



## **SEMINAR REPORT**

### **PEACEKEEPERS DAY@75-RELEVANCE, REFORMS AND PARTNERSHIPS IN UNPKO's**

#### **CLAWS - CUNPK JOINT SEMINAR**

#### **HONOURING**

#### **INTERNATIONAL DAY OF UN PEACEKEEPERS**

#### **A SAGA COMMEMORATING 75 YEARS OF UN PEACEKEEPING**

**13 JUNE 2023**

**ASHOKA HALL, MANEKSHAW CENTRE, NEW DELHI**

The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS), New Delhi, is an independent think-tank dealing with 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.

**CLAWS Director General**

Lieutenant General PS Rajeshwar, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd)

**Seminar Co-ordinators**

Colonel V Vidyashankar (Senior Research Fellow)

Mr Abhilash Kolekar (Research Assistant)

**Rapporteurs & Report Editorial Board**

Colonel V Vidyashankar (Senior Research Fellow)

Dr Anuradha Oinam (Research Assistant)

Aditi Rathore (Research Intern)

Akshat Singh (Research Intern)

Ashvini Ghatikar (Research Intern)

Farhan Khan (Research Intern)

Vanrika Satyan (Research Intern)

M. Kritika Rao (Research Intern)

Kashish Gupta (Research Intern)

Vansh Katoch (Research Intern)

Harpinder Kaur (Research Intern)

**CLAWS**

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

Phone: +91-11-25691308; Fax: +91- 11-25692347, Army No. 33098

Email: landwarfare@gmail.com; website: <https://www.claws.in/>

**Disclaimer:** The views expressed and suggestions made in the seminar and seminar report are solely of the speaker(s)/ writers in his/her personal capacity and do not have any official endorsement. Attributability of the contents lies purely with the speaker. The contents of this report are based on the analysis of materials accessed from open sources. The contents, therefore, shall not be quoted or cited as representing the views or policy of the Government of India or Integrated Headquarters of the Ministry of Defence (MoD) (Army), or the Centre for Land Warfare Studies.



CLAWS is registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 and is a membership-based organisation. It is governed by a Board of Governors and an Executive Council. Chief of the Army Staff is the Patron of CLAWS. Vice Chief of the Army Staff is the Chairman of the Board of Governors and Director General Strategic Planning, Integrated Headquarters of Ministry of Defence (Army) is President of the Executive Council.

### **Vision**

To establish CLAWS as a leading Think Tank in policy formulation on Land Warfare, National Security, Military Technology and Strategic Issues.

### **Objectives**

- To function as an independent Think-Tank.
- To promote study and research.
- To promote and further intellectual thinking.
- To undertake research projects.
- To organise webinars, seminars, lectures, workshops, conferences, courses and other such intellectual activities.
- To train and assist scholars to undertake strategic studies and research.

### **Mandate**

The mandate of CLAWS encompasses research on national security challenges, including conventional military operations and sub-conventional warfare. CLAWS also focuses on conflicts in the region and security related developments in countries on India's strategic frontiers, particularly those in the South Asian region.

### **CLAWS Activities**

CLAWS organises webinars, seminars and conferences, round-table discussions, workshops and guest lectures and undertakes research projects on national security issues, especially those pertaining to land warfare. CLAWS disseminates the results of its research to its members, armed forces, policy-makers, the strategic community and academia. To encourage young scholars to express their views on strategic issues, CLAWS organises the Field Marshal Manekshaw Essay Competition (FMMEC) annually. CLAWS' activities and research can be viewed at its website [www.claws.in](http://www.claws.in).



Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK) was established as a joint-venture between the Ministry of External affairs, the Ministry of Defence and three Service Headquarters in September 2000. The Centre has trained one lakh 60,000 troops since its inception which includes 8000 Indian army officers and approximately 1800 officers from more than 90 friendly countries in the last two decades.

CUNPK conducts training and validation of Contingents slated for deployment to United Nations and Military Observers and Staff Officers who are due for induction. CUNPK annually conducts 12 Predeployment Courses on Training of Trainers model and five to six International Flagship courses which also invite international participants. All courses have been accredited by the Department of Peace Operations, New York.

The Centre has an experienced panel of more than 200 Subject Matter Experts from the military, the diplomatic community, and academia. In its pursuit to become a global centre of excellence, state of art infrastructure, for the centre is under construction inside the Delhi Cantonment.

CUNPK also regularly conducts seminars and workshops with various think tanks and UN Organisations.

## **CONTENTS**

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. Executive Summary**
- 3. Key Takeaways**
- 4. Inaugural Session**
  - (a) Opening Address - Chief of Army Staff**
  - (b) Keynote Address - Honourable Raksha Mantri**
  - (c) Reading of UN Secretary General's Message - UN Resident Coordinator for India**
- 5. Commemorative Session**
  - (a) Pre-recorded Message by Permanent Representative of India to UN**
  - (b) Overview of Indian UN Peacekeeping – Director General Staff Duties**
  - (c) A Historical Assessment of Indian Army in UN Peacekeeping - Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)**
- 6. Ideation Session**
  - (a) Opening Remarks by Chair - Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd)**
  - (b) Relevance of UNPKOs in an Evolving World Order - Ambassador Asoke Mukerji**
  - (c) Challenges for the Peacekeepers in Implementing the 'Protection of Civilian' Mandate Effectively - Commandant BIPSOT, Bangladesh**
  - (d) Peacekeeping Partnerships : Civilian Perspective - UN Resident Coordinator for India**
  - (e) Peacekeeping Partnerships : Military Perspective - Maj Gen Patrick Cammaert (Retd)**
  - (f) Future Contours of India in Peacekeeping : MEA Perspective - Joint Secretary, UNP Division, MEA**
  - (g) Closing Remarks by Chair including Q & A - Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd)**
- 7. Closing Remarks - VCOAS**
- 8. Concept Note & Event Programme**

## INTRODUCTION

To commemorate the International Day of United Nations (UN) Peacekeepers, the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK) organised a joint seminar titled “Peacekeepers Day@75- Relevance, Reforms And Partnerships in UNPKO’s” on 13 June 2023 at the Ashoka Hall, Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi. The International Day of UN Peacekeepers is observed on 29 May every year as a remembrance of the first UN Peacekeeping Mission— the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) established on 29 May 1948. Every year, the UN celebrates the ‘professionalism’, ‘dedication’ and ‘courage’ of all men and women who have served and continue to serve in UN peacekeeping (UNPK) operations as also honour the personnel who have laid down their lives in the cause for peace. The theme for this year’s International Day of UN Peacekeepers as proposed by the UNHQ is “Peace begins with me: 75 years of UN Peacekeeping”.



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The UN commemorated the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of International Day of UN Peacekeepers in 2023. More than eighty thousand peacekeepers from hundred and twenty-five countries are serving in twelve operations currently.
- Conflict at a particular place or region can create ripple effect which adversely impacts the whole world. So, the rest of the world becomes a stakeholder in resolving the conflict and to restore peace in the place or region. Such conflicts involve tenuous interactions between rivals in failed states and asymmetric use of force.
- One of the main objectives of the traditional UN peacekeeping missions is prevent conflict, giving a space to the conflicting parties to resolve through political solution. They operate with the consent of the conflicting parties and facilitate them in building confidence process.
- In contemporary times, the nature of conflicts have changed from 'inter-state' conflict to 'intra-state' conflicts, blurring the gap between the political and the military and it requires the forces to seamlessly adapt and blend through all of these, to keep on the top of the curve.
- The mandate of peacekeepers is becoming more complex as it involves facilitating surrender of armed groups, establishing the rule of law, protecting civilians, providing humanitarian assistance, infrastructure development and Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration, and Resettlement (DDRRR).
- Conduct of operations in intra-state conflicts carry with them serious problems that merit recognition and consequent meticulous attention in terms of mandate formulation and resourcing, both in terms of personnel and equipment.
- The moment the UN becomes a party to the conflict, peacekeepers lose their impartiality and immunity, therefore affects the effectiveness.
- Geographical, physical, and other excess constraints including non-permissive environments hamper the ability of the mission to gather information, access, and respond to Protection of Civilian (PoC) threats in areas. The existing situational, arrangement, structure, and tools in the mission are scarce and centralized but inhibit the capacity of the contingents to obtain and process real-time actual intelligence.

- Out of total peacekeeping budget of 6.43 billion USD, 4.68 billion USD go to four peacekeeping missions in Africa. There is imbalance of financing resources in among other UN peacekeeping operations, which needs to be given attention.
- Calibrating peacekeeping mandates with a clear road map and exit date for peacekeeping operations is a necessity. A case in point is the success of peacekeeping operation in East Timor or Timor-Leste because of having clear exit date.
- Peace-humanitarian development nexus is forever shrinking, with multiple overlapping points and a distinctly non-linear relationship due to the interwovenness of peace, developmental and humanitarian issues.
- India has been part of the UN peacekeeping since its inception and has contributed remarkably in upholding peace and security in conflict affected regions by involving 53 out of 72 missions.
- India remains committed to all facets of capability development projects, including providing lean agile forces, training peacekeepers worldwide, ensuring logistical support, empowering women, and contributing to technological advancement.
- UNITE Aware is being piloted by India and rolled out as a flagship project for situational awareness in certain peacekeeping missions. Missions should use such analytical tools to understand the dynamics and trends that may not be apparent from an analytical or qualitative approach to analyses.
- India has piloted the initiative for construction of UN Peacekeeping wall in UNHQ and is funding it entirely. The project is slated to finish in two years, coinciding with 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UN in 2025.
- Peacekeeping is the embodiment of multilateralism of partnership, which needs to be robust and innovative as conflicts become more complex. The surge in misinformation and disinformation creates new growing threats to the safety of UN personnel and communities itself.
- Private Military Contractors (PMCs) are playing an increasing role in the security environment of several UN missions in Africa and often viewed as alternatives by some Host Nations. Host governments who signed up to UN peacekeeping presence in their countries are now becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the presence of UN peacekeepers.

