Seminar Report

International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers: 2022

CUNPK-CLAWS Joint Seminar

RELEVANCE OF UN PEACE OPERATIONS IN CHANGING WORLD ORDER

30 May 2022
Samrastha Auditorium
Dr. Ambedkar International Centre





CLAWS Director: Lt Gen (Dr.) Ranbir Singh, PVSM, AVSM**, YSM, SM (Retd)

CLAWS Seminar Co-ordinator(s): Col V Vidyashankar

CLAWS Rapporteur: Ms. Anuradha Oinam & Ms. Namita Barthwal



Centre for Land Warfare Studies

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

Phone: +91-11-25691308; Fax: +91-11-25692347

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

CLAWS Army No. 33098

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 subconventional conflicts and terrorism. CLAWS conducts research that is futuristic in outlook and policy-oriented in approach.

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

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

All rights reserved.

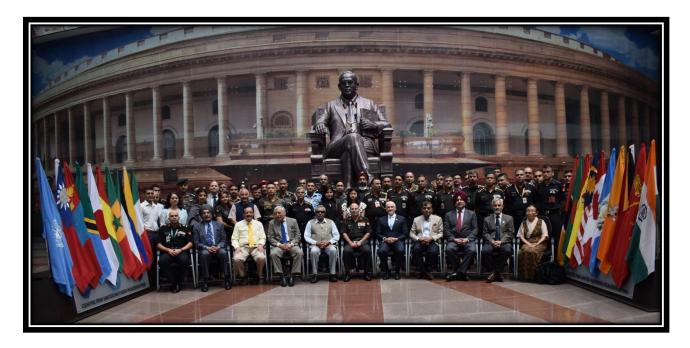
Disclaimer: The views expressed and suggestions made in the Issue Brief (s) are solely of the author(s) in his/her personal capacity and do not have any official endorsement. Attributability of the contents lies purely with author. The contents of this paper are based on the analysis of materials accessed from open sources. The contents, therefore, may 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.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	04
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	05
DETAILED REPORT	07
INAUGURAL SESSION	09
SESSION I: EVOLVING RESPONSE STRATEGY FOR PEACE OPERATIONS TO ADAPT EMERGING CHALLENGES	13
SESSION II: ASSESS INDIA'S CAPABILITY TO INFLUENCE GLOBAL SECURITY CRISIS OUTCOMES	18
VOTE OF THANKS BY DG SD	23
CONCLUDING REMARKS BY DIRECTOR, CLAWS	24
CONCEPT NOTE	26
PROGRAMME SCHEDULE	28

INTRODUCTION

To commemorate the International Day of United Nations (UN) Peacekeepers, the Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK) and Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) organised a joint seminar titled "Relevance of UN Peace Operations in Changing World Order" on 30 May 2022 at the Dr. Ambedkar International 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 was "The Power of Partnerships".



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The importance and worth of peace operations is implicit and will continue to evolve in the changing world dynamics.
- The changing contours of conflict, evolving strategic environment, changing power equations and evolving global or regional security structures, have a direct bearing on the 'design and conduct' of peacekeeping operations.
- Deployment in UNPK missions is conventional in nature. Hence, to be dynamic, it needs
 a more considerable manoeuvre element. There is a need to focus on 'light footprints on
 the ground' as mere 'fortressing' is not an answer. Although, troops prioritise hybrid
 warfare, but they end up fighting a conventional war—this gap needs to be reduced.
- The formation of 'Rapidly Deployable Forces' as reserve peacekeepers within the conflict
 zone or within the member state(s), was required due to the changing nature of conflicts.
 It focusses on strategic & tactical mobility, vertical & horizontal mobility assets and inbuilt
 logistics echelons to react to any developing situation for rapid and swift deployment
 across the globe.
- There is a requirement to make the peacekeepers technologically savvy so that they are
 able to manage the situation effectively in operational areas; Technology infusion should
 specifically cater for ISR, communication, administration and logistics. Moreover,
 technology is a supportive element and not a primary aspect of the battlefield.
- Emerging trends of conflict, most notably the influence of new technologies, growing
 impact of climate change on security and rapid urbanisation/ migration, will change the
 risk profiles around the world. These trends heavily influence the way UNPK operations
 are designed and conducted— the UN system needs to adapt to these trends.
- A coherent security and peacebuilding strategy, that supports the political system, is required. The success of peacekeeping operations largely depend on an active and sustainable political process.
- With the changing conflict dynamics, peacekeeping operations should be designed based on a pragmatic 'entry and exit strategy' with definable objectives and missions.
- The UNPK missions must rely on soft power techniques as far as critical zones are concerned.
- Integrating civil and military components, in the planning and execution of missions, is necessary to ensure optimum transformation from 'Peacekeeping' or 'Peace Enforcement' to 'Peace Building'.
- Conducting operations in intra-state conflict, carries with them some serious problems

