



CLAWS SEMINAR REPORT

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UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING: ROLE AND RELEVANCE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

on 30 May 2016
at Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi

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.

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CONCEPT NOTE

Overview

- The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, with one fundamental mission: the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN does this by working to prevent conflict, helping parties in conflict make peace, peacekeeping and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish.
- Although Peacekeeping Operations were never envisaged in the original UN charter however, these have got evolved as the flagship activity of the UN. It is widely acknowledged that peacekeeping operations today are increasingly called on to confront politically complex and challenging conflicts, often in volatile security environments

Objectives of the Seminar

Against the above backdrop, the seminar aimed to achieve the following objectives:-

- To explore **efficacy of UN in Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping** to maintain international peace and security.
- To evolve a consensus on future role for the UN Peacekeeping in the 21st century and ways to address the **challenges & emerging needs** of UN Peacekeeping Operations in Conflict Resolution.
- To **provide policy prescription and advocacy**.

Conduct

- The seminar was conducted at the Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi on 30 May 2016 to mark the International Day for UN Peacekeepers conducted jointly by the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and Centre for UN Peacekeeping (CUNPK).
- There were two sessions “United Nations & Conflict Prevention” and “Conflict Resolution and Contemporary Challenges to UN”.
- **Programme** - The detailed programme is placed at appx.
- **Speakers** - Speakers representing a wide cross-section of domain expertise from the Indian Armed Forces, Indian Foreign Service and UN Country Team were invited to present papers and to share their perceptive on the subject.

- **Participants** – The participants included the following :-
 - Veteran Peacekeepers.
 - Diplomatic Community and delegates from UN Country Team.
 - Service officers from the Indian Armed Forces.
 - Research scholars from Think Tanks.
 - Officers from Indian UN Contingents awaiting deployment.
 - Media representatives.
- **Seminar Coordinator** - Lt Col Sanjay Barshilia, SM, Senior Fellow, CLAWS.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Complexities and challenges have pushed UN to adopt multi-dimensional approach towards peacekeeping, additional tasks such as sustenance and governance, conduct of elections, protection of civilians, combating sexual violence etc have been added. The scope of UN has enhanced; hence, there is a need for force restructuring, better equipment and training.
- Troop Contributing Country/s (TCCs) must be part of the evolution of the mandate. TCCs must have a say as far as change of mandate or formulation of policies is concerned. TCCs are to be encouraged to have the ownership of the mandate thereafter.
- UN requires high capability and resolved perseverance of peacekeepers in the present volatile environment to function also it is important to ensure safety of peacekeepers as UN transitions from traditional peacekeeping roles to robust hybrid missions.
- 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 is not achieved or sustained by military engagements but through political solutions. Peacekeepers must be deployed as part of a broader strategy in support of a political process.
- Successful preventive diplomacy requires availability of direct inputs from the ground, a pro-active role for an “inclusive” negotiated peaceful solution, involving all legitimate parties by placing the right people and resources on the ground at the right time.
- Three of the five permanent members (the USA, UK and France) have taken to drafting the Council’s mandates in a non-transparent manner. UNSC refuses to invite TCCs into deliberations while debating on mandate formulation and completely ignore direct inputs while considering the actual situation on the ground which leads to abject or partial failure.
- All conflicts have become hybrid with escalation of violence, especially against women, children and civilians. Women and children are most vulnerable and disproportionately affected by the armed violence. This changing nature of the conflict has led to the systematic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. There is a shift in the foundations of peacekeeping with prevalent use of force while consent and sovereignty are ignored, directly impacting on impartiality in UN Peacekeeping Missions. However, there has been a constructive debate, burden-sharing and enhanced cooperation with Regional Organisations and Players. The answer to the current crisis is to reform the UN to make it more responsive and accountable. Only then can its attempts at preventive diplomacy show sustainable results.