## KEY TAKE AWAYS

- The UN still remains a relevant organisation and no other organisation can substitute it though it requires extensive reforms.
- The challenges being faced by the peacekeepers continue to evolve, demanding innovative approaches and enhanced cooperation among the responsible nations. There is a need to invest in training, technology, and resources to ensure the safety and effectiveness of peacekeepers.
- There is a need for UN decision making bodies including the UN Security Council more reflective of demographic realities of the world
- There is a need for revitalisation of the UN General Assembly, to play a greater and more significant role in the conduct of the UN affairs, which is very marginal at present.
- There is a case for closing down of outdated and largely irrelevant political and peacekeeping missions, where events and circumstances have overtaken the original need. Such missions keep taking a part of the UN budget.
- Advocating the integration of the Women Peace and Security agenda in the UN peacekeeping architecture will help peacekeeping addressing the complexities of conflict.
- While crafting new mandates, it is important to have a set of desired goals associated with a timeline put in and the need to factor in an exit strategy.
- There is a need to invest in training, technology, and resources to ensure the safety and effectiveness of peacekeepers.
- Inputs from Troop Contributing Countries who have troops on the ground, must be factored in mandate renewal.
- There is need for formal mechanism where Force Commanders on the ground brief the UN Security Council while renewing mandates.
- Regarding partnerships, in the last few years there has been an expressed salience of the phrase “Global South” wherein the developing world according is indeed getting its act together and their cooperation will help in strengthening the UN.
- While the relevance of the UN may be questioned due to structural limitations, yet it remains an essential global organisation and no other alternative can match up.

## INAUGURAL SESSION



### ***Opening Address***

General Manoj Pande, PVSM, AVSM, ADC, Chief of Army Staff welcomed the dignitaries and addressed the gathering. His speech commenced with highlighting the 75th anniversary of UN peacekeepers Day and paying a solemn tribute to brave men and women who have served and are serving in UN peacekeeping missions around the world. These brave peacekeepers have worked tirelessly to promote peace, security, and stability in some of the most challenging and dangerous global hotspots. On this occasion, it is imperative that one also acknowledges the notable contribution made by India to the cause of UN peacekeeping.

Over the years 2,75,000 personnel in uniform from our country have served under the UN flag and made the country proud through their selfless commitment, dedication, valour and sacrifice. Since the first deployment in 1950, Indian peacekeepers have served in almost all UN missions across four continents, making

us the largest contributor to UN peacekeeping efforts, both in terms of personnel and resources.

Today, India has close to 6000 peacekeepers in Lebanon, Congo, South Sudan, Abyei, Golan Heights and around the world in various peacekeeping missions. They are equipped with largely indigenous vehicles and equipment which is reflective of a self-reliant and 'Atmanirbhar' Bharat in term of defence production. As a leading contributor of personnel, Indian army also has a strong commitment towards gender equality which is driven by the 'Nari-Shakti' initiative of the government. Congruent to this obligation, India has deployed female engagement teams in MONUSCO and UNISFA besides Women Staff Officers and Military Observers deployed in various UN missions.

As one reflects on India's contribution under the UN charter over the past 75 years, one must also look into the future where new and complex security challenges continue to emerge on the horizon and UN's role in promoting peace and security remain as vital as ever. The Indian army stands ready to fulfil India's responsibility and commitment to the UN in close partnership with fellow member states.



### ***Keynote Address by Honourable Raksha Mantri***

Shri Rajnath Singh, Honourable Raksha Mantri greeted the gathering and said that today, we have gathered to commemorate the 75th anniversary of UN Peacekeeper's Day, a momentous occasion that allows us to reflect on the remarkable contribution of the UN peacekeepers in upholding peace and security in conflict affected regions. The primary goal of the UN as stated in the Article-1 of the UN charter is to maintain international peace and security. This implies preventing conflicts between nations and promoting conditions that contribute to peaceful relations and resolution of disputes through peaceful means. There is no specific provision for peacekeeping in the UN Charter, it is unarguably the most visual function of UN. In May, 1948 the UN Security Council sent 36 unarmed military personnel to the Middle East as the first UN peacekeepers. In the 75 years since

then, more than 2 million men and women have served under the UN flag. More than 4000 casualties have occurred in all these operations since 1948. The UN peacekeepers day is dedicated to these heroes of humankind.

UN peacekeeping operations have been instrumental in maintaining stability, preventing conflicts, and facilitating the restoration of peace in the regions torn apart by violence. Conflicts have both demand and supply sides. On the demand side, whenever a conflict erupts between two or more parties, it is generally harmful for the direct and indirect stakeholders. But no matter how much harmful it is, the conflict develops a negative unstable equilibrium, leading to the perpetuation of the conflict. So, to come out of this state of negative equilibrium, the conflicting parties themselves decide that they need some external intervention and support, and this external intervention is provided by UN peacekeeping missions. A very significant aspect of such missions is that these operate with the consent of the parties involved in the conflict. It is not thrust upon the local communities or party from the outside, rather the demand for the same emerges from within. The UN peacekeepers work towards building the confidence of the conflicting parties in the peace process. They try to put a break on the continuation of the conflict and this halt, however temporary it may be, gives time to the conflicting party to step back, think and come up with some political solution. History shows that UN peacekeeping operations have been mostly successful in bringing down active conflicts and when the active conflict subsides, political solutions get some space to emerge and evolve.

On the supply side of the UN peacekeeping missions, there is clear evidence of global support for such missions. This can be explained through the economic concept of externalists and externality as cost or benefit caused by an actor. Externality can be good or bad as positive externality or negative externality. An example of positive externality can be the act of walking to the office, which reduces congestion and pollution for the whole society. Conversely, an example of negative externality can be air pollution from using motor vehicles while commuting to office. So, when there is a conflict between two or three countries or as a civil war within a nation, it is harmful to the directly involved actors or participants in the conflict. Moreover, it also has negative externality for those who are not involved in the conflict. We are all aware of the plethora of negative externalities that emanated out

of the recent conflict between Russia and Ukraine. It led to the food crisis in various African and Asian countries and also fuel and energy crisis in the world.

Pertinently, conflict at a particular place or region can create ripple effect which adversely impacts the whole world. So, the rest of the world becomes a stakeholder in resolving the conflict and to restore peace in the place or region. This is because peace has positive externality when two or more conflicting countries or parties restore peace among themselves. Then, of course, they benefit in terms of human lives saved, higher economic growth achieved, etc. But the rest of the world also benefits as peace fosters stability and encourages economic growth, in peaceful conditions, business can thrive, investment flow increase and the trade flourishes. Therefore, it is the positive externality of peace and negative externality of war which drives the UN along with the responsible nations of the world to act towards resolving any conflict. These externalists have manifested in terms of deployment of UN peacekeeping mission in the conflict zones.

India has been one of the largest contributors to the UN peacekeeping operations, since its first commitment in Korea in 1950. Indian troops have supervised complex, unmanageable peace operations earning universal admiration for their professional excellence. Our courageous soldiers, police personnel and civilian experts have demonstrated exceptional dedication and unwavering commitment to the cause of peace. They have selflessly served in some of the most challenging and dangerous environments embodying the spirit of peacekeeping and upholding the principle instilled in the UN charter. Their unwavering commitment, professionalism and sacrifices inspire us all. We also extend condolences to the family who have lost their loved ones in the line of duty, we stand with them in solidarity and offer our support. While we must commemorate the past, we must also look towards the future.

The challenges being faced by the peacekeepers continue to evolve, demanding innovative approaches and enhanced cooperation among the responsible nations. We must invest in training, technology, and resources to ensure the safety and effectiveness of our peacekeepers. We must advocate for the meaningful participation of women in the peacekeeping operations, recognizing their unique contributions in context of difficulty that expressed by women in conflict affected

areas. It is also important to look at the entire UN ecosystem and what we can do to improve it. One important reform that appears first in our faces is to make the UN decision making bodies including the UN Security Council more reflective of demographic realities of the world. When India, the most populous nation of the world does not find a seat as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it tends to undermine the moral legitimacy of the UN. Therefore, the time has come for making the UN bodies for democratic and representative of the current realities of our age. To conclude, one must honour the sacrifices of peacekeepers by working tirelessly to build a more peaceful and inclusive world. There is a need to renew commitment to promoting dialogue, understanding and cooperation among nations and within the nations.



### ***UN Secretary-General's Message***

Mr Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator for India, shared the message by UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres on the occasion of International Day of UN Peacekeepers. As quoted - *“UN Peacekeepers are the beating heart of our commitment to a more peaceful world. For 75 years, they have supported people and community brought by conflict and upheaval across the globe. Today, on the*

*international day of United Nations Peacekeepers, we honour their extra ordinary contributions to international peace and security. Since 1948, more than two million peacekeepers have served in 71 missions helping countries navigate the difficult path from war to peace. They are also critical to the protection of the civilians, caught up in the chaos of deadly conflicts, providing a lifeline of hope and help in some of the most dangerous contexts imaginable. Carrying out this essential work, many peacekeepers have paid ultimate price. Over 4,200 peacekeepers have lost their lives serving under the UN flag. We stand in sympathy, and solidarity with the families, friends, and colleagues and more ever been inspired by their selfless devotion to the cause of peace. Today, more than 87,000 peacekeepers from hundred and twenty-five countries served in twelve operations. They face rising global tensions and device, stagnating peace processes, and more complex conflicts. Despite these obstacles and working with wide venture partnerships, peacekeepers persevere to people living under the shadow of conflicts. Our team of blue helmets represent hope as peacekeepers support humanity. that owes us always support and recognise them in-depth core.”*



## COMMEMORATIVE SESSION



### ***Message by Ambassador Ruchira Kamboj Permanent Representative of India to the United Nation (Pre-Recorded Video)***

Today on the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the International Day of UN Peacekeepers, we remember all peacekeepers who have fallen in distant lands for the cause of peace. India's rich tradition of peacekeeping stretches back to the early years of the United Nations, but our history of peacekeeping is not just a story of valid fortitude. It is also a story of humanity, compassion, progress and development. Indian peacekeepers have always been distinguished by their works as they provide relief to the victims of conflicts and natural calamities whether along the flood ravished banks on the Nile or in the villages in Congo. Our contingent's unhesitating assistance to Syrians in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake last year prove that when it comes to protecting civilians, we do indeed walk the talk.

Our women peacekeeper in Liberia, the first-ever all-women contingent deployed in peacekeeping, was instrumental in motivating Liberian women to join their national security sector institutions, an accomplishment acknowledged by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Even today, our women peacekeepers play a role in reaching out to

the weaker section of society in conflict zones empowering them to participate in social development, while at the same time discharging combat duties.

