the UN and strengthening the role of International Humanitarian Law (IHL).

To sustain peace, political vigilance is needed. Effective conflict prevention can be achieved by timely mediation. Protection of civilians is the core obligation of the UN but expectations and capabilities must converge. Clarity is required in the use of force in UN peace-keeping operations.

If UN peacekeeping is to remain an effective and indispensable tool, the mandates must regulate the amount of time allotted to peace-keeping missions based on ground realities. Peace-keeping challenges must be met. Human rights issues must be addressed. Protection of civilians must be an overriding importance for the peacekeepers to operate effectively.

UN needs to have a systemic framework in place so that the gap between the expectations and delivery is narrowed. There has to be a viable and pre-eminent force within the UN system for political reconciliation and humanitarian support. The drafting of framework documents and policies are important and they should be revised through the entire lifecycle of the mission.

UN must take specific measures to involve women in the peace-keeping operations. Preventive diplomacy works around reaching out to the locals and understanding their concerns. The global study of the implementation of Resolution 1325 confirms that women's involvement in all aspects of peace-making, peacekeeping, and

peace-building will increase the chances of lasting peace by over one-third.

The peacekeepers must protect and anticipate sexual violence in order to take preventive actions and mitigate atrocities. The military and the police must be adequately trained in information gathering, early warning signs, and threat analyses.

Access of rogue states/terror groups to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) would throw up serious security challenges at the global community and this needs to be preventively/pro-actively acted upon. There is also urgent need to adopt and implement comprehensive convention on international terrorism. This will provide a universal benchmark if adopted by the UNGA, the most representative of UN's organs.

## DETAILED REPORT

*The aspects enumerated as part of this report are exclusively based on the deliberations by panellists. These do not necessarily conform to the views of the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) or that of the Indian Army or the Ministry of Defence, Government of India.*

The CLAWS-CUNPK conducted a joint Seminar on ‘21st Century Roadmap for Conflict Resolution by the United Nations’ on 29 May 2017 to mark the International Day for United Nations Peacekeepers. The summary of deliberations is enumerated in the succeeding paragraphs.

### INAUGURAL SESSION

During the inaugural session Lieutenant General BS Nagal, PVSM, AVSM, SM (Retd), Director CLAWS and Yuri Afanasiev, UN Resident Coordinator addressed the audience. General Nagal highlighting the theme said that the world has undergone major changes, more so since the end of the Cold War; there has been a fundamental shift in the nature and the character of conflict. There is a need to look at the emerging challenges that have arisen and the methods which can be used to tackle these challenges. Conflicts have become ‘hybrid’ in nature. The modern conflicts have also entered the cyber realm. All these changes have thrown its own set of unique challenges at the UN and the Member States. The challenge of terrorism which has expanded exponentially globally will also have to be addressed. The Seminar aims at defining the character and nature of emerging conflicts in the twenty-first century and the role the UN can play in dealing with these conflicts. The Seminar suggests a roadmap to address all challenges of contemporary peacekeeping including military paradigm and diplomatic challenges to enforce peace. It shall also look at methodologies of conflict resolution that need to be propagated. He remarked that any conflict resolution needs support of the major powers of the world as well as regional powers and hope that regional groupings will take charge in their regions.

Yuri Afanasiev while addressing the audience emphasised that over 1,15,000 uniformed military, police, and civilian personnel are deployed currently around the world. The UN has undertaken more than 71 missions around the world since the establishment of peace-keeping mechanism. Blue helmets and other peacekeepers are not only protecting civilians but also working for sustainable peace. In 2017, 117 military, police, and civilian personnel from 43 countries made the supreme sacrifice in peace-keeping operations. While acknowledging the role of India he remarked that Rifleman Brijesh Thapa (MONUSCO) and Private Ravi Kumar (UNIFIL) were posthumously awarded the Dag Hammarskjöld medal in 2017 from India. India has contributed cumulatively over 1,00,000 peacekeepers who have served the UN in 50 out of the 71 peace-keeping missions. India was first to send an all-female police peace-keeping unit to the mission in Liberia which was a resounding success. In various peacekeeping missions, 168 Indians have made the supreme sacrifice. India has also assisted in the capacity building of the peacekeeping forces through various training programmes. Special programmes have been instituted by India for African partners and female soldiers. UN peace-keeping budget is less than half of 1 per cent of the total global military spending. UN peace-keeping missions are at least eight times more cost effective than missions carried out by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or other parties.

He then read out UN Secretary General (UNSG), António Guterres's message on the occasion of International Day of Peacekeepers 2017. UNSG recognised the service of UN peacekeepers who have saved thousands of lives mentioning their contribution in South Sudan, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, etc. The UNSG ended his message by paying the highest tribute to all the peacekeepers who made the supreme sacrifice while serving under the UN Flag. This was followed by a 2 minutes silence to remember the fallen peacekeepers.

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS: LIEUTENANT GENERAL SARATH CHAND, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, VCOAS



### Lt Gen Sarath Chand, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, VCOAS delivering the Inaugural Address

The Vice Chief of Army Staff (VCOAS) while delivering the inaugural address highlighted the following:

- The first UN mission was established on 29 May 1948 after Arab-Israel war; hence this day is celebrated every year as the UN Day of Peacekeepers. In keeping with the theme UN has honoured two Indian peacekeepers with Dag Hammarskjöld medal. India contributes 6,900 military personnel to the 1,15,000-strong peacekeeping force in 16 conflict areas currently.
- The UN peace-keeping forces have been deployed to help monitor ceasefire agreements, create buffer zones or support complex military and civilian functions to help in the reconstruction of societies devastated by war. The nature of conflicts has dramatically changed over the years.