- High-Level Independent Panel on Peace (HIPPO) has reported little or no peace to keep, stretched political support, increased gap between expectancy and delivery, more intractable conflicts, intra and inter-state radicalised transnational agendas.
- The UN has not arrived at a consensus to define what constitutes terrorism due to the various complexities of involvement of the armed forces of states in dealing with civilians, rights of the people under occupation etc. The draft definition only speaks of violence against civilians. This insufficient definition gives an opportunity to terrorists to attack only the security forces, the police, military installations so that their acts do not come under the ambit of UN's definition of Terrorism also no concrete steps have been taken to deal decisively with terrorism.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Unanimous mandate of world leaders given by the UN's 2005 World Summit for early reforms of UN Security Council has to be implemented urgently. Credibility of UN lies in reform.
- 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.
- The existing UN Secretariat structure has to be made more effective, responsive and accountable. The UN General Assembly 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.
- Consensual priorities, capability driven force and committed leadership are the recipes to success. UNSC and the UN Secretariat should prioritise these while embarking on missions to ensure greater dividends.
- UN should not go for standardised peacekeeping operations rather it should have tailored responses with hybrid capability, theatre grid and technology upgrades specific to each mission. UN must look at a theatre peacekeeping grid where it can deploy peacekeepers and if the same conflict expands, UN must be prepared within this overall mandate to be expand the deployment, this shall save crucial time and save lives.
- India, Brazil and South Africa should aspire to be opinion makers, opinion leaders, not just participate but shape world events. They should partner in world forums to influence decisions.
- India should align its core national interest with its participation in peace operations as is happening world-wide. It needs to revisit use of force doctrine and operate outside the UN flag, if it is necessary, to take more confident steps in regional situations.
- UN needs to have a systemic framework in place so that the gap between the expectations and delivery is narrowed There has to be 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 has the capability to deal with terrorism and come up with a global operational plan. This can be achieved by a Chapter 7 mission being put together by the department of peacekeeping under a lead country. The operations could develop on the lines of the first Gulf War with very few forces on the ground, mostly Special Forces, backed by seamless intelligence, missiles strikes and combat air strikes by a coalition of forces. The forces on ground could be pooled in by the countries affected by terrorism.

- 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. Uniformed female personnel will play a vital role in reaching out and gaining the trust of women and girls within local communities, understanding and detecting their unique protection needs and tailoring responses. The peacekeepers must protect and anticipate sexual violence in order to take preventive action and to mitigate atrocities. The military and the police must be adequately trained in information gathering, early warning signs and threat analyses.

SEMINAR 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 ‘United Nations Peacekeeping: Role and Relevance in Conflict Resolution’ on 30 May 2016 to mark the International Day for United Nations Peacekeepers. The summary of deliberations are enumerated in the succeeding paragraphs.

INAUGURAL SESSION

During the Inaugural Session Lt Gen BS Nagal, PVSM, AVSM, SM (Retd), Director CLAWS and Mr Yuri Afanasiev, UN Resident Coordinator addressed the audience. General Nagal highlighting the theme, 'Honour our Heroes' said that it recognises and celebrates the selfless contribution of millions of men and women who have donned the blue beret. They have served the cause of peace and continue to endeavour with pride and courage. UN has emerged as a binding and unifying force and it is the lasting hope for world peace. The seminar will address all challenges and aspects of modern day peacekeeping including military paradigm and diplomatic challenges to enforce peace and also the challenges that peacekeepers face from non-state actors and response of international community to the same. Any conflict resolution needs support of the major powers of the world and regional powers and hope that regional groupings will take charge in their regions.

Inaugural Address - Gen Dalbir Singh, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, COAS



Gen Dalbir Singh, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC delivering the Inaugural Address

Mr Yuri Afanasiev emphasised that over a million peacekeepers are deployed in more than 70

missions around the world since the establishment of peacekeeping mechanism. More than 3400 have given the ultimate price of their lives to keep peace including 167 Indian officers and that he knew India was the highest TCC in the world. He then read out UN Secretary General, Mr Ban Ki Moon's message on the occasion of International Day of Peacekeepers 2016 which highlighted the growth of UN in the last 15 years from 40,000 military and police personnel to more than 105,000 uniformed personnel from 124 countries, along with 18,000 international and national civilian staff and UN volunteers; he recognised the service of UN peacekeepers who have saved thousands of lives mentioning their contribution in South Sudan, the Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti etc. The UNSG ended his message by paying highest tribute to all the peacekeepers who made the supreme sacrifice while serving under the UN Flag. A two minutes silence to remember the fallen peacekeepers was observed at this stage.

The COAS 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. India is one of the highest troops contributing country; contributing 7925 personnel each year. In keeping with the theme 'Honouring the Heroes', UN has honoured four Indian peacekeepers and a civilian with Dag Hammarskjöld medal, who laid down their lives while serving in the UN peacekeeping operations last year.
- From the traditional peacekeeping of mediation, peacekeeping, peace-building and humanitarian intervention, the UN has moved to a more multi-dimensional force. Over a period of time, due to the complexities, various other tasks have been added : sustenance and governance, conduct of elections, protection of civilians, combating sexual violence as well as gender bias etc. The scope of UN has enhanced; hence, there is a need for force restructuring, better equipment and training.
- India is one of the largest trainers of UN peacekeeping personnel. India have been holding the International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centres (IAPTC) Secretariat by a unanimous vote since 2006. This year it shall be passed over to Egypt.
- India is also the largest TCC, but has no say as far as change of mandate or formation of policies etc. is concerned. The same had been brought out by the COAS during the Chiefs' UN Conference on 20 Mar 2016. He emphasised that concerns of all the stakeholders should be addressed.
- It is important to renew India's commitment to UN and to the noble objectives of peacekeeping. It is also important to ensure that the safety and security concerns of our troops engaged in peacekeeping are taken care of as UN transitions from traditional peacekeeping roles to robust hybrid missions.