- that merit recognition and consequent attention in terms of mandate formulation and resourcing—both personnel and equipment.
- Peacebuilding should be addressed by specialised agencies that are organised & equipped for the specific purpose and requires sustained professional efforts to serve the intended purpose of restoration of institutions and infrastructure.
- It is necessary to develop capacities through training and ensure asset availability both in the conflict zone and in the Troop Contributing Countries (TCC).
- India's present contribution to UN peacekeeping is one-dimensional, that is with focus on troop contribution. This invariably precludes optimal exploitation of India's other strengths and capabilities. There is scope and opportunity to further leverage its capabilities.
- Given its troop contribution to the UN, India can leverage in contributing beyond its substantive contributions to peacekeeping operations like providing enablers and should also work towards a larger aim of conflict resolution.

DETAILED REPORT

The aspects enumerated in the report are based on deliberations by panelists. These do not conform to the views of the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) or that of the Indian Army or the Ministry of Defence, Government of India. The seminar was jointly organised by the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) and the Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK) on "Relevance of UN Peace Operations in Changing World Order" at Samrastha Auditorium, Dr. Ambedkar International Centre, New Delhi, on 30 May 2022.

Aim

The recent conflict between Russia and Ukraine have brought to the fore numerous issues, such as the need for review/expansion of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. While the present contribution of UN peacekeeping operations, primarily in Africa and the Middle East, is noteworthy and credible, there still exists an urgent need to reassess the role and relevance of the UN in the present world order.

Modalities of the Conduct

The one-day seminar was divided into three sessions: The Inaugural Session was held to set the stage for the seminar. The main seminar was held over two sessions. Lt Gen (Dr.) Ranbir Singh, PVSM, AVSM**, YSM, SM (Retd), Director CLAWS, delivered the opening address for the inaugural session followed by Mr. Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator in India who read out the UN Secretary General's message. After observing two minute silence to honour all Peacekeepers, the keynote address was delivered by the Chief Guest, Lt Gen Ravin Khosla, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, DCOAS (IS&C).

The first session of the seminar was themed as 'Evolving Response Strategy for Peace Operations to Adapt Emerging Challenges'. The session was chaired by Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, Vrc (Retd), Former Head of Mission and Force Commander UNPROFOR and Padma Bhushan Awardee. The speakers for the session were Lt Gen JS Lidder, UYSM, AVSM (Retd), Former Force Commander and Deputy SRSG, UNMIS and Amb Kanwal Sibal Former Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and a Padma Shri Awardee. The speakers spoke on the topics Peacekeepers Dilemma: Ending and Transforming New Conflicts and Russia- Ukraine Conflict: India's Response as a Global Stakeholder in Geopolitics and Security respectively.

The second session titled 'Assess India's Capability to Influence Global Security Crisis Outcomes' was chaired by Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM**, VSM (Retd), Former VCOAS. The first speaker of the session— Maj Gen (Dr.) AK Bardalai, VSM (Retd), Former Deputy Head of the Mission and Deputy Force Commander, UNIFIL, delivered his talk on the topic India's Role in the UN Peace Operations: Graduating From Troop Contribution to Capacity Building; The second speaker for the session—Dr. Yeshi Choedon, Professor, at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament (CIPOD), JNU, spoke on 'Need to Expand the Permanent Membership of UN Security Council for Equitable Representation. The Vote of Thanks was delivered by Lt Gen Michael AJ Fernandez, VSM, DGSD and the Closing Address was delivered by Director, CLAWS.