Peacekeeping has become increasingly dangerous over the years.

- The conflict has resulted in many war crimes, including sexual misdemeanors such as rape and proliferation of arms, leading to serious humanitarian crises and mass migrations.
- Robust mandates have been sanctioned in various conflict areas. UNSC Resolution 2098 authorising the deployment of a Force Brigade by MONUSCO in Congo, mandating the undertaking targeted offensive operations against belligerents who were targeting and threatening civilian population.
- The biggest challenge to the UN peacekeeping is intra-state conflicts which have become increasingly regionalised or internationalised, thus prolonging the conflict. Protection of civilians remains the first priority for any peace-keeping mission or for any TCC.
- Lack of a clear political framework is another major challenge to the UN peace-keeping missions. Striking the right balance between consent of host country and impartiality is another challenge.
- Bringing more nations specially developed world into the folds of UN peacekeeping and deepening existing ties with major TCCs can ensure that the UN peacekeeping retains its model of impartiality and draws upon the various technologies which developed countries possess.
- Co-operation with regional actors needs to increase in both peace-keeping and peace-building operations.

## SESSION I: THE UNITED NATIONS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION



### Remarks by the Chairperson, Ambassador Virendra Dayal

The first session on ‘UN and Conflict Resolution’ is a very wide subject. It comprises all responsibilities that the UN and Member States have towards mitigating conflicts and offering securities to people subjected to conflicts. Peace-keeping and peace-building activities are all related to conflict resolution. Activities of the UN have expanded to include the issues that were not foreseen at the time the Charter was framed, its core mission remains maintenance of international peace and security. Lasting peace is not achieved or sustained by military or technological engagements but through political solutions. Peacekeepers must be deployed as part of a broader strategy in support of a political process.

### Global Flash Points and the Changing Nature of Conflicts in the Twenty-First Century: Lieutenant General Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM\*\*, VSM (Retd)

Experiences of the Second Iraq War which lasted from 2003 to 2011

and Lebanon War of 2006 have lowered the appetite for ‘full-fledged wars’ as the preferred option for resolving conflicts. The current trend of the twenty-first century is for limited ‘proportionate’ involvement with a clear ‘exit’ plan and strategy.

The Middle East, Asia, and other parts of Africa continue to throw up unique conflicts and challenges, especially related to terror groups like ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and affiliates. The Asia Pacific and Eastern Europe are the new arenas of competition in the global power play. ‘Hybrid wars’ appear to be the ‘new normal’ as far as nature of conflicts are concerned.

Global Flash Points as they exist have been examined in detail as under.

## Syria

Syria is multi-sided proxy war (Syrian government and its state/non-state allies against various rebel groups/opposition forces supported by other states/non-state actors).

### *Combatants*

- Enemies are Syrian government forces, Russia, Iran, Hezbollah, pro-government militias, Christian militias, and Shia militias.
- Free Syrian Army is supported by Turkey, USA, the UK, France, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar.
- Islamic Front (Ahrar al-Sham/Jaysh al-Islam) is supported by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Turkey.
- Al Nusra Front (Jabhat Fateh al-Sham/Tahrir al-Sham), Jehadi-Salafi off shoot of Al Qaeda.
- Syrian Democratic Front (Rojava) 60 per cent Kurds Women’s Protection Units—Yuh-Pah-Juh (YPJ), People’s Protection Units—Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (YPG), 40 per cent others (Arabs, Assyrians, Armenians, and Turkmens), supported by the US, Russia, France, Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (PKK), Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

## 12 TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY ROADMAP FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

- ISIS controls one-third of Syria, including most oil and gas.
- The US Central Command (CENTCOM) led Western Coalition of 30 countries (2014) aimed at destroying ISIS.

### **Iraq**

Civil War (Mosul offensive underway since 2015-16).

#### *Combatants*

- Enemies are Iraqi government forces, Shia militias, Iran (Quds force/Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), and Hezbollah.
- Iraqi Kurdish Regional Government, Peshmarga (Rojava), and Turkish Kurds (PKK).
- Turkmen Brigades are supported by Turkey
- International forces (Combined Joint Task Force – Operation Inherent Resolve (CJTF-OIR) – the US, the UK, France, and Australia.
- ISIS (Wilayat Nineveh; Furqan, Nahawand, al-Khansa

### **Yemen**

Civil war turned into a full-fledged regional war.

#### *Combatants*

- Enemies are Hadi government forces, pro-Hadi tribal fighters, supported by the Saudi-led coalition (Eight Sunni countries), the US, the UK, and France.
- Houthi (Zaidi Shia) rebels, pro-Saleh security forces, Iran, Hezbollah, and Ahrar al-Najran.
- Al-Qaeda in Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) – Ansar al-Sharia, ISIS – Yemen Province.
- Elements of Shia-Sunni (Iran-Saudi) conflict, ISIS, and Al-Qaeda terrorism,

## Libya

Second Civil War and the result of ISIS expansionism.