UN AND CONFLICT PREVENTION



Remarks by the Chairperson, Ambassador Dinkar Prakash Srivastava

UN is the only global body that enjoys universal legitimacy and has proved its abiding relevance time

- and again. 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.
- Conflict prevention includes CBMs, fact finding, early warning and preventive deployment. These measures could be initiated either by the Security Council, the General assembly or the UNSG.
- Preventive diplomacy can prevent disputes from arising, it could prevent disputes which have arisen from escalating and if they have escalated it can prevent their spread to other theatres.
- Preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peace enforcement are often overlapping in conflict situations but conflict prevention remains the most important function and it depends on the political will and consensus that the UN can muster.
- 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.

Preventive Diplomacy Including Preventive Deployment and Mediation - Ambassador Asoke Kumar Mukerji

The UN Charter, which lays down the framework for preventive diplomacy, was signed by India in June 1945 in San Francisco as an “original” member under Article 3 of the Charter. The Charter’s Preamble states that the United Nations was created to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, which is the primary objective of its preventive diplomacy.

- The UN Charter sets out specific steps to avoid the “scourge of war”. Chapter Six is devoted to the “peaceful settlement of disputes”. The UN Security Council, which is given the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security” under Article 24 of the Charter, is the UN’s main instrument for preventive diplomacy. All member states of the UN have to accept the decisions of the Security Council under Article 25 of the Charter.
- Article 33 of the Charter requires the Security Council to “first of all, seek a solution by negotiation”. This is logical for any negotiated solution to be sustainable. In the period after the UN was created, such negotiations took place between member states, whose territorial integrity and political independence is guaranteed under Article 2 of the Charter. The neutrality and impartiality of the United Nations was implicitly integrated into its attempts at preventive diplomacy. One of the tools used to ensure support for the negotiated solution was the deployment of UN peacekeepers by the Security Council.
- By avoiding a third world war, it can be said that the UN’s preventive diplomacy has worked. However, since 1989, preventive diplomacy by the United Nations Security Council has focused more on finding solutions to disputes within member states rather than between member states. The UN Secretary General, speaking on 14 October 2015, said that “Large-scale conflicts have tripled since 2008. More than 60 million people have been forcibly displaced, the most since the Second World War. Violent extremism is on the rise.”
- By their very nature, intra-state disputes require a different approach for successful preventive diplomacy. The most important requirement is the availability of direct inputs from the ground to the Security Council about the triggers of the dispute on its agenda, while respecting the sovereignty of concerned member states. Such diplomacy requires, for those disputes on the agenda of the Security Council, a pro-active role for an “inclusive” negotiated peaceful solution, involving all legitimate parties. Such diplomacy requires placing the right people and resources on the ground if the UN is to sustain the eventual peace solution.
- The challenges for preventive diplomacy by the UN in South Sudan have been starkly evident since early 2013, when armed militias began to attack UN peacekeepers.
- In less than two years, the fault lines within South Sudan triggered a civil war. The Security Council maintained a studied silence on its responsibility to engage in pro-active preventive diplomacy to de-escalate violence in South Sudan. In 2014, the Council outsourced preventive diplomacy to the regional states, without much success.
- Ultimately, in December 2015, the Council endorsed a negotiated solution. In the three years since 2013, hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese civilians have died, displaced, or driven

out of their country. As in the case of the deaths of UN peacekeepers, there was, and has been, no accountability for this tragedy.

- The Congo has also featured on the radar screen of the UN's preventive diplomacy. In 1999, the Security Council authorised MONUC (which has been known as MONUSCO since 2010) to observe the ceasefire and disengagement of forces after the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement between the DRC and five regional states. This solution was challenged by the armed militias, who operated for or against the authorities of the DRC. Without the concurrence of TCCs, a Force Intervention Brigade within MONUSCO was authorised by the Council to take on the armed group on behalf of the DRC Government.
- Despite the much publicised “success” of the Force Intervention Brigade in eastern DRC, the UN stated that North Kivu is *“home to more than 780,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs), 70 per cent of whom are staying with host families, the others scattered among 52 IDP sites in the province. This is one of the most concentrated IDP populations in the world.”*
- As would be evident from the examples from UNMISS and MONUSCO, the Security Council today is not able to conduct preventive diplomacy in an effective and sustainable manner. This shortcoming is due to the Council's inability to take appropriate action using the provisions of the UN Charter. The Council is regularly updated with information about the political, security, and socio-economic situation on the ground. It controls the flow of human, financial and technical resources for the UN personnel on the ground; yet it fails to prevent the spiraling violence on the ground and loses credibility.
- Article 44 of the UN Charter provides for the Council to get direct inputs regarding the political and security situation from the ground, which would help it to tailor its mandates, from the TCCs of its peacekeeping operations. However, because of the adamant refusal of its permanent members to invite TCCs which are not members of the Council, into its deliberations on this issue, the Council has chosen to completely ignore this direct input while considering the actual situation on the ground.
- Since 2010, the roadmap for preventive diplomacy in the Security Council has been institutionalised arbitrarily by so called “pen-holders”. Three of the five permanent members (the USA, UK and France) have taken to drafting the Council's mandates in a non-transparent manner.
- The Security Council's ineffectiveness is also due to its non-representative and non-accountable structure. There is only one developing country in the permanent membership of the Council, when the bulk of items on the Council's agenda concern developing countries. This has led to the undue influence in the Council's decisions by either its permanent members, or the UN Secretariat's Special Envoys and Representatives, who are entrusted with the responsibility of conducting preventive diplomacy.
- The international community, as represented by the 193 member states of the UN, cannot stand aside when faced by conflicts that are impacting on them in an increasingly interdependent and globalised world. Such violence directly impacts on the ability of such countries to achieve the ambitious development goals of Agenda 2030, adopted in September 2015 by world leaders.