INAUGURAL SESSION



Opening Address



Lieutenant General (Dr.) Ranbir Singh, PVSM, AVSM**, YSM, SM (Retd)

Director CLAWS

Delivering the opening address, Lt Gen (Dr.) Ranbir Singh, PVSM, AVSM**, YSM, SM (Retd), Director CLAWS, briefly described the relevance of UN Peacekeeping. The UN is an internationally represented multilateral organisation that focuses on maintaining international peace and security, protecting human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, promoting sustainable 9 | Relevance of UN Peace Operations in Changing World Order

development, upholding international law, developing friendly relations among nations and achieving international cooperation for the betterment of humankind. One of UN's key agenda is the conduct of Peacekeeping Missions, which was started soon after the establishment of the UN. It involved monitoring ceasefires and peace agreements through armed observers, subsequently supplemented with armed battalions. Primary tasks of the UN Peacekeepers involve protection of civilians during conflicts, actively prevent conflict, reducing violence, strengthening security and empowering national authorities to effectively perform their responsibilities. In addition, the UN Peacekeepers "help host countries become more resilient to conflict, thereby laying the groundwork to sustain long-term peace, including addressing the root cause".

Peacekeeping personnel constantly confront danger. However, today, they operate in a far more complex and challenging environment, characterised by a history of unending violence and a constantly evolving landscape in the political, diplomatic and security dimensions. Evolved over 71 missions worldwide, the UN Peacekeepers, in the present time, are the most prominent and visible representation of the UN.

Reading out of UN Secretary General's Message



Mr. Shombi Sharp
UN Resident Coordinator in India

Mr. Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator, lauded India's leadership in UN Peacekeeping operations and highlighted their role during the COVID-19 pandemic. He read out the UN Secretary General's message: "Today, we honour the more than one million women and men who have served as United Nations Peacekeepers since 1948. We pay tribute to the nearly 4,200 heroes and heroines who sacrificed their lives in the cause of peace. And we are

reminded of an age-old truth: peace can never be taken for granted. Peace is the prize. We are deeply grateful to the 87,000 civilian, police and military personnel, now serving under the UN flag, who are helping to realise the 'prize of peace' worldwide. They face enormous challenges.

Rising violence against peacekeepers has made their work even more dangerous. Restrictions due to the pandemic have made it more difficult. But United Nations Peacekeepers continue to serve with distinction as partners for peace. This year, we focus on the 'Power of Partnerships'. We know that peace is won when governments and societies join forces to resolve differences through dialogue, build a culture of non-violence, and protect the most vulnerable. Around the globe, UN Peacekeepers work with Member States, civil society, humanitarians, the media, the communities they serve and many others, to foster peace, protect civilians, promote human rights and the rule of law and improve the lives of millions of people. Today and every day, we salute their dedication in helping societies turn away from conflict, towards a more peaceful and prosperous future for all. We are forever in their debt".

Keynote Address by the DCOAS (IS & C), Chief Guest



Lieutenant General Ravin Khosla, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM DCOAS, (IS&C)

Lt Gen Ravin Khosla, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, DCOAS, (IS&C) in his Keynote Address stated that with the end of the Cold War, the concepts and principles of UN Peacekeeping underwent a radical churn because peacekeepers began to be increasingly deployed for addressing intrastate conflicts in failed/fragile states and in situations involving asymmetric use of force, including violent extremist groups.

The evolution has been manifested by the decline in the number of **Chapter VI missions** which involved *Pacific Settlement of Disputes* and an increase in multi-domain and hybrid related **Chapter VII missions**, which focusses on *Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression*. The changing nature of conflicts is driven by the evolving world order, disruptive technology, and economic competition including energy security and societal changes. The emerging conflicts will no longer be products of conventional interstate rivalries but will manifest economic, demographic, ethnic, religious and societal fault lines, which are transnational in nature. Besides, territorial disputes, radical extremism, ethnic tensions and socio-economic disparities, exploited by overarching political agendas, will be drivers of modern day conflicts.