India has always tried to draw the world's attention to the safety and security of peacekeepers. To this end, India piloted a presidential statement during our presidency of the Security Council in August 2021 with a focus on the necessity of harnessing technology to achieve crucial objectives. This was followed by enabling the rollout of the United Nations Situational Awareness Platform in four peacekeeping missions. The platform is being viewed as a game changer in missions where it has been stressed and tested. India also piloted Security Council Resolution 2589 in August 2021 which seeks to promote accountability for crimes against peacekeepers and its impact was felt almost immediately as 72 perpetrators of crime against peacekeepers were convicted soon after the resolution's adoption.

This was followed by holding together a group of 14 like-minded member states at the United Nations, which is now synchronizing the efforts of various stakeholders involved in promoting accountability for crimes against peacekeepers.



### ***Overview of Indian UN Peacekeeping***

Lt Gen Michael AJ Fernandez, AVSM, VSM, Director General of the Staff Duties brought out that the inaugural session for the joint seminar on the International Day of United Nations (UN) Peacekeepers 2023 intended to be a precursor for the ideation session. His lecture gave an overview of Indian UN peacekeeping in two parts – first, it looked at the trends in UN Peace Keeping missions; then discussed India's past and present roles in the UN Peacekeeping missions and their impact on the world.

He mentioned that peacekeeping missions today are much more complicated. The nature of the peacekeeping missions in the current times has become increasingly “intra-state” compared to the “inter-state” of the previous era. These conflicts involve tenuous interactions between rivals in failed states and asymmetric use of force. The traditional missions have evolved into multi-dimensional, with multiple lines of operations. These conflicts have blurred the gap between the political and the military, and it requires the forces to seamlessly adapt and blend through all of these, to keep on the top of the curve. He then explained the Chapter VI missions of the UN

Charter, which the UN Peacekeeping Force are mandated to carry out. While most of these missions are carried out at the behest of a “host state”, it is observed that the host states cannot handle the conflict on their own and require the robust assistance of peacekeepers, as widely seen in the African continent. Unfortunately, this is shaped negatively by budgetary constraints, as the UN budget allotted to PKOs keeps shrinking.

The major stakeholders in any UN peacekeeping mission are the UN, the host nation, the armed groups, and regional players. The host nation is often not powerful enough to control the entire region, and violent armed groups take over. He questioned the possibility of UNPKOs working in tandem with the armed forces of the host nations but pointed out that the armed forces in many of these states are weak and incapable of enforcing and reinforcing the rule of law. The host nations also often suffer from limited resources or incompetence in controlling resources, causing the conflict to become accentuated. Therefore, the missions also get involved in controlling these resources and, more importantly, negating the control of these resources by violent groups. The armed groups act as the main spoilers in these conflicts, which must be dealt with covertly, overtly, or statically. These groups have diverse agendas and little regard for humanitarian law; they display ruthless behaviour to the point of causing immense anguish to the local populace and the UN. This forms the overriding situation of a large-scale humanitarian crisis, as seen in Sudan, that UN aims to target.

The peacekeepers’ mandate is a little complex; it involves neutralising and surrendering the armed groups, establishing the rule of law, protecting civilians, providing humanitarian assistance, infrastructure development and Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration, and Resettlement (DDRRR) of foreign armed groups for the long-term stability and economic development. Robust peacekeeping remains the order of the day, ensuring that the mission ends with rebuilding the country in a humanitarian and peaceful manner. The peacekeepers find themselves targeted wherever they are deployed. There are immense problems with coordination, tenuous logistics, and other situational on-ground realities, including anti-peacekeeping protests by civilians that the peacekeepers are meant to protect - making it a very shaky ground to navigate. Intelligence, or the lack of it, is

something they have to strive to overcome constantly. Media also puts stringent checks on the missions, with 24/7 reportage, making the peacekeeping movements extremely strict.

India has been a part of UN peacekeeping since 1950, for seven decades, and was involved in 53 out of 72 missions. The nation has contributed approximately 2,75,000 troops and has given two Military Advisors, two Deputy Military Advisors, sixteen Force Commanders, two Division Commanders, and eight Deputy Force Commanders. 177 personnel from the Indian defence forces made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of peacekeeping. He then briefly discussed India's past participation in UN peacekeeping missions and the relevant facts about India's contribution to these missions.

He then moved on to discuss the present agenda and contributions. The guiding principles of India's peacekeeping operations are neutrality, no political agenda, and dynamism in operations—which are to be seen as fluid in context. The main aim of the mandate is the neutralisation and surrender of the armed groups. These are achieved through securing lines of communication, support to government forces, and targeted offensive operations. All these actions are undertaken while ensuring minimum collateral damage and limiting the area of influence of the armed groups. The ultimate aim remains to facilitate political dialogue and extension of the rule of law. Today, India contributes 5930 personnel, the third largest in the world.

He then briefly explained the important missions participated by India. The United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), established in 1999, is a “wet lease mission”. India has deployed 56 Infantry Battalion Groups since 2004 in the most volatile section, which is critical in the current scenario. He explained “wet lease missions” to be the ones in which the host country has to be self-sustained in all respects, including vehicle equipment. India's African missions are self-sustained, hence, wet lease. India's mandates in MONUSCO lies in the region which is the epicentre of the conflict and has experienced various violent clashes. However, many regional players in East Africa are now stepping into the country and assisting the UN in establishing peace.

The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) has seen India's participation since 2005. This is also a wet lease mission where India has contributed with 29 Infantry Groups, including a Force Commander and a Sector Commander. India also has sent traditional enablers -level three hospitals and an engineering company contributing to infrastructure development. The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has seen India's participation since 1998 and is a "dry lease mission". The Battalion Groups are deployed in the most sensitive area with major flashpoints - a tri-junction of Israel, Lebanon, and Syria. In the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), India was one of the first respondents to fill the operational void and was deployed in the most critical sector.

India also remains committed to all facets of capability development projects, including providing lean agile forces, training peacekeepers worldwide, ensuring logistical support, empowering women, and contributing to technological advancement. Regarding the pledges, India formally pledged an Infantry Battalion and a Corvette with Helicopter and force enablers: an engineer and a signal company. He then discussed the Centre for UN Peacekeeping (CUNPK), a world-class centre established in 2000 that has trained 2,00,000 troops, including 1,750 foreign officers. CUNPK has also been part of an engineering exercise with the Vietnamese in Chandimandir and the Africa-India Field Training Exercise (AFINDEX) in Pune. Besides these bilateral and multilateral exchanges, India also sends mobile teams in training.

He then spoke on women's engagement in the UNPKOs. He posited that India remains very conscious about "Nari Shakti" and has put active efforts into increasing the participation of women peacekeepers. Two female engagement teams are currently deployed in MONUSCO and the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). There are also 35 women military staff officers in various facets of medical engineering, subunits, commanders and so on. These women officers have enhanced the operational effectiveness of the battalions deployed in challenging areas.

India has been training both on home grounds and in host nations. Community outreach is an add-on wherein India has contributed to civilian and military outreach and veterinary outreach. India also conducts active training in partnering countries

like Nigeria under the aegis of CUNPK. He concluded the lecture by stating that India has constructively assisted in transitioning from volatile to stable missions as far as possible. Its peacekeepers have been recognised for their professionalism, operational conduct, and discipline. Indian peacekeepers have generated respect in the eyes of local and international communities and strive to be responsible partners in global peacekeeping.



### ***A Historical Assessment of Indian Army in UN Peacekeeping***

Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd), began his talk by paying homage to those who made the supreme sacrifice in pursuit of the ideals of the UN Peacekeeping, including his contemporary Param Vir Chakra awardee, Captain GS Salaria, who died in peacekeeping mission in Congo. He mentioned that peacekeepers made sacrifices in the service of humanity and have been serving since the founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945.

He further alluded that greatly influenced by the magnitude of death and destruction brought by World War II, those who framed and chartered the UN charter based these provisions on the ideas and principles they hoped would steer the future of

mankind away from what transpired during that war. However, as things went, given the fact that we live in a real world, where idealism and principled behaviour are pious aspirations, are not necessarily implemented in letter and spirit. The international community was soon in the throes of what came to be known as the Cold War, with two blocs at loggerhead with one another. As a consequence, what was envisaged in the UN charter in terms of dealing with threats to international peace and security could not be implemented in the sense in which it was intended to be. The then UN Secretary General and the UN secretariat were thus compelled to evolve an ad hoc mechanism to cope with the problems and disputes that they had to deal with. Peacekeeping thus became a mechanism that finds no mention in the UN charter, but it soon became a primary, convenient, and effective tool for addressing some of the conflicts at the international level. Notwithstanding some aberrations and fact that in many situations the two blocs found it inappropriate to deploy UN peacekeepers, this mechanism has served the UN well over the years, and particularly at times when the organisation was otherwise under the clout.

With the end of the cold war in 1989, however, the concepts and principles of UN peacekeeping underwent radical churn because peacekeepers began to be increasingly deployed for redressing intra-state conflicts with totally different connotations they maintain. Needless to say, that conduct of operations in intra-state conflicts carry with them serious problems that merit recognition and consequent meticulous attention in terms of mandate formulation and resourcing, both in terms of personnel and equipment. The major aspect that merits attention being that of protection of innocent civilians, particularly women and children as those who are on missions today recognise and the consequence need for the application of force on occasions.

Regarding application of force, he said that Indian peacekeepers in Congo applied force in the mid-1960s to bring back that country to normality. So, application of force is nothing new. Because of this, they paid a heavy price as 34 soldiers lost their lives and over 120 got wounded, which was a heavy one for UN peacekeeping.

He then alluded to India's contribution in UN peacekeeping. He says that the commitment that we have made over the years has been acknowledged by the international community, successive secretary generals and the UN secretariat.

What is the most significant is the effectiveness of such participation and the commitment to UN peacekeeping efforts has drawn respect and praise from fellow professionals of other countries and many others who have served jointly with the Indian commanders, observers, police monitors and contingents in various parts of the world. Hence, what is satisfying is the image of Indian forces in the international arena that is highly competent and well-trained professional force.

It is important for the people of our country to recognise that much of our participation in the UN peacekeeping operations relates to our national security interests, as it should be. He cites the examples of our participation in the Korean and Cambodian operations that demonstrated our stake in the stability of East and South East Asia at that time. Moving on to West Asia, he says that our vital interests in both in terms of energy requirements and historical connections have been more than adequately reflected in our participation in the peacekeeping operations undertaken in the Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, Golan Heights, Lebanon, Yemen and during Iran-Iraq War and Iraq-Kuwait. Speaking about Africa, he says that our geostrategic interests in the stability and wellbeing of the newly emerged states of Africa have been underscored by our contributions and participation in the operations in Congo, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan, Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire.