- The answer to the current crisis is to reform the UN to make it more responsive and accountable. Only then can its attempts at preventive diplomacy show sustainable results.
- Two immediate steps need to be taken. First, the unanimous mandate of world leaders given by the UN's 2005 World Summit for early reforms of UN Security Council has to be implemented urgently. 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.
- Second, the existing UN Secretariat structure has to be made more effective and accountable. The UN General Assembly should compile a pool of experienced negotiators for preventive diplomacy from its member states, which should be drawn upon when the Secretary General appoints Special Envoys or Special Representatives.

Peace-making with the Support of Major Powers Particularly the P5 and Regional Powers - Ambassador BS Prakash

- Examined peacekeeping and peacemaking through the prism of International Relations rather than that of United Nations as such.
- Two things need to be highlighted:
 - The power dynamics in the world today and how it impacts on peacemaking and peace operations in general.
 - Examine the present and the future rather than only the past.
- All conflicts, whether intra-state or inter-state, have become hybrid with various actors involved i.e. states, non-states actors, militias etc. All these conflicts are witnessing escalation of violence, especially against women, children and civilians.
- What is the role of Permanent Five (P5), major players and the regional players?
 - For the P3 countries i.e. the US, Russia and China, collective security, international community and collective responsibility take a back seat when issues arise in the real world; their individual national interests and their world view takes precedence over the membership of the Security Council.
 - **The USA.** In early era US was regarded as the indispensable player and a world leader; but it is no longer the omnipotent power or the policeman of the world and this is seeping into their consciousness. An awakening that US has had after the Arab Spring and after Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria is spelled out as one of the central tenets of Obama's Foreign Policy i.e. "Don't do stupid stuffs, don't get involved in problems that you cannot solve".
 - **France and UK.** It is P3 which hold and push the pen. France and UK come secondary. There is a sense of fatigue with regard to solving the problems of the world. Both France and UK have enough problems of their own to deal with like the European economy, terrorism, refugee crises and happenings in Greece and southern Europe and so on.
 - **Russia.** Russia's view is based on its interest and its positioning in the power structure of the world. Russia has shown that military power is important. Russia wants to be a player where

it matters. Therefore, negatively it would always veto situation in which there is disadvantage and positively it would be very conscious about the role that it can play as there could be no solution to Syria without Russia.

- **China.** China's take towards UN peacekeeping has been very interesting. From a nation which believed that peace keeping operations were an infringement on the sovereignty of nations, China has shown gradual involvement in peacekeeping and in the last session of UNSC, Chinese President Xi Jinping committed 8000 troops to UN peacekeeping. But there could be many reasons behind it like: China involves itself in only such peace-operations where there is a core economic interest involved. It might also be because the Chinese army wants to have experience of working with others in International peacekeeping or it could also be because China is asserting itself as a global power, and it wants to show that it has global interest and, therefore, a global presence.
- **Collective role of the P5.** More meaningful to look at individual country rather than the harmony or the collective interest of the P5, because there is no such thing as collective interest of P5. There are conflicting interests rather than collective solidarity among the P5. Whenever their interests collide, there would be no action in the UN, because one of them will exercise the Veto.
- **Role of Major Powers and Regional Powers.** Germany has a certain capacity and inclination to play a greater role. Japan has political difficulties particularly in Asia. But countries like India and Brazil, among other major players can and do play a role. Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey and to some extent Egypt are regional players who can play a role; but it is such an intractable situation of mistrust and of antagonism that it is difficult to create a template where such regional players can effectively play a role. UN is moving in a good direction where there are debates in the UN, burden-sharing, the UN and Regional Organisation and Regional Players coming together is being recognised.
- Suggestions on India's position on the issues highlighted above are:
 - India must emphasise the need for TCCs to be involved in mandate formulation.
 - India should aspire to be an opinion maker, an opinion leader, not just participate but shape world events. India needs to revisit use of force doctrine and operate outside the UN flag, if it is necessary, to take more confident steps or at least think about more confident steps in regional situations.
 - India, Brazil and South Africa should partner in world forums to influence decisions. India should align its core national interest with its participation in peace operations as is happening world-wide.