Session I: Evolving Response Strategy for Peace Operations to Adapt Emerging Challenges

Opening remarks by the Chair



Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, Vrc (Retd)
Former HOM and Force Cdr UNPROFOR

Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, Vrc (Retd), stated that, since its founding in 1945, the UN has come a long way in the past seven and half decades of its existence. The founders of the UN had framed and endorsed the charter of the UN based on the ideals and principles that they hoped will steer the future of mankind away from a recurrence of world war like situation. However, we live in a 'dual world' wherein ideals and principles are not necessarily implemented in letter and spirit, resulting in international community getting involved in Cold War. As a result, 'dealing with threats to international peace and security', as envisaged in the UN Charter, could not be implemented fully.

The UN have to come up with adhoc mechanisms to cope with the emerging challenges that threatens the traditional way of peacekeeping. With the end of cold war, the peacekeepers had to contend far more challenging situations, thrown at them by an increasing number of intra-state conflicts. These conflicts led UN to pay more attention to its mandate formulation and resource mobilisation, both in terms of personnel and equipment. This further led the UN to focus on the

'Protection of Civilians' in mission areas and the consequent need for application of force by UN Peacekeepers to protect civilians.

The Chair highlighted certain sensitive issues for the first session: *Firstly*, the alacrity with which major powers influence the UN through its peace operations, to assume responsibility for what they should be themselves addressing under Chapter VII. *Secondly*, the concept of 'Early Exit Strategy' is being impeded by inclusion of Peace Building into peacekeeping missions for whom specialist agencies are needed, organised and equipped for the purpose. *Thirdly*, it is a matter of some irony that in the execution of peacekeeping missions today, when the UN requires trained manpower and 'state-of-the-art' equipment, countries that have the capacity (namely, the developed world) have withdrawn from UN peacekeeping, leaving the arduous task of peacekeeping to the developing world.



Sub Theme 1: Talk on Peacekeepers Dilemma: Ending and Transforming New Conflicts

Lieutenant General JS Lidder, UYSM, AVSM (Retd) Former Force Cdr and Deputy SRSG, UNMIS

During this panel, Lt Gen JS Lidder, UYSM, AVSM (Retd) spoke on some contemporary trends, challenges and dilemmas prevalent in UN Peace Operations. He elucidated that, new conflicts have paved way for unprecedented violence and unconventional threats that have resulted in death and displacement.

A strategic uncertainty has prevailed due to blurred lines between conflict and post-conflict

narratives, proxy war and digital intrusion. Political ambiguities have driven the UN Security Council (UNSC) to be polarised. Conflicting interests of international community and regional players have added a new dimension. Prescriptive Mandates, leading to tick-box culture and centrality of Protection of Civilians (POC), are the new norms. Performance issues such as outcomes vis-a-vis successes, balancing risks with opportunities and resource management, are some of the growing challenges. Additionally, with respect to TCCs, taking account of varying responses such as 'traditional peacekeeping' mindsets, understanding of the use of force, command & control issues, gender mainstreaming, training & performance evaluation, assumes importance.