Looking ahead, he said that there are many of us in India and in the international arena who perceive a more dynamic and significant role for India in the field of international relations including in the maintenance of international peace and security. This means envisaging a greater role for India in the various organs of the UN, possibly as a permanent member of the UNSC and if we are to fulfil such a role with any degree of credibility, it is inescapable that we not only accept the responsibility that go with such a role but offer our acknowledged expertise in areas of UN activities like Peacekeeping. He added that we must exploit our undeniable experience and professionalism in this field and put it to good use in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Speaking about the CUNPK he said that besides providing assistance for the training of contingents, the CUNPK has also undertaken courses and as a measure of India's commitment to UN. On each of the international courses that the Centre runs, 15

vacancies are allotted to representatives from the developing countries and all their expenses including travelling, training from home country and back to India accommodation, and meals are covered by the Government of India. He is proud of this initiative and says that not too many countries offer such courses. He then adds that there are a number of developed countries like the US, the UK, Australia, Japan, Norway and so on who subscribe to these courses under a self-financing arrangement. It is a matter of great satisfaction and pride for the speaker that in the last 23 years, the CUNPK has established itself as an International Centre of Excellence and is now called upon to conduct specialised international courses on behalf of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and international organisations like the International Committee of the Red Cross and so on. Finally he flagged five issues:-

Firstly, regarding the threat of UN being increasingly marginalised in terms of decision making on aspects of the maintenance of international peace and security, he observed that there is nothing yet in the international arena that can even remotely replace the UN, and that the situation can only be rectified by major reforms of the UN Security Council (UNSC) to include, in the permanent category, representation from Africa and South America.

Secondly, he advocates for the abolition of veto power that is being exercised by the permanent members of the UNSC. He feels that this is an anachronism that should have gone long ago. UNSC resolutions, according to him, must be adopted on a 2/3rd majority basis.

Thirdly, he advocated a revitalisation of the UN General Assembly, to play a greater and more significant role in the conduct of the UN affairs, which is very marginal at present.

Fourthly, closing down the outdated and largely irrelevant political and peacekeeping missions, which should have been done long ago.

Lastly, he believes that ruthlessly effecting a radical overhaul of the somewhat oppressive, overbearing and inefficient UN bureaucracy is another long overdue measure.

## IDEATION SESSION

### PEACEKEEPERS DAY @75-RELEVANCE, REFORMS AND PARTNERSHIPS IN UNPKOS



#### ***Welcome Remarks & Introduction by the Chair***

Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM, (Retd) first of all thanked the organisers for giving him the platform to deliberate about the future UN peacekeeping. The peacekeeping arrangement can be seen in a structured format. However, the speaker highlighted his different views by looking through the lens of the Russia-Ukraine war. A war is ongoing, and thousands of people are dying every week. In this regard, the UN is not doing anything. Even if it is doing something, it is not enough. The war continues, its sixteenth month is running, and people are dying. The whole aim of the UN was to control this sort of death and devastation, as exemplified in the WW II.

The ideation session is on what we have done so far, what we are doing now, and how this organisation should move forward. There are two levels of it. One, what we

call the ideal world, where if wars occur or are likely to occur, then what can the UN do to prevent that conflict from starting. And if it starts, to bring it to a close at the fastest. And the second level, is improving the way we conduct peacekeeping operations. It is not that we have not thought about the first level.

In 1992, at the end of the cold war, many conflicts were breaking out all over the world. There was no Department of UNPK. That is the year when the peacekeeping cell was formed and later became the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). So the UN responded to these sudden surges in the conflicts and to deal with it.

Alluding to “The Agenda of Peace” in 1992, he said that it not only spoke about peacekeeping but also about conflict prevention, i.e., how to prevent a conflict from arising by separating the warring faction and starting the process of restoring peace. And then there was peace-making or negotiating and bringing peace permanently among the warring factions. And from these three ideas, came the fourth one, which is post-conflict peacebuilding. This has kept expanding as much as one’s imagination can take, to see conflict as not only an issue as fighting wars with each other but also addressing issues like poverty alleviation, hunger, water supply, education and election.

We are now standing at another threshold, another 1992 moment. We have a war which is going on for 16 months. We can treat it as a war which does not really matter and business as usual. But here lies an opportunity to change the way things can happen. For India, this is an opportune moment, because for our role in peacekeeping contribution in the past and also for our role in the multipolar world order. Where India sees itself regionally and globally, as making positive difference to the way things are done.

With this backdrop, Lt Gen Campose began the Ideation Session. He highlighted few questions which need to be answered as seen in the concept note. The first question being “Is the current UN functioning of peacekeeping relevant from the perspective of Ghali’s Agenda for Peace?” The second question, “Why did the UN fail to stop the Russia-Ukraine conflict from starting? Why did the troops keep on mobilising since 2021? Why did the UN officials and the secretary-general fail to send a team to establish a dialogue? And if it happened, was it not effective enough?” And third

question, “If things are not the way they are in an ideal world, what must be done? What are the reforms that need to be undertaken?”

The third question must also be explored in terms of partnerships. In a multi-dimensional view of peacekeeping, there is a military aspect to provide security on the ground, and then there is a civilian component. This brings the question of partnership and the second sub-theme of the session on forming partnerships in these missions to achieve the best possible outcome.



### ***Relevance of UNPKOs in an Evolving World Order***

Ambassador Asoke Mukerji, Former Permanent Representative of India to the UN focused his talks on the relevance of UN peacekeeping force in an evolving world order. He mentioned that at present of the 12 existing PKOs, two of them are observer missions: UNTSO and UNMOGIP. He stated that they should have been wound up, but it did not, and are still taking a part of budget of the UN.

The remaining ten missions are active in Africa and Asia. Of the African missions, the four largest are in Democratic Republic in Congo, South Sudan, Mali and Central African Republic. These are primarily intra-state, meaning they are deployed

internally in these states to keep the peace and hopefully help them to progress towards a political settlement of their problems. He underscored the importance of political settlement because most often in the discussion on peacekeeping and on UN issues, one tends to forget what the objective of the missions is. The objective for India in fighting the 1971 Bangladesh war was political settlement in the then East Pakistan, which later became Bangladesh. India's deployment within the state was meant to facilitate political settlement.

The two peacekeeping operations that are active in Asia are between states. These are between Israel and Arab neighbours; and Lebanon and Syria. Thus while being deployed, they have a relevance but are not always effective. For example, when terrorism affected peacekeeping in UNDOF (Syria), two batches of UN peacekeepers- one from Fiji and another from Philippines were taken hostage by Al-Nusra terrorist group. The UN were able to resolve it by negotiating through a member state Qatar, paid ransom to rescue the peacekeepers. The important question is how this phenomenon of terrorism targeted at the UN peacekeepers.

It is necessary to understand the financial constraints under which peace keeping are operated. Out of the total peacekeeping budget of 6.43 billion dollars, as much as 4.68 billion dollars are taken by just four operations in Africa, this needs to give a thought because it's not just that all other UN peacekeeping missions are equally affected. These four missions are acting like a vacuum cleaner, which are taking money and resources. Seventy thousand out of ninety-six thousand UN peacekeepers today on the ground are deployed in these countries: DRC, Mali, South Sudan and Central African Republic.

He also asserted that peacekeeping mandates have to be calibrated with the clear road map and an exit date. He cited the president of Timor-Leste who informed that the reason that East Timor or Timor-Leste peacekeeping operation succeeded was because it had a clear exit date.

Should PKOs be converted into special political missions by taking partnerships is a point of view that needs to be discussed. India has participated and is participating in special political missions in Iraq, which is trying to rebuild the country after being destroyed in 2003. Indian peacekeepers have been helping in holding elections, have supported provision of security and building up institutions of national

government. They are also engaged by being deployed with a mandate of peace keeping is actually a peace building.

Commenting on the challenges, he averred to political instability, which are both inside the country where peacekeepers are deployed as well as places where the peacekeepers could be deployed. Examples of combining peacekeeping and peacebuilding are Yemen, Afghanistan and so on. In this context, one requires to find a way to include the host country and TCC/PCC and enable them to sit face to face with the members of the UNSC to draw a mandate with a clear time frame and to arrive a sustainable political settlement of political issues.

Another issue is Protection of Civilian (PoC), which is the core mandate today. Citing issues of MONUSCO in 2012-13, he mentioned that the deployment of Force Intervention Brigade was pushed into the UN peacekeeping system. Force Commander from India then realized that it is not right to combine traditional peacekeeping, which was used on basis of impartiality, consent of host country, use of force in defence of mandate with the robust peacekeeping. The moment the UN become a party to the conflict, peacekeepers lose their impartiality and immunity, therefore affects the effectiveness.

Commenting on countering terrorism, he gave examples of ongoing PKO in Mali and how the logistics and other problems led to disengagement of India from MINUSMA. The background to MINUSMA was to deploy a PKO in Mali without taking a partnership or consultation with Algeria. It was a France-led initiative which kept Algeria out of it. And if one looks at the map, keeping a country like Algeria out of it means one ends up with a very difficult and challenging peacekeeping operation, where even the logistics of supplying that operation have to be put up all the way from New Delhi through the Gulf of Guinea and then to Mali, because one cannot cross through Algeria. Now that was a huge kind of challenge. And given these kinds of challenges, at that time we did not participate in MINUSMA. Today the MINUSMA is the center point of Al-Qaeda based group in western African region and they have been empowered. The bulk of 4200 peacekeeper casualties in the last few years were in Mali.

Next, the ambassador referred to the problems faced by major TCCs like India who are not on the Security Council and thus do not have a say in the administrative

factors of peacekeeping like making mandates for deployment of troops. The speaker opined that reform of Security Council is not going to happen soon. This is the main reason why UN and UN peacekeeping are often ineffective because the mandates are only drawn up by the permanent member states that too mainly by France, UK and the USA. These countries provide first draft of the text of the mandate or the Peacekeeping resolution. Is that required, is that fair and is that equitable? These are some ponderable questions.

The UN Security Council text generally comes from the perspective of the permanent great powers and does not come from the General Assemblies inputs. In case of General Assembly, if it doesn't agree on a text, it adopts the resolution by voting. So, there is a majority vote behind the General Assembly resolution. The Security Council should respect, honour the majority vote of the membership.