Future Trends in UN Peacekeeping : Imperative for Developed World to Return to UN Peacekeeping - Lt Gen Sanjiv Langer, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

- The period from 1992 to 1994 was traumatic for the UN as this is when the UN decided to go into complex humanitarian disasters, most significantly Somalia and former Yugoslavia. In a political complex milieu of the dissolution of the USSR, cohesion of states threatened discrimination and acts of terrorism. There were 17 million refugees recorded then, and about 20 million displaced. But the foundations of operations remained the same: Sovereignty, National Integrity, Consent and Impartiality.
- There has been a shift in the foundations of peacekeeping. Use of force has become prevalent while consent and sovereignty have become questionable. This has directly impacted on impartiality in UN Peacekeeping Missions.
- In July 2015, HIPPO set up by the Secretary General examined various facets of peacekeeping: little or no peace to keep, stretched political support, increased gap between expectancy and delivery, more intractable conflicts, intra and inter-state radicalised transnational agendas came to fore.
- One of the clear recommendations of HIPPO is that there is an increasing gap between those who mandate and those who execute; between those who finance and those who provide. What are equally interesting are infirmities in peacekeeping operations from 1992 to date.
- Situation seems similar from 1992 to date, irrespective whether it is Brahimi Report, Capstone document or HIPPO. Strategic guidance and leadership is always an issue along with planning, analysis, rapid deployment, adaptability and flexibility. A mission is given two to three different kinds of competing mandates but adaptability and flexibility is expected at the same time.
- In the future, resilient and stratified political agendas are going to be inflexible as potent parties to the conflict who are impervious to conventional influences have their own finances and own support base etc. Unless there is viable and pre-eminent force within the UN system, there will be no political reconciliation and humanitarian support.
- What are the imperatives for developed nations? Globalisation had led to fragility of economies, unpredictability of security and permeability of borders. More developed and capable nations have more to lose from unstable international situations. Complex emergencies may develop at the centre or the periphery of developed nations and it will consume them in any case. Complex security situations today are transnational and multispectral.
- UN is the only organisation which has exceptional reach and access, unmatched convening power, ability to put together comprehensive support and an ability to sustain this overtime. Hence, there is no alternative to UN.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO UN



The Role of the UN Security Council; Role and Participation of TCCs in Decision Making and Mandate Formulation - Lt Gen JS Lidder, UYSM, AVSM (Retd)

- UN has come a very long way and is on the right trajectory. The UN was structured long time back and due to changing dynamics and political landscape, needs reforms. The member states have to be meaningfully contributing to its reform. There is an unprecedented proliferation of global conflict in violent extremism. Since World War II, the UN (the global community) has not faced the threat profile what are being faced today.
- UN is overstretched totally; also every big power today has lost the appetite or stamina to intervene without UN mandate. Everybody is aware of the importance of the UN Security Council mandate, including the P-5. So, it has to be the UN and it has to be through the UN. Also, there are blurred lines of intervention today. Gone are the days of early peacekeeping of UN. They are now increasingly functioning in volatile, asymmetric, dysfunctional and distress environment.
- UN Peacekeeping has totally changed in the face of networks of global security challenge. It demands collective commitment by harmonising national interests and commitments. It also requires high capability and resolved perseverance of peacekeepers in this environment.
- UN Peacekeeping is governed by political processes, but the peacekeeper today is also peacemaker because the peacekeeper enters a conflict zone where there is no agreement and there is no peace to keep.