### *Combatants*

- Enemies are Tobruk based Government of National Accord, Libyan Army, Tuareg and Toubou militias, supported by France, the US, the UK, Egypt, UAE, Jordan, Russia, and private Russian contractors.
- Tripoli based New General National Congress (GNC), Libya Dawn (militias), Amazigh militias, Sudan, Qatar, and Turkey.
- Shura Councils of Benghazi, Derna, and Ajdabiya.
- Sirte based ISIS, supported by AQIM .
- Elements of Arab Spring, split governance, civil war, ISIS expansionism, Al Qaeda presence, inter-tribal wars, conflict for oil (the UN brokered ceasefire/Unity Government not implemented).

## Israel—Palestine

Wide-ranging complex historical conflict—Israel occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip 50 years ago (1967). The final peace agreement was not reached despite long-term peace process and many attempts at brokering a permanent solution.

### *Combatants*

- Enemies are Israel supported by USA and some elements within Lebanon.
- Palestinian National Authority (earlier PLO) is supported by Arab League, Russia (earlier Soviet Union) and Iran, paramilitary groups, terror cells.
- Characterised by elements of Jewish and Arab nationalism, historical Jewish-Arab Muslim religious/cultural divide, asymmetric warfare, human rights violations, and mass displacement.

### **Summary – The Middle East**

- Deep intractable Shia-Sunni divide being taken advantage of external powers in this round of conflict. USA and Israel are supporting Sunni coalition against Iran. There are manifestations of Cold War 2.0 in Syria.
- ISIS and Al Qaeda affiliates expanding beyond Syria/Iraq, into Libya and Yemen.
- Oil continues to be a major motivation for external powers intervening militarily in West Asia and North Africa.
- Large numbers of Kurdish youth have been militarised. Declaration of Kurdish independence in any country is likely to result in a fresh round of conflicts and violence.
- The UN mediation for conflict resolution has not been effective so far.

### **Asia–Pacific**

#### **The East China Sea**

- The East China Sea (ECS) is part of the Pacific Ocean. Disputes between China, Japan, and South Korea over the extent of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) according to different applications of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). China and Japan dispute ownership of Senkaku/Diaoyu islands; China's dispute with South Korea concerns Socotra Rock, a submerged reef over which South Korea has constructed a research station.
- Protagonists are China versus Japan-USA and China versus Taiwan-USA. Russia has yet not shown its card.

#### **The South China Sea**

- There is a dispute over maritime and island claims in the South China Sea (SCS) (rich in oil, gas, and fishing) involving China, Taiwan, and various South-East Asian countries bordering

SCS. Further, non-claimant states want the SCS to remain as international waters (US\$ 5 trillion trade passes through annually).

- China's 9 dash line overlaps EEZ of other countries. Claimants are China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Brunei.
- Elements of China's hegemonic assertiveness are at play with reclaiming reefs, building islands with airstrips, and installing military infrastructure. China has been ignoring another claimant under UNCLOS and rejecting the ruling of the UN Permanent Court of Arbitration on China-Philippines dispute.

### **North Korea–South Korea/America**

- Division of Korea was a manifestation of Cold War–North Korea came under the Communist (Soviet Union/Chinese) control and influence after the Second World War while South Korea came under the US control.
- Skirmishes have continued intermittently since the Korean War of the early 1950s along with occasional efforts towards peace and re-unification. North Korea has continued to be 'quintessential communist regime'.
- North Korea has developed nuclear weapons (conducted six tests ) and a vast array of ballistic missile systems. The US has deployed THAAD anti-aircraft/missile systems in South Korea and intensified military exercises.
- North Korea has been threatening nuclear attacks against South Korea, Japan, and US forces. It is developing ICBMs against USA to target the mainland.

### **The Pakistan Problem**

- Pakistan Army runs its foreign and security policy. Sustaining 'hatred towards India' and 'militancy in Kashmir' lies at the core of its policies. Furthering the worldwide Sunni battle against the Shias has also been added recently to its assumed roles.

- It is encouraged by support (in all forms) from China, some Sunni Muslim countries, and partially by USA (which is undergoing a shift now).
- It runs numerous clandestine groups and operations through Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) against India. More recently, it has started hostile actions against Afghanistan and Iran also. It is also under threat from its home grown terror groups like Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).
- Pakistan's continued belligerence makes it the primary global flashpoint of the coming decade.

## **Nigeria**

The insurgency in the North and East Nigeria by Islamist insurgent/terrorist group (Boko Haram), which has aligned itself to the ISIS. Boko Haram has spread its activities into neighbouring countries as well.

### ***Combatants***

- Enemies are Nigerian forces, local militias, and foreign mercenaries from South Africa. There is a regional coalition with Cameroon, Chad, and Niger.
- Boko Haram (ISIS Wilayat Gharb Afriqiya), splinter group Ansaru linked to Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).
- Elements of Islamist terrorism to take control of Nigeria, ISIS, and Al Qaeda influence, religious violence (targeted at Christians).

## **Eastern Europe**

- NATO's eastward expansion has had predictable effects. Russian assertiveness along its Western borders has been directed most prominently towards Crimea, Ukraine, and Georgia.
- NATO counter-moves by supportive/preventive military buildup in East European countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria) has added to the complexities.

- NATO and Russia find themselves on opposing sides in Syria. All this has triggered talk of the ‘Second Cold War’, with Eastern Ukraine as the most prominent flash point.