Article 52 provides for regional arrangements and there is a lot of cooperation between the UN Security Council and regional arrangements. Many peacekeeping troops who was posted or are going to Africa see the role of IGAD, the East African Community or the role of ECOWAS in West Africa. The question is where the responsibility for what happens on the ground ends with the Security Council and gets transferred onto the regional array? Following the mandate formulation for AMISOM, the Security Council is very happy to let the situation be taken by responded to by the regional arrangement. But when it comes to supporting the regional array, the Security Council withdraws. Eventually, it's a question of resources, money, equipment, soldiers, and how are these resources going to be generated. Citing NATO, he commented that there is a tremendous usurpation of the responsibility given by the UN Charter by a military alliance, which is now able, willing and desires of operating outside its area of responsibility. And how does this work out?



### ***Challenges for the Peacekeepers in Implementing the ‘Protection of Civilian’ Mandate Effectively***

Maj Gen A S M Ridwanur Rahman, Commandant BIPSOT stated that the celebration of the platinum jubilee of the inception of the United Nations peacekeeping mission coincides with the celebration in Bangladesh, of the golden jubilee of the conferring of the Julio Kurt peace prize by the World Peace Council to the father of their nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, for his contribution towards world peace and humanity.

Today, in most conflict driven missions, civilians are the prime victims, and women and children are disproportionately exposed to the threat of violence including sexual exploitation and abuse. Information technology including other disruptive technologies are also extensively used to by peace spoilers to target innocent civilians. At this backdrop, it was necessary to incorporate PoC as a priority mandate task for the peacekeepers in the UN mission and it first appeared in the mandate of Sierra Leone in 1999.

Currently, most of the multidimensional missions have PoC as their mandated task. The POC mandate is UN Peacekeeping is defined as “Without prejudice to the primary responsibility of the host-state, integrated and coordinated activities by all civilians and uniformed components to prevent, deter or respond to threats of physical violence against civilians, within the missions’ capabilities and areas of deployment through the use of all necessary means up to and including the use of force”.

As the definition clearly indicates that PoC is a whole of mission mandate and involves a multitude of internal and external stakeholders. Besides this, emerging threats like climate change, pandemics, food insecurity, water, and energy scarcity, etc. also have a lasting and far-reaching impact on civilian lives.

However, as a military practitioner, the speaker confined his focus primarily on the operational and tactical level of implications for the protection of civilians on UN Peace Keeping operations. Firstly, he highlighted the important aspects of the POC policy before focusing on the challenges to POC. The POC policy suggests the POC actions in three tiers; tier 1 is Protection through dialogue and engagement; tier 2 provision of physical protection; and tier 3 establishment of a protective environment. The policy also states that there are four primary POC tasks prevention, pre-emption, response and consolidation.

Regarding the challenges to the implementation of the POC mandate, he mentioned that firstly geographical, physical, and other excess constraints including non-permissive environments hamper the ability of the mission to gather information, access, and respond to POC threats in areas. The existing situational, arrangement, structure, and tools in the mission are scarce and centralized but inhibit the capacity of the contingents to obtain and process real-time actual intelligence. Often the missions are given ambitious mandates and face high expectations but on the contrary, they have limited resources and are faced with great constraints that may be beyond the sphere of their influence and capability. Current force strength, including access to niche capabilities, are inadequate compared to the overstretched area of responsibility assigned to the contingents and sectors in most of the mission areas. These severely constrain the mission leadership to prevent or respond to POC threats effectively.

Threats to civilians posed by state security forces or their proxies are one of the biggest challenges faced by missions today. This is also combined with consent to the mission presented by host-nation authorities manifested in threats against the mission or other restrictions in the form of movement restrictions and so on which is surely a clear violation of Status of Forces Agreements. In a few missions there are parallel forces with differing but overlapping objectives operating in the same areas which may have differing mandates and common arrangements. These forces often cause significant collateral damage to the local population in pursuit of their operational objectives. This results in a lack of trust and confidence of the local populace on the UN forces and complicate the protection activities of the nation.

Lack of trust from the peacekeepers resulting either from their reluctant posture or lack of capacity or liability to hold the perpetrators accountable at times perpetuates cycles of violence. This in turn often forces the civilians to seek protection from other non-state actors including the armed groups and thus hinder the ability of the peacekeepers to protect the vulnerable ones.

On way forward, he said that firstly, implementing these demands requires timely reliable, and actionable intelligence on threats to civilians as well as analytical tools to evaluate the information. Efficient and proactive decision-making on POC requires the systematic use of early learning Peacekeeping intelligence, information acquisition and analysis, and assessment tools, capabilities, and processes. Over a period of time couple of initiatives were taken to facilitate the collection of human intelligence-like Community assistance, Community Allied Network, and even Patrolling by the Peacekeepers. But these are inefficient and insufficient enough to really facilitate the situation awareness. There are also initiatives such as the Introduction of Female Engagement Teams or Engagement Platoons to facilitate outreach or access to the vulnerable ones. But the language barrier of the persons employed by them and particularly the professional competence of female Peacekeepers still an area where we need definite improvement.

Prioritizing PoC in the allocation of mission capacities and resources and making efforts to access challenging areas is another way forward. There is requirement of deterrent assets like Special Forces, Quick Reaction Forces, Special Weapon and Tactics teams, and rapid deployable elements. But it is to be mentioned and

remembered that it is not only about collection tools but more importantly timely dissemination of information to the Tactical Commanders, which is vital to responding effectively to the POC efforts. Over a period of time, some countries resorted to joining smart pledges to fill in the capability gaps like the troops-contributing countries providing the forces where the other developing countries with high-end technical capabilities are supporting them only with the technology-based platforms. That is a model which is tested and found suitable may be replicated and followed by most of the leading troops-contributing countries. UNITE Aware is being piloted and rolled out as a flagship project for situational awareness in certain peacekeeping missions. Missions should use such analytical tools to understand the dynamics and trends that may not be apparent from an analytical or qualitative approach to analyses. Of late deployment review toolkit has also been fielded in some missions as pilot projects by a light coordination mechanism that works with the UN Department of Peace operation.

The speaker talked about social media which is a critical technology for strategic communication. Monitoring of social media can also serve as a tool for situational awareness and contribute to regular analysis of perceptions and leverage the strength and perceptions and objectives of the key stakeholders or to access local perception on critical issues.

Collaboration with regional forces is a viable option though it may have certain far-reaching strategic connotations. Contingents must be prepared to intervene physically, to protect civilians at risk including interposition and robust posture, but however, it needs effective coordination mechanism to be developed between the mission vision leadership and those government agencies to facilitate unhindered access of the peacekeeper's vulnerable areas and also freedom of movement of the peacekeepers. Maximum use of strategic communication and public information must be explored to explain the difference between peacekeeping and other forces and clarify their roles Well-orchestrated employment of community leaders' assistance, community alert network, engagement platoons, et cetera, coupled with the use of so media platforms may be better dividends in strategic communication and perception management.

Lastly, the speaker expressed his views on partnerships which is the most essential segment and makes the UN relevant, helps to ensure that individual and collective efforts are synergized and given due attention in fulfilling the mandated tasks that are bestowed on the UN Peacekeepers.



### ***Peacekeeping Partnerships : Civilian Perspective***

Mr Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator for India extended gratitude, on behalf of the United Nations, to India for its peacekeeping efforts. Bringing his experience in UN peacekeeping, peace and security and the humanitarian and development nexus, he shared his thoughts. He lay emphasis on the important contributions of India from a civilian perspective, in terms of troop contribution. He called India the “greatest troop contributing country since the beginning of peacekeeping,” In the context of a seminar to honor the International Day of UN Peacekeepers, he stated that he paid tribute to those who have given their lives (and) made the ultimate sacrifice, including 177 Indian soldiers or heroes the greatest sacrifice for the highest cause pursuing peace. Taking the day as opportunity to honor the roughly 2 million men and women who have served in UN peacekeeping missions since the

beginning, Mr. Sharp proceeded with a brief insight of the historical context of UN Peacekeeping Ops.

He brought up that the United Nations was founded on the very concept of emerging from the ashes of devastating conflict to save future generations from the scourge of war. When peace keeping began in 1948, it was rather “revolutionary” concept to use soldiers to use guns as an instrument of peace rather than war. This was revolutionary to introduce the principle of non-violence into military spheres to deploy force that actually prevents conflict. Across 16 different peer reviewed studies, he stated that where there are “blue helmets, blue berets, or blue turbans,” there have been significantly reduced civilian casualties, significantly shortened conflicts and peace agreements struck.

Above all, it demonstrated how that peacekeepers have saved lives. Studies have shown millions of lives have been spared since the creation of peacekeeping in 1948. Further, over the years, the complexities and the range of tasks being asked of UN peacekeeping operations has greatly expanded and complexified within the broader agenda of peace. In today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations, Peacekeepers and the civilian personnel are called upon not only to maintain peace and also facilitate political processes, to protect civilians in unexpected ways, to assist in demobilization, disarmament, to support the organization of elections, to promote human rights, prevent sexual abuse, amidst more.

He indicated that governments looked at peacekeeping as an innovative way to cooperate, in terms of defense cooperation and diplomacy. He gave the example of UNIFIL in South Lebanon, where Indian troops are partner with Kazakh troops and two battalions of countries operated under the leadership of an Indian commanding officer. In 2012, he was the deputy head of the UNP, in Lebanon. During his time, the peacekeepers and UNDP officials partnered in an initiative to bring together the development assets of the UN with the peacekeeping assets and to find ways to find synergies between the two.

He held that peacekeeping was the very embodiment of multilateralism- of partnership, but this partnership needed to be robust and innovative, as conflicts become more complex. He pointed out that evolution is at the very heart of peacekeeping partnerships, including but not limited to the relationships between

local communities, CSOs, regional organizations, troops in countries and the wider UN system.

He indicated that the peace-humanitarian development nexus is forever shrinking, with multiple overlapping points and a distinctly non-linear relationship due to the interwovenness of peace, developmental and humanitarian issues. So, the peacekeeping presence needs to be able, nimble and aware to react in this complex environment. He concluded his speech with Mantra of this year's event: "Peace begins with me".