- The Secretary General in the report of September 2015 made two observations: collective call for urgent change in how we conceive our peace and security instruments, how we apply them, how we work together to maximise them; and sustained dialogue between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the contributors. Thus, TCC must be part of the evolution of the mandate.
- The relationship between the Security Council, the UN Secretariat, which is the controlling headquarters of the peacekeeping operations, and the TCCs should be strengthened for more effective peacekeeping.
- Credibility of UN lies in reform. Structural reform is going to take some time; but what can immediately be done is to reform procedures and processes. The structural transformation in the Security Council is the only way for more meaningful role in contributing to international peace and security.
- There is a requirement to safeguard against political expediency in the Security Council and the P-5 members are conscious of this fact. Two quick examples of how mistakes were made in mandates that were evolved expeditiously recently.
 - **Libya.** The Security Council assumed that a regime change in Libya would change things for better. Gaddafi was removed and quickly a political mission was set up. It was propounded that there was no need for the muscle as political mission would do the needful. The fact is, in Libya today there are two governments; one in Tripoli and the other in Benghazi and the UN now struggles as to which one to recognise.
 - **Mali.** French forces operating in Mali wanted to exit. UN peacekeeping forces were brought in but UN did not accept the countering terrorism mandate. It was agreed that the French forces would do the counter terrorist operations while the peacekeeping would be left to UN. However, the challenge remains to distinguish between a terrorist, a non-state actor, a state actor or a drug addict etc. People operating in that area change their roles according to the circumstances. Today the Mali mission has the highest number of casualties because of a confusing mandate.
- There is a need in the Security Council to think of conflict resolution in a continuum so that there is a following up action. It is pertinent to answer some basic questions: what is the spectrum of the peacekeeping operations, who will do peacekeeping, when will UN country team take over, what is the exit policy etc.? For the first time in DRC, UN authorised an intervention brigade with mandate of carrying out surgical targeted operations against groups like M23. Fortunately, the TCCs were consulted and three African countries were taken on board. There is now more willingness and motivation for them to resolve the issue vis-à-vis if they were sent there with a theoretical mandate.
- **Institutionalised Strategic Framework.** Since peacekeepers are being perceived as party to the conflict today, it has to be ensured that they get into the picture right from the beginning. TCCs are to be encouraged to have the ownership of the mandate.
- **Inclusivity.** TCC should be involved in consultations in the operational concepts, policy or doctrine development or training. Much is already happening and there is a need to do more.
- **Leverage Peacekeeping Credibility.** Consensual priorities, capability driven force and committed

leadership are the recipes to success. UNSC and the UN Secretariat should prioritise these while embarking on missions to ensure greater dividends.

- **Tailored Responses.** As per HIPPO report, UN should not go for standardised peacekeeping operations rather it should have tailored responses with hybrid capability, theatre grid and technology upgrades specific to each mission. UN must look at a theatre peacekeeping grid where it can deploy peacekeepers and if the same conflict expands, UN must be prepared within this overall mandate to be deployed there as well.

Designing of the Force; Provision of Equipment, Manpower and UN Training (Role of Regional Training Centres) to meet the requirements; Possibility of UN Standing Rapid Response Capability - Lt Gen R K Mehta, PVSM, AVSM, YSM, VSM (Retd)

- Twelve manuals on various types of organisations have been crafted at the UN headquarter level. There are 125 nations which are contributing to various peacekeeping missions, however, majority of these already have these organisations integral to their armed forces domestically. There is a total mismatch and that's where UN goes wrong.
- The UNSC is obsessed with numbers. UNSC, including the military staff committee, care less about the operational requirements of a mission. There is always a tussle to push a nation to accept sending more number of boots on ground. This kind of push and pull is absolutely unprofessional.
- There is a total mismatch between TCCs, finance and the General Assembly committees.
- There needs to be more mental agility and flexibility in the peacekeeping scenario today and a clearly defined exit policy.
- The EU or a stakeholder wants to equip the peacekeepers but with conditions that only complicates things on ground. A mixed contingent is another problem. Three or four nations want to configure a motley group of soldiers; however, they fail to provide a tactical sense for this reasoning. Haiti faces a similar situation.
- The basic philosophy remains that the TCCs and Police Contributing Countries (PCCs) are responsible for their own training. Therefore, the comprehensive training modules and standard modules are much needed. Also the basic training standard of contingents that are inducted is questionable at times. UN uses very facile terms like need-based training, but in actual it does not happen.
- The drafting of framework document is also important. They are never in time and never revised through the entire lifecycle of the mission.
- **United Nations Standby Arrangement System.** It exists since 1954 for staff officers and contingents. Countries sign in but it is subject to political clearance when asked for, and it may take from six months to a year for it to materialise.
- In the Millennium Summit of 2005 the issue of reserves was projected. The term; Enhanced Rapid Deployment Capability (ERDC) was coined. However, at Obama's Summit, there was no mention of the question of reserves. It is also possible to consider a contingent under training as a reserve should a situation arises.

Addressing Sub Conventional Threat: Emergence of Terrorism and Non State Actors– Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM**, VSM (Retd)