### **Analysis: Global Flash Points**

- West Asia (Syria and Yemen), East Asia (China, Korea, Japan, and the US), South Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran) and Eastern Europe (Ukraine and Baltics) are likely to be the global flashpoints over the next decade or so.
- Kurdish areas bordering Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran could also be a new flashpoint in case an independent Kurdistan is declared in Iraq.
- ISIS and Al Qaeda are likely to be defeated territorially in Syria-Iraq and Yemen but are likely to spread (ideologically and virtually) across the world and spearhead terror groups, individuals and activities, especially in the Middle East (Libya), Africa, Af-Pak, and Western Europe.
- Access of terror groups to WMD would throw up serious security challenges at the global community and needs to be preventively/ pro-actively acted upon.
- Cold War 2.0 could become a reality. It shall be detriment to peace and stability (and conflict resolution) worldwide unless the P-5 and their allies step back from current inclinations and instead work towards a cooperative approach.
- UN is incapable of controlling military operations to deal with terror groups or conflicts in global flashpoints due to lack of capability/resources (and direct/indirect involvement of P-5 powers).

### **The Changing Nature of Conflicts in the Twenty-first Century**

- ‘All Out Wars’ are no longer the norm.
- Civil wars of sectarian nature (e.g. Sunni-Shia, Arab-Kurd, etc.) likely to continue for some more time.

- Hybrid War is a mix of various types of warfare (regular/irregular/asymmetric/proxy/unconventional/technological/informational, etc.) appears to be the new norm of waging war (e.g. Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Pakistan, and Eastern Ukraine).
- Optimal Warfare is use of technology, calibrated use of warfare means to achieve strategic aims with minimum essential violence/possibility of collateral damage like Stuxnet attack against Natanz nuclear facility (Iran), drone attacks to take out terrorist leaders in Af-Pak, Mother of All Bombs (MOAB) to destroy ISIS camp in Nangarhar (Afghanistan), Tomahawk attack against Shayrat air base (Syria), surgical strikes against terror infrastructure in Pakistan, and so on.

### **Summary**

- Hybrid, proxy, and optimal wars are likely to be the norm in the twenty-first century unlike 'All Out Wars' of the previous century.
- West Asia, East Asia, Af-Pak, and Eastern Europe are likely to be the global flashpoints of the next decade or so.
- The UN is likely to be further marginalised in its role of conflict resolution, considering that Cold War 2.0 appears inevitable, with China playing an increasingly active role.

### **Contemporary Peace-Making: Dynamics of the United Nations Diplomacy, Negotiation, and Mediation by Ambassador Asoke Kumar Mukerji**

- The new Portuguese UNSG António Guterres has on his agenda to strengthen peace and security by bringing about a structural overhaul in the UN. The first is to have an increased focus on human rights. The second priority is peace continuance. The third priority is investment in the capacity building of local institutions to strengthen existing governments. The fourth priority is to implement the legal and moral duty to end terrorism by fostering inclusion, coherence, and multi-cultural societies.
- A pragmatic view has been taken by the current UNSG and

structural reforms of the Secretariat have been initiated. There is hope that apart from the five permanent members to UNSC, India and other major contributors to the peacekeeping process will also be consulted.

- Under Article 24 of the UN Charter, the primary responsibility of peacekeeping rests with the UNSC. Under Article 12, the powers of the UNGA are severely restricted. It cannot make recommendations on any issues being addressed by the UNSC. Article 12 has in effect an overriding impact and the real decision-making power rests with the UNSC where again, it is the voice of the permanent members that echo the loudest. The UNSC continue to act like policemen of the world without recognising the changed realities of the world.
- There have been times where the UN mediation and negotiation had been successful in bringing about peace. Examples include Ivory Coast and Liberia. Even in Colombia, a new peace agreement is being affected.
- The peacekeeping operations need to be made more efficient by adopting a more holistic approach. A crucial step will be augmenting resources. There are only eight senior Mediation Officers in the Department for Political Affairs.
- Ultimately, the UN's future success will largely be dependent on reforming the UNSC, adopting the multi-stakeholder approach by giving the smaller nations voice and lastly, ensure greater transparency in the functioning of the UNSC which is largely run behind closed doors. The world needs a multi-stakeholder approach where countries are held accountable for their positions.

### **Efficacy of Preventive Diplomacy and Deployment as a Means of Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century – by Ambassador Vijay Nambiar**

- The current conflicts are often internal in nature which goes on to acquire an international overtone with time. This is primarily fueled by hunger for power and resources. What follows is a military regime taking over, frequent human rights violations,

increase in crimes against women and an overall depreciation in the standard of living.

- The importance of pre-emptive peacekeeping measures must be understood in the context of the general state of affairs. While open borders can facilitate trade, they can also facilitate smuggling. The concept of ‘sovereignty paradox’ is on the rise. Nations are giving up a part of their sovereignty to leverage national interest. It is a method often employed by smaller nations to ensure security.
- Preventive diplomacy is not a new concept and that the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) is a very good example which prevented armed hostility in the latter half of the twentieth century.
- The key components of UN’s preventive diplomacy can largely be divided into three parts—first, empowering national and local actors who are supportive of democracy and rule of law although this has been criticised as being a cover for powerful nations employing puppet governments; the second crucial element are the regional organisations of the UN, the ‘good offices’; and lastly, it is the mediation and negotiation programme by the UN that is often given credit.
- On ground participation in preventive peace measures has increased. The number of preventive deployments has increased from 46 in 2009 to 112 in 2015. The major hurdle with this is recognising and convincing the UN members that a situation needs immediate attention. However, this can be overcome by building a strong case to depict imminent danger to peace.
- The UN has also taken specific measures to involve women in the peacekeeping exercises. The whole idea of preventive diplomacy works around reaching out to the locals and understanding their concerns rather than building metaphoric walls and shutting them out. A successful example of UN intervention was in Libya where it had become a de jure state under Muammar Gaddafi. However, the biggest criticism of preventive diplomacy remains that it is a smokescreen for powerful nations’ interventionist policies.