## Peacekeeping Partnerships : Military Perspective

Maj Gen Patrick Cammaert (Retd), in his introduction emphasised that UN peacekeeping is going through very challenging and demanding times. He stated that UN peacekeeping is still relevant because every day UN peacekeepers work to protect hundreds of thousands of vulnerable people in the world's most fragile, politically unstable security situation. A UN peacekeeper supports ceasefires, prevents and responds to violence, investigates human rights violations, helps in building peace and recovering and development in conflict affected countries.

Furthermore, he dwelled on the shift in UN peacekeeping changes from traditional to multi-dimensional approaches, to expeditionary peacekeeping operations in an asymmetric threat environment. The traditional use of force only in the case of self-defence which has been outlined in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter to use of force in self-defence and the defence of the mandate beyond self-defence as mentioned in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

He brought out the manner in which the nature of conflict is changing since 2007 and is steadily changing till date. He highlighted that the primary goal of UN Peacekeeping Missions is to create conditions for political solutions and sustainable peace and that is the true measure of success. He stated that peacekeeping is never an objective in itself and the implied task is the protection of civilians under threat of visible violence by armed groups and increasingly from the disasters and consequences of pandemics which have been brought out by COVID-19 and Ebola. He acknowledged that the 12 ongoing peacekeeping missions of the United Nations, UNFICYP in Cyprus is different from MINUSMA in Mali, MONUSCO in the Democratic Republic of Congo is different from MINUSCA in the Central African Republic and therefore have their own characteristics.

He mentioned that the uniformed and civilian colleagues are confronted by real threats, real casualties, real constraints, the fog of war, feud because of misinformation and disinformation propagated by opponents of the peace process, conflict related sexual violence, transnational organised crime, private military contractors, internally displaced people and refugees, restrictions of the freedom of movement in particular by the use of improvised explosive devices such as the freedom of movement restrictions in Mali.

He addressed the obstacles encountered by UN Peacekeeping Missions where the United Nations in several missions is a target itself. This contested operating environment translates into the fight for information. The surge in misinformation and disinformation is creating new and growing threats to the safety of UN personnel and communities itself. In places like Mali, Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo disinformation, propagated through social media and certain media outlets, is increasingly becoming a source of insecurity for UN Peacekeeping forces.

He mentioned that women and youth are also viable partners in the reconciliation and building peace and are viable partners as powerful champions of peace. Furthermore, he shed light on the role of regional organisations in political and security roles in trying to find solutions in conflict areas. Examples are African Union and ECOWAS working in partnership in the peace organisation is walking in the environment. He mentioned that in several cases in a mission there is a mix of troops conducting enforcement operations and other troops conducting peacekeeping operations with a different mandate which creates confusion and a lack of proactive action.

Furthermore, he enumerated the role of UN Peacekeepers in conflict wherein he mentioned that when a UN Peacekeeping Operation becomes party to a conflict within the meaning of International Humanitarian Law, members of the military component lose their protective status and become legitimate military targets under International Humanitarian Law. It is possible and needed for UN Peacekeeping Operations to temporarily become a party to the conflict when using force proactively and robustly in self-defence for the protection of civilians. However, when the hostile actions of the opponent have stopped, UN operations should step back again and try to restart the political process. The peacekeeping force is not deployed to destroy an armed group, they are far likely to become party to the conflict when engaging in aggressive or offensive military operations in hostile operating environments in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, and Mali. Walking the thin line and becoming part of the conflict, the UN must make sure that the local consent of the population is not lost.

He mentioned that the Private Military Contractors (PMC) were playing an increasingly prominent role in the security environments of several UN missions in Africa. They are not partners but actors. Missions are often put in a difficult position because they are often amended with a clause “amongst others” to support the host governments in protecting the civilians. But host governments are often very close to PMCs such as in Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic and Mali and guidance is needed in how to redress these challenges.

In conclusion, troops contributing countries should be trained and equipped for the challenges that they are going to face, that means major changes, equipment

training, composition of the force, changing mind-sets and the provision of the troops with equipment and technological support on short notice as required.

According to Major General Patrick Cammaert, the UN Headquarters should provide guidance on how to address PMCs and should be flexible in adjusting in changing circumstances. Finally, strategic communication strategy should be developed to counter misinformation and disinformation and those who are good at psychological operations should assist with this. Concluding his presentation, he emphasised that partnerships are at the heart of peacekeeping.



### ***Future Contours of India in UN peacekeeping: MEA Perspective***

Shri Prakash Gupta, Joint Secretary UNP Division, MEA started his speech stating that in 2014, Ambassador Asoke Mukerji took the initiative in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C34) and made an explicit recommendation for the establishment of a Memorial Wall for UN Peacekeepers. He informed the audience that in the last couple of years when India was part of the Security Council, it took the initiative forward to bring this issue on the agenda and that formal UN General Assembly resolution piloted by India would be adopted on 14th June 2023 to ensure

that the project is completed within a timeframe of two years at a prominently identified place. India has been able to get the maximum number of cosponsors for this particular resolution in the UN General Assembly. This will coincide 80th anniversary of the United Nations in 2025. India also committed that it will fund the project and it will be voluntary contribution with commitment being upfront. It is also a very important marker for India as a delegation to the UN because since the piloting of the International Day of Yoga resolution in 2014, this is the next resolution that India has piloted as an Indian initiative in the UN General Assembly with such cross-cutting support.

Introducing the theme of the presentation, Shri Prakash Gupta highlighted five key points with regards to the emerging contours of UN peacekeeping as to how we see it evolving. He stated that if we have to look at emerging contours, we have to look at areas of concern and are we planning in the right way to address those areas of concern as we see it today. The first question he posed was, 'Is UN peacekeeping the way it is structured presently able to keep pace with the requirement of contemporary times? Is it losing appeal across conflict zones?' Because when we look at statistics from conflict zones, there are both interesting and slightly disturbing observations.

He highlighted the manner in which in the past three years, in the continent of Africa alone, there have been at least six places where existing governments have been changed through force. These include Mali (August 2020), Central African Republic (December 2020), Tunisia (July 2021), Guinea (September 2021), Sudan (October 2021) and Burkina Faso (January 2022). There were unsuccessful attempts as well, in Chad (April 2021), Guinea-Bissau (February 2022) and Gambia (December 2022). Some of these conflict zones have a big presence of UN peacekeeping missions spread across the landscape of Africa.

It is really a disconcerting trend that host governments who signed up to the UN peacekeeping presence being there are now increasingly becoming uncomfortable with the presence of UN peacekeepers or are even saying that this is the case for UN peacekeepers to leave. Then he raised the question of whether it was because there were private armed options available at lesser complex templates which are appealing in the short run to the stakeholders on the ground or is it because the set

of expectations and demands that the UN peacekeeping ecosystem imposes on the host government in such conflict terrains which is becoming increasingly difficult to implement or is it because there is also a greying perception that when it comes to UN peacekeeping forces, they really are never leave and that they don't have an exit strategy in the first place.

So, this is one issue which India tried pitching that when the UN is crafting new mandates, it's important to have a set of desired goals associated with a timeline put in and the need to factor in an exit strategy. Unless we have that, we cannot have open ended missions. On an equally concerning note, there have been resource allocation to UN peacekeeping missions not being commensurate to the gravity of the situation at hand. Should redundant peacekeeping missions which have been there for perpetuity be resourced at the same level as real-time live threats which are impacting the safety and security of civilians on the ground?

The second factor that one would like to submit is the UN peacekeeping cannot be so troop-centric resource-driven and be completely oblivious to the use of technology. It is India's considered submission that we should use an increasing amount of technology in the UN Peacekeeping Operations to make UNPKOs fit, efficient and safer for the UN peacekeeper. In this regard, in 2021 India has taken two key initiatives: one was India assisting in implementing a platform called the UNITE Aware platform and assisted the UN both through a financial contribution as well as technical expertise in helping them migrate it from a desktop platform to a mobile platform where a UN peacekeeper on ground would be able to visualise the terrain awareness around him first-hand. Earlier, they would only be available at the Command-and-Control Centre and not at the immediate disposal of the UN peacekeeper. Presently, UNITE Aware is in four pilot missions being implemented at and has received really good feedback. The increased use of technology is an important facet in the peacekeeping architecture.

Another initiative that India did during its Security Council tenure was the adoption of a resolution titled 'Protecting the Protectors' which discussed this whole issue of why should there be no accountability for crimes committed against UN peacekeepers. It's the only resolution unanimously adopted which again fixes a timeframe and accountability on the host government for bringing the victims of crime to justice in a

fixed time frame. That was also a step forward in ensuring the safety and security of UN peacekeepers in terms of ensuring accountability.

The third and another important factor in peacekeeping mandates is that those troop-contributing countries who have troops on the ground, their inputs must be factored in mandate renewal. Presently, there is no formal mechanism where Force Commanders on the ground brief the UN Security Council. If we get these inputs to the UN Security Council from troop-contributing countries and Force Commanders when mandate renewals take place, it will be an important factor in factoring ground realities. This is something that India has been pushing for both in the C34 as well as through some of the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The fourth issue going to be on an increasing traction is the integration of the Women Peace and Security agenda in the UN peacekeeping architecture. India has a proud history with its success story in Liberia and now recently through an all-women troop that India has deployed in Abyei. This is a narrative that will get increased salience in the coming years.

The next point which Shri Prakash Gupta submitted was the whole issue of fake information using social media and how it is impacting peacekeeping operations. There are recent incidents from South Sudan where it was used on a very large-scale to create distractions in operations and to foment priests against the existing UN peacekeepers. Therefore, while this is a new trend, it is very important that what's happening on social media has a direct security implication for troops on the ground as well as for civilians. There has to be an integrated communication between host governments, the UN peacekeeping architecture, the UN Security Council and all the relevant stakeholders so that its misuse against peacekeepers as well as civilians to foment a kind of artificial division between the peacekeeper and whom they are protecting is not resorted to.

He highlighted the importance of adopting a regional approach particularly in Africa rather than going to the UN Security Council in the first instance. Therefore, cooperation amongst regional organisations is something that the world will continue to see in increased salience. Given India's history and commitment to UN peacekeeping, India is not going to walk back away from the commitments it has made to UN peacekeeping and that is evident in the recent pledges to UN

peacekeeping. The nature of pledging in UN peacekeeping conferences is changing, there is more of equipment, more of technology coming in than more of troops and that's where all of us need to be conscious of the global terrain requirements and one can supplement the UN peacekeepers with state-of-the-art technologies.