- The greatest threat facing the international community today is terrorism and involvement of non-state actors of varied kinds in the conflict. But does UN have an action plan or capacity to deal with terrorism? In the UN, terrorism is handled by the Under Secretary General of Political Affairs because it is still seen as a political issue. There is also a total lack of consensus; therefore, there is no vision of seeing peacekeepers dealing with it.
- The UN Secretary General's action plan on dealing with violent extremism tabled in December 2015, only mentions peacekeeping in the beginning on page 21 where it mentions that peacekeepers may have to be prepared for some form of terrorist activities in the missions.
- The UN has not arrived at a consensus to define what constitutes terrorism because of the various complexities of involvement of the armed forces of states in dealing with civilians, rights of the people under occupation etc. There is a draft definition of terrorism by the UN that only speaks of violence against civilians. This insufficient definition gives an opportunity to terrorists to attack only the security forces, the police, military installations so that their acts do not come under the ambit of UN's definition of Terrorism.
- There is a global counter terrorism strategy as of 2005 which keeps getting improved periodically. There is a global terrorism implementation plan and a global terrorism centre under the USG Peacekeeping where a number of activities are taking place and it is in line of those activities that have been laid out in plan of action against violent extremism, which was passed in December 2015; but there are no concrete steps that are being taken to deal decisively with terrorism.
- It is comparatively easier to deal with ISIS today than Al Qaida in the past because for the first time a terrorist organisation is not a disparate entity. It has a clear definition and clearly demarcated areas that it holds on the ground. The United States and the Russian leadership have been able to make a very strong dent in the capabilities of the ISIS but it is being done in a limited manner by each player. Clearly, if the international community were to get its act together and put all these independent actions together, there is a possibility of global action which can deal decisively with terrorist organisations. The international community has to come together like they did to deal with piracy off the Gulf of Aden.
- UN has the capability to deal with terrorism and come up with a global operational plan. This can be achieved by a Chapter 7 mission being put together by the department of peacekeeping under a lead country. The operations could develop on the lines of the first Gulf War where there was a UN sanctioned operation led by the US.
- There is no gain saying that terrorism needs to be dealt with and it is something that global community needs to look at. It will entail involvement of a lot of troops, but there exists a model where the terrorists have been handled under the US leadership in Afghanistan. There were very few boots on the ground, mostly Special Forces, backed by seamless intelligence, missiles strikes and combat air strikes by a coalition of forces. The boots on ground should be provided by the country which is affected by terrorism.

Chair's (Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, Padma Bhushan, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)) remarks on the paper

- The Chair agreed that the UN or international system represented by UN hasn't defined the terrorism yet and haven't come with a common definition on terrorism.
- The examples quoted of the first gulf war, the Afghanistan operation are very apt, however the Chair called on more discussion on the suggestion that fight against terrorism should be handled by the department of peacekeeping operations.
- The Chair came out in strong support on the call on the international community to deal with terrorist organisations under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter which calls for enforcement action. This would entail forming a coalition of willing under a lead nation and undertaking combat operations.

Addressing Women, Peace and Security, Role of Women as Peacekeepers – Dr Rebecca Reichmann Tavares

- The threats that peacekeeping missions encounter today have dramatically changed. Women and children are most vulnerable and disproportionately affected by the armed violence. This changing nature of the conflict has led to the systematic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. In the current conflicts in Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Nigeria and Mali catastrophic new levels of violence against women has come to fore. To respond to these threats, the UN peacekeeping has evolved multidimensional integrated operations.
- Today UN peacekeepers are explicitly mandated by the Security Council to protect civilians, counter sexual violence and all violations against women and girls. This is where the role of women peacekeepers is crucial. Several Security Council Resolutions on women, peace and security as well as the commanders on the ground recognise that women's leadership and participation in peacekeeping is the key to a mission's success. 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; yet between 1992 and 2011 only 9 percent of negotiators at the peacekeeping table were women.
- HIPPO noted in its report in 2015 that uniformed female personnel will play a vital role in reaching out and gaining the trust of women and girls within local communities, understanding and detecting their unique protection needs and tailoring responses. Women act as role models in the communities inspiring women and girls in the male dominated societies to stand up for their own rights and for participation in the peace process.
- Women mission members are more effective at community outreach in the peace building and the reconstruction process. Recognising women's added value, the UN department of peacekeeping operations now includes women in planning, execution and evaluation of its missions including bringing more women into leadership role as well as in the police and military components. In 2014, the UN appointed the first woman force commander, Maj Gen Kristin Lund of Norway for the UN peacekeeping operation in Cyprus and this was also the first time that both the civilian and military leaders of a mission were women.

- As a major TCC, India has been especially supportive of the UN's commitment to increase the number of women peacekeepers. India was the first country to deploy an all-female police unit in 2007 as part of the United Nation's mission in Liberia. This female police force from India demonstrated convincingly that women peace keepers can perform the same roles to the same standards and under the same difficult conditions as their male counterparts. They acted as role models for local women and now Liberian women make up 17 percent of the country's security sector as compared to 6 percent before the Indian deployment of the peacekeeper police.
- Women still remain a significant minority in peacekeeping missions, the modest goals that were set by the Secretary General in August of 2009 to increase the number of women peacekeepers to 20 percent in police units and just 10 percent in military contingents still hasn't been met. The number of female military personnel deployed in the UN's 16 peacekeeping missions is just 3 percent and most of them are employed as support staff. This percentage has not changed since 2011 and it has barely increased in the last two decades. This weakens the mission's effectiveness in its protection task and early warning and community outreach.
- The peacekeepers must protect and anticipate sexual violence in order to take preventive action and to mitigate atrocities. The military and the police must be adequately trained in information gathering, early warning signs and threat analyses. To meet this goal, in India UN Women has partnered with CUNPK to train 2200 prospective peacekeepers from 73 countries on the protection of civilians in conflict related sexual violence.