- UN must undertake trust-building exercises, steadily proceed through the good offices and mediation exercises, mobilise mass support and ensure the smaller stakeholders of their interests being protected and delivering on them. Local governments need to be strengthened. This has been successful in Kenya, Tunisia, and Ghana. Other measures include avoiding institutional and funding gaps by increasing cross-linkages between different bodies working under the UN and strengthening the role of IHL. Despite the increasing number of global and regional forums, the UN does have an important role to play. It can make a difference in a modest but meaningful manner.

## SESSION II: CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO THE UNITED NATIONS



### Changes in the Nature of United Nations Peacekeeping to Meet Emerging Challenges by Lieutenant General Chander Prakash, VSM, SM (Retd)

- Nature of peacekeeping is constantly changing to meet the emerging challenges of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is still evolving.

- Complexities of peace operations are increasing. Mandates have become all-encompassing. The mandates now have the protection, stabilisation, and peace enforcement elements all built into them. The lines which separate peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-building, and peace-enforcement are becoming blurred.
- Mandates have become very demanding and they often make it very difficult for the troops on the ground to operate. All the demands of the host countries and international interests are outlined somewhere in the mandate. It tends to raise expectations to a high level and thus credibility suffers. An apt example is the mandate for the protection of civilians. Out of 16 peacekeeping operations, 12 have the mandate for the protection of civilians.
- As the nature of conflicts has transformed, the human sufferings have increased manifold over the years, thus requiring the mandate to protect civilians. This restores the credibility of the peacekeeping operations. Robustness continues to be a grey area, ill-defined between the traditional peacekeeping and peace-enforcement, which are the two ends of the spectrum of peacekeeping. Traditional peacekeeping like in Iran (1987) was nothing more than going on patrols, producing situational reports, and if there was any violation, the people were expected to settle it themselves.
- Contemporary peacekeeping demands more robustness, peacekeeping troops are expected to rapidly deploy to conflict areas and use force, if necessary, to resolve conflicts. Proactive protection at the strategic, tactical, and operational levels is being expected of the peacekeepers.
- At the strategic level, UNSC and Permanent Members are trying to be robust. UNSC passed Resolution 2098 (2013), showing their will to be robust and authorised MONUSCO to proactively use armed force to neutralise the armed belligerents.
- The primary issue is the mindset of the Member States. There are differences in opinions of the TCCs and the countries paying the costs mainly P-5s. Many steps have been taken to ensure that the

Member States are on the same page. The first step taken was the setting up of a High Level Panel on Technology and Innovation, which was followed by a HIPPO headed by the Former Prime Minister of Timor Leste, Jose Ramos-Horta.

- New approaches were suggested to peacekeeping by HIPPO panel. First was the issue of conflict prevention in which mediation must be brought to the fore. The second issue was the protection of civilians as the core obligation of the UN but expectations and capabilities must converge. Clarity is required in the use of force in UN peacekeeping operations.
- To sustain peace, political vigilance is needed. The HIPPO panel also recognised that the three principles of peacekeeping are under stress currently. The three principles are the consent of the parties to the conflict, impartiality and the use of force in self-defense, and support of the mandate. Member States do not have the same type of interpretation concerning these three pillars.
- In intra-state conflicts the threat is asymmetric and this raises the question of taking consent of all the parties to conflict, but practically it is impossible to obtain consent from all and sundry. Impartiality can be considered possible to a certain degree but not beyond that. With regard to the use of force, can the peacekeepers be bystanders to the brutality of non-state actors and armed groups?
- Efforts are on to provide greater mobility, intelligence, and better situational awareness to peacekeepers. Technology is being used in MONUSCO in form drones. However, the use of technology tends to impinge on the sovereignty of the host nation.
- The development of the PCR system to improve the capability and performance of the peacekeeping forces is underway; this ensures that only those countries with better capabilities are able to reach the last level of capability response that is ultimately deployment.
- Peacekeepers need to be given the ability to be able to operate in theatres of asymmetric threat, which can only happen with better

training, better technological resources, access to information, and contingency planning.

- Intelligence is not considered a ‘dirty word’ for UN peacekeeping anymore. Establishment of Intelligence Fusion Cell in Mali is an example of the same. The aim of the Cell is to produce actionable intelligence for the peacekeepers to operate on.
- If UN peacekeeping is to remain effective and indispensable the mandates must regulate the amount of time allotted to peacekeeping missions based on ground realities. Peacekeeping challenges must be met. Human rights issues must be addressed. Protection of civilians must be an overriding importance for the peacekeepers to operate effectively.

**Challenges to Post Conflict Peace-building:  
The South Sudan Example by Lieutenant General JS Lidder,  
UYSM, AVSM (Retd)**

- Peace-building activities are a set of measures that are taken to avoid a State lapse or relapse into the conflict. They are applicable to all stages of the conflict. Today’s contemporary peacekeeper is a peacemaker, peace-enforcer, and a peace-builder.
- Post-conflict peace-building to sustainable peace passes through three stages, i.e. stabilisation, transition, and long-term development in which, multiple actors are involved such as the UN institutions, foreign governments, and donor agencies. The most important post-conflict tasks are governance and security. If a State can govern itself and ensure post-conflict security, bulk of the targets are achieved.
- In case of South Sudan, the situation has gone retrograde.