- A Good Exit Strategy Results From a Good Entrance Strategy. Peace operations must aim to attain sustainable peace, and the host nation must take over sustainable peace.
 While the peace process passes through three stages — stabilisation, transition and longterm development; an 'excellent entrance strategy' followed up with good 'monitoring and modifications' with mid-course corrections, will lead to a 'good exit strategy'.
- Strategic-Operational Connect. There is a need to look at an enlarged UNSC; consultation (TCCs in particular) for holistic mandates, synergy in partnerships, harmonising political primacy with military authority and promoting strategic culture, are some of the issues meriting attention. It is also essential for peacekeepers to understand that if they are working in an international environment, there must be 'heterogeneity' in their ideas. Otherwise, a 'homogeneously' trained body, no matter how good, would not be able to function.
- Leadership in UN Peacekeeping Missions. Leadership is central to UN Peacekeeping Missions. Selection of the leader is affected by multiple aspects, such as the UN's multiculturalism, geopolitics, and geo-economics. This nature of selection cannot change; but what the organisation can do is ensure quality training of the leader. Transforming leadership with integrated approach, conflict monitoring and adaptability by avoiding templates, encouraging vision and direction of senior mission leadership, civil-military joint planning and execution in field offices, are critical in ensuring effective leadership.
- Strategic Communication is a Critical Aspect of Peacebuilding. Public information is a
 component of peacekeeping. Facts are facts, but perception is reality. Once perception is
 built negative or positive, it rules the narrative. The weaponisation of social media has
 made perception management more intense and is the most significant danger today. In
 the age of media, conducting peacekeeping operations carefully is essential because one
 aberration could flare up internationally. There is fake news and disinformation, which
 keeps peacekeepers constantly under attack.

Sub Theme 2: Talk on Russia-Ukraine Conflict: India's Response as a Global Stakeholder in Geopolitics and Security



Ambassador Kanwal Sibal Former Foreign Secretary to the Government of India

Amb Kanwal Sibal highlighted that as an emerging challenge to the UN, the complexity of Russia-Ukraine conflict is pronounced and deepening as the war is still unfolding. The world, including India, is suffering in many ways, and gradually its effect on the international system will worsen progressively if the conflict gets prolonged. The role of the UN in the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict is heavily constrained due to the involvement of the Permanent Five (P5) member of the UNSC. However, the UN has involved itself in the Ukraine crisis by establishing humanitarian corridors— either evacuating civilians or providing humanitarian aid to those suffering in Ukraine.

India has abstained in all resolutions passed in both the UNSC and the UNGA against Russia except the resolution against the Bucha killings. By taking a well-crafted position in Ukraine's crisis, India ensured to observe the UN Charter that is to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of countries. In addition, it had asked for an immediate ceasefire to hostilities and strongly battled to deploy humanitarian aid to Ukraine.

India has been very successful in terms of diplomacy, and behind this, is the need to protect its national interest and geopolitics in mind. However, because of India's neutral position and unwillingness to condemn Russia, the West has criticised India for its precarious position. India's position is that, there is a need for reform of the international system so that India and other

developing countries could have more say in international governance— have a multipolar world. At the same time, India should continue to be a member of BRICS and other international organisations and also should continue to have long-term interest of maintaining an independent foreign policy and degree of strategic autonomy.

Concluding Remarks by the Chair

Building relations with the locals during missions is essential, but it depends upon the senior leadership, who have certain agendas that must be fulfilled. It is important to recognise the agenda and work within the system. Also, use of force is required whenever necessary. In 1962, the Indian Army was deployed in Congo, wherein use of force became a necessity; but we must recognise what goes with it, including 'infliction and acceptance' of casualties when use of force is mandated.

Session II: Assess India's Capability to Influence Global Security Crisis Outcomes

Opening remarks by the Chair



Lieutenant General Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM**, VSM (Retd)
Former VCOAS

Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM**, VSM (Retd), the Chair for the Second Session reflected upon his observations from his early experiences, as part of the UNPROFOR mission, which was being established. Any peacekeeping mission is a landmark event for the UN and over a period of time, it transformed itself from being a Peacekeeping Cell under the Department of Political Affairs to a 'separate' Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Peacekeeping has evolved from 'just an idea' to more practical implementation of the 'idea on ground'. "An Agenda for Peace" is a seminal document written by the then Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992, which conceptualised peacekeeping in context of that period. It describes UN Peace Operations in four heads – Preventive Diplomacy, Peace Making, Peacekeeping and Post Conflict Peace Building. As far as India is concerned, India have 'not grown' beyond Peacekeeping and have little to contribute to the other three heads. One of the reasons being India's need for expansion of the permanent seat of UNSC and India's aspirations for the same. Hence, there is a need to analyse India's abilities to address issues beyond Peacekeeping.