CONCLUDING SESSION

Lt Gen JS Sandhu, AVSM, VSM, Director General Staff Duties, delivered the Concluding address of the seminar and highlighted the under mentioned issues.

Conflicts have always existed in the world, however, violence in conflict has increased. The gap between the regular forces and the belligerent groups has narrowed. These belligerent groups are now very well equipped with weapons and tanks etc.

The indicators for UN peacekeeping intervention are: when the state authority is lacking; the state is unable to handle the conflict; there is steep rise in humanitarian issues or when the state is complacent towards humanitarian issues. As the conflicts have grown in size the demands on UN peacekeeping has increased. The UN peacekeeping is moving from a benign mandate to a robust mandate. In future robust mandate is likely to give way to an aggressive mandate. Out of the 120+ countries providing troops, only 4 to 5 countries have national power to back the UN peacekeeping forces. The rest of countries have to bank upon the UN for providing the muscle power. However, very often the UN is found wanting in providing this backing. In case of more aggressive mandates this dilemma would remain.

UN needs to have a systemic framework in place so that the gap between the expectations and delivery is narrowed. It is imperative that at the time of mandate formulation all the stakeholders are consulted. Structural reforms in the UN Security Council may not be possible at the moment, but what needs to be looked at is peacekeeping partnership council, which forms a bridge between the TCC's and the UN Security Council wherein, the TCCs can come in to work out the modalities to be able to achieve delivery on ground which is one of the problem areas that is being faced today.

SEMINAR PROGRAMME

0900h	Registration
0925	Arrival of the COAS
0930 - 1000h	<p>INAUGURAL SESSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcome Address by Lt Gen B S Nagal, PVSM, AVSM, SM (Retd), Director CLAWS • Reading out of UN Secretary Generals message and observance of two minutes silence by Mr Yuri Afanasiev, UN Resident Coordinator • Inaugural address by Gen Dalbir Singh, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC COAS
1000 - 1020h	High Tea
1020 - 1150h	<p>Session I: UN and Conflict Prevention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening Remarks by Chair : Amb Dinkar Prakash Srivastava, Former Diplomat, Headed the UN Political at MEA • Preventive Diplomacy including Preventive Deployment and Mediation by Amb Asoke Kumar Mukerji, former diplomat, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations (2013-15) • Peace-making with the support of major powers particularly the P5 and regional powers by Amb B S Prakash, Former Diplomat, Headed the UN Political at MEA, International Scholar and Commentator • Future trends for UN Peacekeeping- Imperative for developed world to return to UN Peacekeeping by Lt Gen Sanjiv Langer, PVSM, AVSM (Retd), Administrative Member of Armed Forces Tribunal Principal Bench, Former Chief of Plans for Africa, UN HQ, New York

1150 – 1200h	Logistic Pause with Tea
1200 - 1350h	<p>Session II: Conflict Resolution and Contemporary Challenges to UN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening Remarks by Chair : Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, Padma Bhushan, PVSM, AVSM, VrC, (Retd), International UN Scholar & Consultant, Former Director USI, Former Force Commander UNPROFOR • The role of the UN Security Council; role & participation of troop contributing countries in decision making and mandate formulation by Lt Gen JS Lidder, UYSM, AVSM (Retd), Chief of Staff ONUMOZ (1994-95), Force Commander UNMISS (2006-08), Deputy SRSG Sudan (2010-11), International UN Consultant • Designing of the Force; Provision of equipment, manpower and UN training (Role of regional training Centres) to meet the requirements; Possibility of UN Standing Rapid Response Capability by Lt Gen RK Mehta, PVSM, AVSM, YSM, VSM (Retd), Military Advisor to the UN Secretary General • Addressing Sub Conventional Threat: Emergence of Terrorism and Non State Actors by Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM**, VSM (Retd), Former VCOAS, served in UN Peace Keeping in the former Yugoslavia and Head of UN Mission in Northern Iraq, Chair of Excellence, CLAWS • Addressing Women, Peace and Security, Role of Women as Peacekeepers by Dr Rebecca Reichmann Tavares, UN Women's Representative to India, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka
1350 - 1400h	<p>Concluding Session</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concluding Remarks by Lt Gen J S Sandhu, AVSM, VSM, DG SD • Vote of Thanks by Lt Gen B S Nagal, PVSM, AVSM, SM (Retd), Director CLAWS
1400h onwards	Lunch and Dispersal



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