**Secession Baggage**

UN helped South Sudan to get independence without any framework or defined boundary. Sudan is rich in resources. While the oil fields are in Sudan, refineries are in South Sudan. Lack of formal agreement between them led to a dispute on the share of royalties between the

two countries. The baggage of proxy war also continues to affect South Sudan, with a minor group of South Sudanese military fighting in the south, rest being proxies. The proxies are either supported by neighbouring countries or foreign powers which continue till today.

### **Conflict Resolution Strategy**

In case of South Sudan far too many global and regional powers are involved with varied political expediency and national interests. Both major and regional powers keep flirting around on conference table whereas on the ground the equation is contradictory. Time has arrived to have a comprehensive relook into the South Sudan theatre. Interestingly, two-thirds of the UN funds are spent on four missions that include DR Congo, South Sudan, Darfur, and Abyei.

### **Governance and National Ownership**

The government in South Sudan lacks political reconciliation and inclusivity. The Government is divided between the President Salva Kiir and the Vice President Reich Machar. Generally, led by the ministers and officials of the same tribe. When it comes to national ownership, there is a dearth of sufficient assessment to gauge the national capability and harmonise it with the future requirements. As a result, most of the driving is done by UN at the backseat.

### **Building Capacity: Infrastructure and Institutions**

Outreach becomes difficult due to lack of proper roads and necessary infrastructure. Also, the money flowing for infrastructure development from donor agencies and groups is being diverted elsewhere.

### **Incorporating Civil Society: Religious/Tribal Leaders, Women Groups**

Civil societies play a predominant role in conflict situations. For any kind of peace-building to succeed civil societies must be incorporated. Steps will have to be taken to incorporate all tribal groups, women, and other civil society actors otherwise the execution will get weak. The typical example for this is Liberia in which women groups and civil societies took the lead.

## Security

Security is necessary to create a permissive environment for all political and humanitarian actors to operate freely. But Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), a loosely controlled fighter groups, has become part of the political problem. The split within the SPLA along ethnic lines has challenged the impartiality of the UN peacekeepers. UN peacekeepers to cooperate with SPLA have now become a challenge.

## Sustainability

- The challenge is to have a long-term policy for the professional integration of police, judiciary, and military for which a lot of help and effort is required. There shouldn't be any attempt to experiment the models of West or Asia in Sudan. The solution should be contextualised according to the requirement of South Sudan. Peace-building involves multiple stakeholders and it rests on partnerships with the regional and the global players. In South Sudan its competition . Money and resources are being pumped in huge quantities, which is then recycled back into organised crime.
- UN has also taken specific measures to involve women in the peace-keeping exercises. The whole idea of preventive diplomacy works around reaching out to the locals and understanding their concerns rather than building metaphoric walls and shutting them out. A successful example of UN intervention was in Libya where it had become a de jure state under Muammar Gaddafi. However, the biggest criticism of preventive diplomacy remains that it is a smokescreen for powerful nations' interventionist policies.

## India's Approach to Global/Regional Conflict Resolution and the United Nations Peacekeeping in view of Changing Scenario by Ambassador Dinkar Prakash Srivastava

- As the preamble to the UN Charter notes, the UN was created 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'. For more

than seven decades of its existence, the UN has been involved in a series of mediation efforts to settle disputes. Where peaceful means for dispute settlement failed, UN established peace-keeping operations. With the changing nature of threats in the twenty-first century, conflict resolution has also become more complex.

- The events of 9/11 were a watershed. The world has known asymmetrical warfare earlier also. The guerrilla wars the world witnessed in the twentieth century had well-defined political aims. Faith-based wars are different. How do you negotiate with groups or individuals, who seek their reward in the other world? The challenge of Al Qaeda or ISIS is that they do not recognise the Westphalian State system. ISIS is fighting for the establishment of a Caliphate, which transcends international boundaries. The distinction between inter-state and intra-state conflicts has been blurred. Sectarian conflicts in the Middle East have an over-layer of State conflict and faith-based wars. Social media platforms are increasingly used by extremist groups to spread narrow philosophies, which contradict the modern value system. They neither recognise human rights nor international humanitarian order.
- With military defeat in Iraq, ISIS may lose territory. But if it retains its ideological hold, and spreads in other countries, the impact will be much worse. The Libyan conflict could prove to be more dangerous than Somalia. Unlike Somalia, Libya is an oil-rich country with a long coast-line and is in close proximity of Europe. It has already contributed to the migration crisis in Europe and resulted in a terrorist attack in London.
- As UNSG's Report on the Work of the Organization last year noted:
 

[Eight] out of 11 countries that face the highest level of threat from Al-Qaeda affiliated terrorist groups, host UN peace operations. 7 out of those 8 Missions are political Missions, which do not have peace-keeping troops at their disposal and therefore face a distinctive security challenge.
- The ongoing air-strikes, and ground operations, by forces of

different countries against ISIS in Iraq and Syria, demonstrate the severity of the problem posed by these extremist groups. The lightly armed UN peacekeeping operations can hardly take on this challenge, which is proving difficult for the world's leading powers to cope with.