Sub Theme 1: Talk on India's Role in UN Peace Operations: Graduating from Troop Contribution to Capacity Building



Major General (Dr.) AK Bardalai, VSM (Retd)
Former Deputy Head of the Mission and Deputy Force Commander, UNIFIL

Maj Gen (Dr.) AK Bardalai, VSM (Retd), during this panel, spoke about the long history of chequered peacekeeping efforts— the UN had its share of few failures too. Its positive contribution of bringing stability to conflict zone is an important aspect that is rarely spoken about and needs to be acknowledged. The UN had undertaken several reviews to improve its peacekeeping functions. In a sense, the UN is building its capability to make peacekeeping more effective. The elements that constitute this capability development includes troop contribution, mandate formulation, financial support, obtaining consent from parties to the conflict, approach to the concept of peacekeeping and formulation of policies by the UN. In a nutshell, it is anything that enables peace operations and motivates the peacekeeper to deliver on ground.

India plays a vital leadership role in UN Peacekeeping history as one of the largest active contributor of troops, many of whom had sacrificed their lives for peace. While India's contribution is laudable and one of the best, an argument that arises is whether UN can do without Indian contribution, which is questionable. Those who make policy decisions are rarely involved in difficult peace operations involving peacekeeping. Hence, they seek troop contributors who do not hesitate to implement the plans made by policy makers. When the Former Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced the concept of 'Agenda for Peace', he underlined the "use of peacemaking to remove the cause of conflict; engage in peacekeeping

to resolve the issues that led to the conflict and remain standby to assist in Peacebuilding in different conflicts". It relates to capacity/capability building by balancing the three components viz. Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding which needs to work in tandem in conflict areas. The success of UNTAC Mission in Cambodia is a unique example of this fine balance.

Given India's troop contribution to the UN, there is scope and opportunity to leverage India's capabilities. India can leverage in contributing beyond the substantive contributions to peacekeeping like 'providing enablers' and should also contribute towards the larger aim of 'conflict resolution'. Involving itself in programs like the Triangular Partnership Programme (TPP) with UN and Mission Area, can augment Indian contribution.

Sub Theme 2: Talk on Need to Expand the Permanent Membership of UN Security Council for Equitable Representation



Dr. Yeshi Choedon

Professor, Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament (CIPOD), JNU

Dr. Yeshi Choedon articulated that with respect to the expansion of the members of UNSC (both permanent and non-permanent membership) it is important that all the countries especially developing countries are given equitable representation. Undoubtedly, UNSC is one of the major and the most powerful organ of the UN, which can make decisions on behalf of all the members of the UN.

Increased activism in the UNSC, during the post-Cold War period, led to more decisions being unanimously taken by the Permanent Five (P5)— this kind of change and activism in the UNSC enables it to perform its expectations in the UN charter. But soon, this expectation was delayed, and P5 misused their power—while making decisions in the UNSC, major decisions were decided in a closed meeting comprising only of the P5. Even the non-permanent members of the UNSC did not have any role in the decision-making process. However, most of such decisions were related to the conflicts in developing countries. At the same time, implementation of these decisions, regarding peacekeeping and peacebuilding, is fulfilled by the developing countries. Therefore, there is a need to expand the members of the UNSC.

Under these contextual situations, there was a rise in the demand for reforms at UNSC— to make it more representative and effective. The expansion of both permanent and non-permanent members, and the working system of the UNSC through an Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG), began from 1992 onwards. However, there were four issues that members tried to conclude on, regarding the reforms:

- Future of the Security Council. The Western members represented small number in sizes, and developing countries were much larger than the UNSC, to make it more representable.
- Categories of Membership. What kind of membership should increase amongst permanent and non-permanent members? Some countries did not want to increase the number of permanent members.
- *Criteria for Membership.* There were many differences among the member countries regarding this issue.
- Veto Power. Debates on whether to have the 'veto power' or not if the number of members increased, were also considered.