In concluding his presentation, he delved into the overarching themes of relevance, reforms, and partnerships within UNPKOs. Concerning relevance, with regards to two of the greatest challenges that the world has seen in contemporary times - the outbreak of the COVID pandemic and the ongoing Ukrainian conflict in the timeframe of the last three to four years, Shri Prakash Gupta stated that the UN honestly needs to ask itself "Has the UN been relevant to the solutions in each of these two cases?". This led to the next issue, reforms, wherein he states that the challenge of UN Security Council reforms is so difficult because of the way it was constructed in 1945 with the victors of the World War II being provided permanent membership still continues.

Technically, each of the P5, individually hold a veto over any change in the UN Security Council. 193 members of the UN General Assembly may feel one way but if one of the P-5 doesn't agree with the collective aspiration of the UN General Assembly, it may not go through given the way the Charter has spelt out the process of amendments in the Charter. He mentioned how making an amendment in the Charter is so difficult that two of the permanent members of the UN Security Council haven't been able to get their names changed in the UN Charter, it is still USSR and one of the P5 with their former name in the UN Charter. In fact, Japan and Germany are still referred to as enemy powers and when two of the permanent members cannot get their name changed in the UN Charter, one must understand how difficult it is when we talk about changes in governance structures which go to the heart of geopolitics. Regarding partnerships, Shri Prakash Gupta expressed that in the last few years there has been an expressed salience of the phrase "Global South" wherein the developing world according to him is indeed getting its act together where there is increased collaborations and partnerships amongst the Global South. India with its commitment to reforming the multilateral system is at the forefront of it.

### ***Closing remarks by Chair Including Q and A***

In his closing remarks, Lt Gen Philip Campose thanked Prakash Gupta for two reasons: one is for his illuminating talk for making everyone aware of what the PMI, New York has been doing and also here in South block. Its good information to have as very few people are aware of the progress done by the Government of India in pursuing some of these initiatives which affects peacekeeping or UN operations as whole. Second, with regards to the relevance of the UN he stated emphatically that the UN is relevant because of one reason - it saves thousands of lives. However, he also acknowledged that there is room for improvement and that the UN could be more effective in its life-saving efforts and said it is not saving as many lives as it should be.

To support his point, Lt Gen Campose cited the example of Ukraine as a point in case, where loss of life has been widely recognized, yet concrete actions have not been taken to address the situation and thus not making it as relevant as it should be. This contradiction prompted him to emphasize the importance of reforms within the UN. He concurred with Mr Gupta's viewpoint on the necessity of reforms to address the issue of this shortcomings in the relevance. According to Lt Gen Campose, the purpose of reforms is to either maintain or restore peace. However, he noted that if lives continue to be lost due to a lack of action or apathy to bring the war to an end, there is something amiss with the reforms. He assured the audience those considerable efforts have been made, including extensive studies, to identify the necessary actions.

Transitioning to the practical aspect of peacekeeping, Lt Gen Campose stressed the importance of partnerships on the ground by keeping the relevance and reforms aside. He explained that the presence of more civilians is an indicator of more success of military. As the military achieves greater success, it can gradually reduce its presence, allowing civil agencies focused on human development and social causes to actively engage and make a visible impact. This happens when there is close connection from both sides. Lt Gen Campose emphasized the need for close coordination and collaboration between the civil and military sides. Both sides should not be an "us versus them" mentality. Drawing from his previous seminar experiences, Lt Gen Campose underscored the significance of both civil and military

actors working together, recognizing their respective roles, and striving to find common ground. He concluded his remarks by emphasizing the importance of achieving unity and cooperation between the two sides for effective peacekeeping efforts.

**Q1. How does one implement effectively exit strategies by ensuring the intended objectives are achieved? The participant sought insight into the process of setting a date for the withdrawal of peacekeeping forces and how to measure the success of the mission.**

Ambassador Asoke Mukerji: The answer lies in how the mandate is formulated. Although these mandates are not explicitly documented in a charter, they are considered the rights that member states have taken for themselves. According to him, the exit strategy and exit date must come from the draft of the mandate. However, he acknowledged that if the permanent member with the power to veto, also known as the "pen holders," disagrees, it becomes challenging to reach a consensus. He mentioned that the "pen holders" are not amenable to rational logic but are responsive to two factors: peer pressure and internal negotiations. He then highlighted the ongoing intense negotiations between Russia, China, and the United States in New York, where they are vying for top jobs in the United Nations as he mentions "Political for United States, Counterterrorism for Russia, and Development for China." He also mentions that in media it may appear as if China is a bad person for the United States, but in reality, in New York these five are together. He further mentioned "the sooner the world wakes up to that, the better."

To address this challenge, Mr. Mukerji proposed a solution is to have exit date passed come out of General Assembly Resolution and to force that language to come into the Security Council. It has been played optically and substantially. Mr. Mukerji acknowledged that confronting the issue of veto power is a significant obstacle, as it requires finding a solution that goes beyond competing for win-win outcomes. He cited the example of France's initiative to limit the use of the veto, which has not garnered support from the United States.

In addition to this, Lt Gen Philip Campose highlighted the influence of budget considerations, quoting "whoever plays the piper plays the tune" stating that those who provide the funding ultimately have a significant say in the decision-making

process. He explained that despite the intentions and desires of other member states to have a greater say in peacekeeping matters, it often comes down to who is financing the operations. Lt Gen Campose further noted that specific contributions from countries are crucial to the continuation of missions, citing the uncertainty that arises every six months when decisions are made about whether a mission can continue based on the payment of specific contributions. Beneath the surface, Lt Gen Campose acknowledged that there are various complex factors at play, and decision-makers at the mission level are intimately familiar with the intricacies involved. The reliance on specific financial contributions adds an additional layer of uncertainty and challenges in ensuring the continuity of peacekeeping efforts. In light of these considerations, He expressed the need for comprehensive reforms in the way UN peacekeeping operations are conducted. He emphasized that without reform, similar problems will persist even fifty years from now. The call for reform is rooted in the understanding that addressing the underlying issues, such as funding dynamics and decision-making processes, is essential for the long-term success and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions.

**Q2. How viable is the creation of an alternative organization with revised power structures?**

Shri Prakash Gupta: As on date, the United Nation is the only organisation which has the convening power in which 193 member states are on an equal platform through its General Assembly. The UN plays a crucial role in addressing global thematic issues and setting global standards. He mentions that “you need a body where all members states are invested equally,” giving the example of the UNFCCC process with reference to Vanuatu and Tuvalu seeing heavy climate change, stating that these countries are confident that their voice carries the same weight as major emitters or influential countries of the world and will still be invested in the UN as it sees a level playing field.

The challenges here is within the Security Council because of the lack of a level playing field structurally, which raises the credibility, concerns and hampers its effectiveness in resolving international peace and security threats. He noted the emergence of regional bodies are coming forefront as how to address the regional disputes. Examples he cited included the G20, which came together as an

economical grouping after the 2008 world financial crisis, is also going heavily on political issues. Solution would have to be found if global bodies tend to fail in delivering solutions to the time, and therefore, one will have a lot of regional bodies, mentioning BRICS, SCO, QUAD and lots of plurilateral formations. They are substitutes to what the UN represents but need for an upgraded version of the UN as it approaches its 80th anniversary of the UN.

Lt Gen Philip Campose expressed his agreement and shared his perspective. It is not possible to create an alternative organization, highlighting the complexity of the issue and the extensive work already being done by the UN. He emphasized the UN's multifaceted contributions in various areas such as human development, environmental concerns, and trade over the 75 years. He acknowledged that while the relevance of the UN may be questioned due to structural limitations yet it remains an essential global organization.

Mr. Shombi Sharp concurred with the sentiments expressed by the other panellists, emphasizing the need to invest in making the UN as an existence platform and focus should be on reform rather than an alternative organisation as it would only exacerbate existing challenges.

**Q3. What is the role of the UN in mediating between host governments and deployed forces apart from an exit strategy, especially in situations where governments may want the forces to leave due to their political interests?**

Mr. Asoke Mukerji: He stated that he had not personally encountered with such situations in the past. However, he emphasized an important point to consider when addressing this question. He highlighted that the United Nations peacekeeping forces are deployed to a territory only with the agreement of the host country. This is facilitated through a negotiated "status of forces agreement" between the United Nations and the country in question. This agreement allows the peacekeepers to operate within the host country's jurisdiction. Mukerji pointed out that without this agreement, discussions about intervention and regime change would arise, which are sensitive subjects in the international community after the instances in Libya in 2011. Therefore, the willingness of the host country to maintain the presence of peacekeeping forces becomes crucial. Mr. Mukerji further noted that the permanent

members of the United Nations have different approaches to persuade host governments in such situations.

Lt. Gen. Philip Campose added to the discussion by highlighting the evolving approach of the UN to peacekeeping operations. He acknowledged that while the UN's traditional stance was to remain engaged in conflicts once they were recognized, other nations may perceive the situation differently. He recognized that this difference in perspective could lead to ongoing debates. He suggested that reforms might be necessary to address these challenges effectively.



### ***Closing remarks by the VCOAS***

Lt Gen Suchindra Kumar, AVSM, YSM\*\*, VSM started his closing address by alluding to the critical role played by the UN peacekeepers in promoting stability and security amidst conflict and turmoil. The United Nations, was founded on the principles of peace, justice, equality, and the vision of a world where conflicts are resolved through dialogue and understanding rather than violence. In celebrating the achievements of peacekeeping missions, one must acknowledge that peace is not

easily attained; it requires collaboration, diplomacy, and an unwavering commitment from the international community.

It is also a time to remember the immense challenges that peacekeepers face. Peacekeepers operate, in complex and dynamic environments where they navigate through cultural, social, and political complexities. They often find themselves in harm's way, working diligently to protect civilians, support democratic processes, and rebuild shattered communities. This bravery deserves deepest admiration and gratitude. Today's commemorative seminar is an honour to these brave UN peacekeepers.

He expressed the collective appreciation and gratitude to all guest speakers, both who attended physically and virtually, and shared their invaluable insights and knowledge.

He extended compliments to the Centre of Land Warfare Studies, New Delhi, the organizing committee, and the support staff who have worked tirelessly behind the scenes to ensure the smooth execution of this seminar. Finally, he thanked the audience for active participation, thoughtful contributions, questions, and unwavering commitment to the cause of peace. At the conclusion of the seminar, he suggested that one carries forward the insights and inspiration gained from the seminar.