### **Changing International Milieu**

The UN has to face these new threats in an international milieu, which is more challenging. The new international order has three distinguishing characteristics: the ability of great powers to shape events is diminishing. This is evident not only in the stalemate in Afghanistan and Iraq, but also the Ukrainian crisis, and now in the Korean Peninsula, where China has not been able to prevent nuclearisation of North Korea. The second characteristic is weakening or withdrawal of liberal order. Brexit is a manifestation of this trend. Third, is the rise of economic nationalism. The nation-states are less willing to share resources with multilateral institutions. This has made the task of maintaining peace, within or outside the UN system, more difficult.

### **The League and the United Nations**

- Both the Covenant of the League of Nations and the UN Charter sought to create a system of collective security to preserve international peace and security. This was enshrined in Article 16 of the League Covenant and is part of articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter. Any breach of security was to be punished by coercion in the form of sanctions or actual use of military means.
- This collective security system was based on the primacy of the great powers. Coercion could work only when the major military powers participate, and where none of those powers oppose an action. The system thus required consensus or at least acquiescence of the permanent members.
- The limitation of the collective security arrangement enshrined in the UN Charter became evident soon after the Organisation came into existence. As the wartime co-operation gave way to the rivalry between the US and the USSR, it was no longer possible

to secure unanimity amongst the permanent members without which no major decision could be taken. The military operation in Korea in 1950 was the first action in collective self-defence by the US and its allies against an attack by China and North Korea on South Korea. This was possible due to the temporary absence of Soviet Union from the UNSC. The second attempt was 'Uniting for Peace' resolution, which sought to transfer decision-making from the UNSC, which was deadlocked, to the UNGA. This proved only a temporary expedient and has not been tried since. This was also in no small part due to the fact that the West lost the majority in the UNGA, whose composition changed with the progress of de-colonisation.

- The practice of UN peacekeeping evolved through innovation. It was often called Chapter 6 ½, as the UN peacekeeping operations fell between Chapter VI dealing with Pacific Settlement of Disputes, and the Collective Security Arrangement laid down in Chapter VII.
- While permanent members found UN peacekeeping operations useful, and the practice evolved over time, it was confined to conflicts in Africa and Asia, which did not rank very high in the power hierarchy. No UN presence was allowed or even suggested, in Europe, which was at the heart of the Cold War contest. The UN also did not have a role in disarmament issues, though this is part of the UN Charter. The pattern has persisted since.
- The end of the Cold War saw a huge spurt in the activity of the UN Security Council, which was no longer constrained by the threat of a veto by one side or the other. This saw new types of operation, where the Security Council Mandate was given to 'regional organisation' or military alliances, to conduct operations outside UN command and control. The first Gulf war was an example.
- This trend ran out by the end of the 1990s, and re-appearance of the US-Russia differences over Kosovo. Even before this, the rift in P-5 over Iraq came out in 1997 with Russian and Chinese abstention.

## India's Approach to Conflict Resolution and the United Nations Peacekeeping

- India's approach is rooted in respect for the UN Charter. Its major planks are:
  - The primacy of political solution. Use of force as the last resort.
  - Consent of the host state or agreement between the parties, as the basis of UN operation.
  - UN Command and Control.
  - A clear mandate with matching resources.
- While adhering to these principles, India has shown enough flexibility in practice. India's participation in peacekeeping operations is not limited to Chapter VI operations. India has taken part in Chapter VII operations as well. The earliest such example was MONUC in Congo (1960-64). India took part in UNOSOM II and UNAMSIL in the 1990s. More recently, India is participating in UNMISS in South Sudan and MONUSCO in DR Congo under Chapter VII.
- Participation in UN peacekeeping operations on the basis of consent of the host State, or agreement of the parties, is a matter of principle. It is also prudence. In the absence of agreement of the parties, the force level required to enforce and maintain peace goes up. It increases military and political costs once the casualties start mounting. The principle of UN Command and Control is an equally important tenet of Indian policy. It is essential to avoid being seen as partisan. The UN commands unique legitimacy. A clear mandate and matching resources are critical to the success of any operation. An ambitious mandate with under-funded or under-resourced operation is a recipe for disaster.
- These principles have been validated by the experience of different peacekeeping operations in which India has participated.

## Finance

- The challenge to successful UN operation comes not only from extremist groups but ironically from principal stakeholders. This comes in the form of financial crunch, which severely limits UN's ability to act. According to a report by the Under Secretary General for Management Yukio Takasu, the UN is owed US\$ 777 million already . The situation is expected to get worse with budget cuts announced by Trump Administration. Currently, US pays 22 per cent of the UN's General Budget of US\$ 5.4 billion and 28.5 per cent of the Peacekeeping Budget of US\$ 7.9 billion. President Trump wants to cap the US Peacekeeping contribution at 25 per cent. However, the rate is revised every 3 years, and next revision is not due before 2018. This would suggest a more cautious approach on part of the UN before accepting new commitments or expanding existing ones.
- The Charter principle of Respect for Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity remains as valid today as it was in 1945 when the world body was founded. The UN can be successful only with the support of Member States.
- There is need to encourage respect for plurality. Self-determination cannot be justification for the break-up of States and atomisation of societies. Break-up of multi-ethnic and multi-religious States in Europe and Asia has given rise to unending ethnic conflicts, whether in Balkans or the former Soviet Union or Iraq and Syria now.
- The UN has unique legitimacy as the only universal body. However, the structure of UN Security Council—the organ that decides the issues of war and peace, needs to be reviewed and expanded. Africa, which hosts the largest number of UN peace operations, does not have any permanent member. Inclusion of India, Germany and Japan, would add to the legitimacy and strength of the Security Council, without which it cannot be effective. There is need also to strengthen UN's normative role. It cannot simply be the body to implement decisions taken elsewhere.