It is urgent and essential for the global community, member countries, and peacekeepers to bring reform to the UNSC in order to enhance the relevance of the UNSC' effectiveness and legitimacy. The UNSC that exists today does not reflect the geopolitical power structure of the present time, as the number of UN members have increased from 51 to 193 since its inception. To reflect the changes that have taken place, it needs to reform. There are a series of problems in decision-making processes and functioning of the UN. Most importantly, although most items on the UNSC agenda are mainly related to the developing countries; but however, they neither have adequate representation in the permanent membership nor have effective representatives in the non-permanent membership categories.

The UNSC blurs the division between the mandate of UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKOs)— between Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement. The former has a distinct connotation. In the 2010 Comprehensive Performance Assessment System (CPAS) of UNPKOs, major powers including the P5 had emphasised on the accountability of only the UN military, police and the Force Commanders. TCCs, including India, should take part in the assessment. Assessment should not only be restricted to the peacekeepers but should also extend to members of the UN and the UN Secretariat.

Closing Remarks by the Chair

Beginning with the question of why India should become a permanent member, the Chair explained that, the world is run by the rule makers and followers. India needs to decide where it stands. In terms of activities beyond Peacekeeping, India has committed itself to initiatives in many countries like Afghanistan, facilitating their developmental assistance. However, a more significant issue is to assess India's ability to influence global security outcomes. There is a sense that India is unable/ not in a position to influence global security outcomes the way it wants. This is because India have to work a lot to be accepted regionally as a regional power or globally, as a global power. Also, the economy is essential. By developing its economy, India will automatically become a regional power.

Vote of Thanks by DG SD



Lieutenant General Michael AJ Fernandez, VSM DG SD

Lt Gen Michael AJ Fernandez, VSM stated that the seminar was quite timely and relevant. It left the participants with more questions than answers, as it should be, given the complexity of the subject and the panelist's ability to make the audience see through it.

The International Day of UN Peacekeepers is dedicated to the spirit of men and women in uniform serving, and those who served earlier under the UN flag especially those who laid down their lives in the 'cause for peace'. India's participation in UNPKO started in 1950 and till date India has contributed over 2,54,000 troops to this cause and 175 Indian personnel have made the supreme sacrifice to protect the UN mandate over the years. India is currently the third largest troop contributor and by the end of the year, is likely to be the second largest with additional troops likely to be deployed in UN missions. Today, troop contribution is our strength and the aspects discussed beyond troop contribution is still under consideration. The need of the hour is force enablers and to that end, India has pledged additional enablers to the UN.

On behalf of the Indian Army, the DG SD thanked the Chief Guest, DCOAS (IS &C), Resident Coordinator of the UN in India, the Chairs for both sessions and eminent panelists who spoke on different topics, which left an indelible impact on minds of the audience. He also thanked all the Blue Helmets from India and around the world for their magnificent contributions to the UN cause 23 | Relevance of UN Peace Operations in Changing World Order

and those who made the supreme sacrifice. He extended his thanks to all non-military personnel who are partnering with peace operations and working in synergy. He placed on record his sincere gratitude to CLAWS for taking the sterling initiative of conducting this annual seminar after a two year gap (due to the COVID pandemic) and making it successful, this being the fifth edition of the Joint CUNPK-CLAWS annual seminar. He further extended his thanks to the Office of the Resident Coordinator of UN in India for their wholesome support and assistance in making this event a success. The DG SD also thanked the UN Political Division of the MEA for their support to Indian Army including CUNPK activities and UN Peacekeeping Operations. He thanked the participants who took out time from their busy schedule to express solidarity to the cause of the peacekeeping and attended the seminar. In the end, he complimented the joint team of CUNPK and CLAWS who organised the event in a manner befitting the occasion.