## **CONCEPT NOTE**

### **“A SAGA COMMEMORATING 75 YEARS OF UN PEACEKEEPING”** **JOINT SEMINAR ON INTERNATIONAL DAY OF UN PEACEKEEPERS** **2023**



### **“PEACEKEEPERS DAY @75 - RELEVANCE, REFORMS AND** **PARTNERSHIPS IN UN PKO's”**

#### **Introduction**

1. The 'International Day of UN Peacekeepers' is celebrated on 29th May annually as a tribute to the first peacekeeping mission United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) which commenced on 29 May 1948. The year 2023 marks the Seventy Fifth year of Peacekeeping Missions by the World Body. The 'International Day of UN Peacekeepers' offers a chance to pay tribute to the uniformed and civilian personnel's invaluable contribution to the work of the Organization and to honour nearly 4,200 peacekeepers who have lost their lives serving under the UN flag since 1948. At the platinum jubilee of its inception, one can discern that the Peacekeeping of the yore is hardly the Peacekeeping of today. Much of it has gone through changes of evolution, transformation and a unique set of challenges, which have been witnessed in the past 71 missions. It is but apt that the theme for the seminar jointly organised by the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK) for the upcoming International Day of UN Peacekeepers 2023 is **“Peacekeepers Day @75 - Relevance, Reforms and Partnerships in UN PKO's”**.

2. Peacekeeping has helped save countless lives and brought peace and stability to many countries over the decades. It has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. Peacekeeping has unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing an ability to deploy troops and police from around the globe, sustain them and integrate them with civilian peacekeepers to advance multidimensional mandates. UN peacekeepers provide security, political and peacebuilding support to help countries make an early transition from conflict to peace. Guided by the three principles of 'Consent of the parties to the Conflict', 'Impartiality' and 'Non-use of force except in self-

defence and defence of the mandate', Peacekeeping is flexible and over the past two decades has been deployed in many configurations. There are currently 12 UN peacekeeping operations deployed on three continents.

3. Today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of former combatants; support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law. UN peacekeeping is a unique global partnership. It brings together the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, troop and police contributors and the host governments in a combined effort to maintain international peace and security. Its strength lies in the legitimacy of the UN Charter and in the wide range of contributing countries that participate and provide precious resources. The Joint CLAWS-CUNPK Seminar is focussed on the sub themes as elaborated in succeeding paragraphs.

### ***Sub Theme 1 - Relevance of UNPKOs in An Evolving World Order***

4. After the Second World War, the USA, in partnership with its wartime allies, as well as Germany and Japan, brought into existence the UN and its affiliated funds, programs, agencies, and departments. The UN is also running many peacekeeping operations in various conflict-driven regions, with around 1,00,000 troops under its command. Though the UN Charter does not include peacekeeping operations among its duties, the organization has undertaken many such operations since 1948. Compared to the Cold War era, the last three decades has witnessed a steep increase in the number of such operations, primarily due to growing intra-state challenges to international security. Helping preserve security among its members, achieving sustainable economic development, improving human rights, protecting the global environment, and reducing poverty and hunger are the UN's core tasks. The current geopolitical environment is in a flux with increasing competition between the US and China.

5. While the Security Council with its veto-holder permanent members having a privileged status reflects the realist logic of the UN machine; the General Assembly, with its egalitarian membership, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice, embody the liberal spirit of the organization. The realist

goal of achieving peace and security on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in internal affairs has always contrasted with the liberal goal of improving human rights on the principles of achieving universal standards and “Responsibility to Protect”. The UN’s failure to bridge the gap between these two goals has become more conspicuous in recent years, as the primacy of Western powers has become increasingly contested by the rising non-Western powers in an emerging multipolar world order. The recent Russia- Ukraine Conflict is a stark reminder of how the UN has been crippled by Veto powers to intervene strongly and bring a peaceful settlement to the conflict. So should the UN be restricted only to manage peace in the developing world and not bother about conflicts that happen in the developed world?

6. Today, the world is witnessing conflict that are being driven by disruptive technology, economic competition, energy security and societal changes. Besides, territorial disputes, radical extremism, ethnic tensions and socio-economic disparities drive modern day conflicts. The UN being a multilateral organisation has a huge opportunity to focus on developing friendly relations among nations and achieving international cooperation for the betterment of humankind. The UN, set up 78 years ago, with the principal aim of maintaining world peace and security needs reforms in order to strengthen its effectiveness as a multilateral organization, bring more transparency to the institution and enhance its credibility. Amongst the various reforms of the UN, the reform of the UNSC is crucial which includes expanding both the size of permanent membership as well as the expansion of the UNSC membership, in line with the global realities of today. With no major headway going into this crucial aspect, the relevance of the UN and the universality of peace keeping operations has thus come into question.

### ***Sub Theme 2- Peacekeeping Partnerships***

7. Every day, UN peacekeepers work to protect millions of vulnerable people in the world’s most fragile and increasingly dangerous places. UN peacekeeping is a political endeavour dedicated to helping enable and secure lasting peace using uniformed and civilian components. From protecting civilians in war-torn areas and building social cohesion, ensuring the safe delivery of humanitarian aid, rebuilding infrastructure, and providing livelihood skills to impoverished communities,

peacekeepers work with local and international partners to help create conditions for political solutions and sustainable development. There is a need to understand both the military as well as civilian perspective of this crucial aspect.

8. Partnership is one of the 8 agendas of the UN Secretary General's A4P. The UN's partnerships with Member States, host nation, civil society, non-governmental organizations, UN agencies and other parties are fundamental to bringing in tangible improvements in the lives of ordinary people, in areas such as economic development, the rule of law, women's rights, human rights, health and education. Some of the areas where the UN can secure partnerships are:-

(a) Climate change exacerbates the risk of conflict. Increasing drought, desertification, flooding, food insecurity, and water and energy scarcity in many parts of the world is making it harder for conflict-affected communities to rebuild their lives. UN Peacekeeping serves on the front line of these compounding crises, while working to reduce its own environmental impact.

(b) Since the onset of COVID-19, peacekeepers have continued to protect civilians from violence and maintain peace, while also supporting national responses to the pandemic. The necessity of securing and maintaining partnerships has been never greater than before.

(c) For peace to last, conflict-affected communities must be supported to rebuild livelihoods so that they can live in dignity. Peacekeepers deliver and fund vocational and skills training workshops and services to help local communities generate income to support their families.

(d) Peacekeeping missions work with host governments to build and improve national capacities to maintain security, law and order, and effective policing and justice mechanisms. Areas such as Security Sector Reforms (SSR) and Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) help securing valuable partnerships.

(e) For sustainable peace and development, we need the leadership of women and youth in shaping the solutions that impact their lives. UN Peacekeeping operations support the meaningful engagement of women and

youth in peace processes to ensure that their priorities are central to security and political decisions.

(f) Partnerships for capacity and capability building of other member nations to develop their capacities for deployment in UN Peace Operations.

### ***Conclusion***

9. The CLAWS-CUNPK joint seminar aims at bringing about a meaningful discussion and generating novel thoughts on the subject, by experts from the professional as well as academic arena, so as to formulate ideas about where the future path lies. The seminar will be of help in guiding future policy makers and practitioners to strengthen roles, development of processes and in charting a more purposeful course for UN PKOs.

**EVENT PROGRAMME**  
**SEMINAR ON 13 JUNE 2023**

<b><u>S.No</u></b>	<b><u>Time</u></b>	<b><u>Event</u></b>	<b><u>Remarks</u></b>
1.	0930Hr - 1000Hr	Registration & Tea	
2.	1000Hr	All to be seated in Ashoka Hall	
<b><u>Opening Session</u></b>			
3.	1030Hr	Arrival of Honourable RM	
4.	1030Hr - 1033Hr	Opening remarks by COAS	
5.	1033Hr - 1045Hr	Keynote Address by Honourable RM	
6.	1045Hr - 1049Hr	Video on India's Peacekeeping Journey over 75 years	
7.	1049Hr - 1051Hr	UN Secy Gen Message by Mr Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator	
8.	1051Hr - 1052Hr	One Minute Silence	
9.	1052Hr - 1053Hr	Unveiling of UN Photo Album	
10.	1053Hr - 1100Hr	Group Photo	
11.	1100Hr	Departure of Honourable RM	
<b><u>Commemorative Session</u></b>			
12.	1100Hr - 1115Hr	Tea Break	
13.	1115Hr - 1125Hr	Message by Amb Ruchira Kamboj, Permanent Representative of India to United Nations	Pre-Recorded address
14.	1125Hr - 1140Hr	Overview of Indian UN Peacekeeping	Psn by DG SD
15.	1145Hr - 1200Hr	A historical assessment of Indian Army in UN Peacekeeping	Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd), Former HoM & Force Cdr UNPROFOR & Padma Bhushan Awardee
16.	1200Hr - 1225Hr	Q & A	

<u>S.No</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<p align="center"><b><u>Ideation Session</u></b>  <b><u>Peacekeepers Day @75 - Relevance, Reforms And Partnerships In UN PKO's</u></b></p>			
17.	1230Hr - 1235Hr	Welcome Remarks & Introduction by the Chair	Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM*, VSM (Retd), Former VCOAS, Distinguished Fellow, CLAWS
18.	1235Hr - 1250Hr	Sub Theme-1: Relevance of UNPKOs in an Evolving World Order	Amb Asoke Mukerji, Former Permanent Representative of India to the UN
19.	1250Hr - 1305Hr	Challenges for the peacekeepers in Implementing 'protection of civilian capitals' mandate effectively	Commandant BIPSOT on Video Conferencing
20.	1305Hr - 1320Hr	Peacekeeping Partnerships – Civilian Perspective	Mr Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator to India
21.	1320Hr - 1335Hr	Peacekeeping Partnerships – Military Perspective	Maj Gen Patrick Cammaert, Former Force Cdr UNMEE, Former GOC MONUC & ex MILAD to UN Secy-Gen on Video Conferencing
22.	1335Hr - 1350Hr	Future Contours of India in UN peacekeeping: MEA Perspective	Shri Prakash Gupta, Joint Secy (UNP), MEA
23.	1350Hr - 1405Hr	Closing Remarks by Chair including Q & A with Panelists	Lt Gen Philip Campose PVSM, AVSM*, VSM (Retd)
24.	1405Hr - 1410Hr	Closing Remarks	VCOAS
25.	1410Hr Onwards	Lunch	