## 32 TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY ROADMAP FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

- There is also urgent need to adopt and implement Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism. This will provide a universal benchmark, which is adopted by the General Assembly, the most representative of UN's organs.

## CONCEPT NOTE

### Overview

- The United Nations (UN) was founded at the end of the Second World War, with one fundamental mission—the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN works at achieving this noble intent by efforts at conflict resolution through conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, with the aim of creating the conditions to allow peace to take hold and flourish. Conflict Resolution is the primary activity of the UN. However, periodically, there have been fundamental shifts in the nature of conflicts as well as, consequently, in the actions towards their resolution.
- The international security arena witnessed a major transformation in the last decade of the twentieth century, in the aftermath of the Cold War. The unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union and the resulting end to Cold War dynamics proved a watershed in the nature of conflicts as well as in the means and methods employed for their resolution. However, civil wars, which largely replaced ‘state versus state wars’, became more violent, widespread and complex in nature, requiring the UN Conflict Resolution mechanism undergoing structural and conceptual metamorphosis. The sheer intensity and the resulting casualties, misery, and displacements of these conflicts were so high that the first post-Cold War decade came to be known as the bloodiest since the advent of nuclear weapons.
- Nonetheless, in the twenty-first century, though some of these civil wars are still ongoing, as in the Congo and South Sudan, there are other conflicts which have emerged, which bear similarities of the Cold War era. Ongoing conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Eastern Europe bring back memories of a bygone era when the world was majorly divided along ideological lines. Further, a dangerous offshoot of the petrodollar fuelled the spread of Islamist radicalism has been the growth of

organisations like Al Qaeda and Islamic State, which continue to use terror to achieve their indistinct, but highly dangerous, ends. A global Sunni Islamic military coalition, something quite unimaginable a few years back, has been patched together, ostensibly for countering terror in the Middle East—the realities may end up somewhat different.

- In the meanwhile, tectonic changes appear to be taking place in the political arena, both in America and Europe, which are raising questions on hitherto cooperative practices in the security realm within Europe and across the Atlantic. The rise of China on the global stage, which has been an ongoing phenomenon for over three decades, is no longer seen as a benign transformation, given China's coercive assertions of the recent past in the ECS and SCS. North Korea continues to behave in an erratic and belligerent fashion, threatening its neighbours and the US with missile attacks, even nuclear weapons.
- More complex is the change in the nature of warfare, where hybrid wars, involving a mix of regular, irregular, asymmetric, informational, and cyber warfare means with selective deniability are the new norm being adopted by various players. WMD, especially chemical weapons, are back in use, at the hands of both State and non-state actors. Terrorism, or asymmetric warfare, continue to be perpetrated, not only by the weaker side in conflicts, but also as an instrument of State policy. Faced with these emerging challenges, the UN appears unable and unwilling to grapple with their complex nuances. The situation may only weaken further if an inward-looking US becomes a reality—further reducing political, functional, and financial support to the work of the UN.
- The need to move away from the established traditional approaches to resolving conflicts and gravitate towards newer, more practical methods, keeping emerging twenty-first century developments in view, is becoming increasingly apparent. New approaches and methodology would, perforce, need to be more wide-ranging and comprehensive, and focused on the basic issues

and structures of a conflict, as compared to earlier practices that were designed primarily to achieve a cessation of violence or reduction in hostilities. These new approaches, based on the emerging nuances of the twenty-first century conflicts, should focus on resolving the basic and underlying issues on a long-term basis and bring about return to enduring conditions of peace and stability.

### **Objectives of the Seminar**

Against the earlier discussed backdrop, the Seminar aimed to achieve the following objectives:

- Define the nature and character of emerging conflicts of the twenty-first century. How would the UN be able to play a more active role in preventing and dealing with such conflicts under universal norms of justice and fair play?
- What would be the nature of changes in the concepts and methodology of conflict resolution in the face of emerging challenges and the likely conflict scenarios? How would the various aspects of conflict resolution like preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding be impacted?
- To provide policy prescription and advocacy.

### **Conduct**

The Seminar was conducted at the Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi on 29 May 2017 to mark the International Day for UN Peacekeepers conducted jointly by the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and Centre for UN Peacekeeping (CUNPK).

### **Themes**

- **Inaugural Session:** Inaugural Session commemorated and honoured the memory of the UN peacekeepers who have lost their lives in the cause of peace and also pay tribute to all the men and women who have served and continue to serve in UN peacekeeping operations worldwide.

- This was followed by sessions on ‘UN and Conflict Resolution’ and ‘Contemporary Challenges to UN’.
- **Programme:** The detailed programme is placed in the next chapter.
- **Speakers:** Speakers representing a wide cross-section of domain expertise from the Indian Armed Forces and the Indian Foreign Service were invited to present papers and share their perceptive on the subject.
- **Participants:** The participants included the following:
  - Veteran Peacekeepers.
  - Diplomatic community and delegates from the UN Country Team.
  - Officers from the Indian Armed Forces.
  - Research scholars from Think Tanks.
  - Officers from the Indian UN Contingents awaiting deployment.
  - Media representatives.
- **Seminar Coordinator:** Lieutenant Colonel Sanjay Barshilia, SM, Senior Fellow, CLAWS.