UN PEACEKEEPERS' DAY SEMINAR 2022 Relevance of UN Peace Operations in Changing World Order 30 May 2022

Concluding Remarks by Director, CLAWS

Lieutenant General (Dr.) Ranbir Singh (Retd)
Director, CLAWS

Lt Gen (Dr.) Ranbir Singh (Retd), Director CLAWS started his concluding remarks by thanking the DCOAS (IS & C) and DG SD for giving the direction from Army HQ to both CLAWS and CUNPK to make this event a success. Their presence during the entire duration of the seminar have made the participants feel stronger as they represent the senior leadership in Army HQ; they

could take home these recommendations for consideration by UN HQ and for implementation.

He expressed his gratitude to the Chairs and Panelists of both the sessions who gave their views in a free, frank and unbiased manner. This was possible due to their wealth of experience and indepth knowledge of the UN Peacekeeping issues, right from the strategic to the tactical level. It clearly emerges that the success of UN peace operations depends largely on sustainable political processes. UN Peacekeeping is a noble calling and is an integral part of the world's efforts to maintain peace and security. UN peacekeeping helps host countries to become more resilient to conflict, laying the groundwork to sustain long-term peace, including addressing the root causes of conflict. The evolving contours of modern conflicts will pose a significant challenge for UN peacekeeping operations and endeavours. There is a comprehensive requirement to reform the UN processes to make them inclusive, resilient, and all-encompassing for prevention of conflict and betterment of humankind.

The previous sessions clearly brought out that the terms— Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding, all are not linear in nature but happens simultaneously. For the officers who are due to be deployed shortly on UN Peace Missions, the speakers have given them a fair idea of what are the expectations and challenges from a strategic perspective and thereby guided them to discharge their responsibilities to the best of abilities. Referring to a question from the audience on how to measure success in peacekeeping operations, he elaborated that, it is related to fulfilling of given mandates and the degree to which it is fulfilled, in terms of action by peacekeepers. Some of the important lessons derived out of these sessions includes building relationships, strategic communication and building political-diplomatic-military rapport including reaching out to non-state actors to ensuring peace. It is also important for the leadership to understand the mandates, expectations and the challenges that are posed.

It requires effort and time from all agencies to transform from a volatile situation to a stable political and social environment. Capacity building should be based on experience from significant troop-contributing countries through bilateral or multilateral partnerships and networks of regional peacekeeping training centres. The transformation of UN Peacekeeping Operations is the 'need of the hour'.

CONCEPT NOTE

The world order is rapidly evolving especially in the backdrop of outbreak of COVID-19. The trend of mutual dependence and globalisation is now receding with increased assertion from the global/ regional players. The current geopolitical situation prevailing in Europe, South Asia and East Asia involves one of the P 5 countries directly as a part of the conflict/ imbroglio. This has limited United Nations Security Council led initiatives almost in entirety, because of the Veto Power available with the main parties involved. The United Nations has been marginalised, as witnessed during the Afghanistan Crisis and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine War. The UN peacekeeping endeavours have failed to adapt to the emerging conflicts and hence defeated the very purpose of its existence.

India is one of the largest troop contributors to United Nations and has made significant contributions to stabilise volatile regions. The presence of Indian Army troops under the 'UN Flag' has provided substantial impetus to own national agenda. Considering own national interests, it is pertinent that UN peacekeeping operations remain relevant to the global dynamics. India's present contribution to United Nations peacekeeping is unidimensional that is with focus on troop contribution. This invariably precludes optimal exploitation of India's other strengths and capabilities.

In backdrop of the dynamic, ever evolving global security canvas, there exists a felt need to evolve a response strategy for peace operations to adapt to the emerging challenges. Transition of UN Missions from peacekeeping to peace building, strategy for drawdown of peacekeeping missions and a viable exit strategy, are doctrinal dilemmas facing the senior leadership and member states involved.

Recent developments in Europe with respect to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has brought to the fore numerous issues. The capability of nations, to influence global security crisis outcomes, role of United Nations in ending or transforming such conflicts and a comprehensive, flexible and realistic response strategy, are issues faced by the comity of nations. The presence of a permanent member of the UNSC in nearly all global conflicts across the globe, also highlights the need for a review/ expansion of the permanent members of the Security Council.

While, the present contribution of UN peacekeeping operations, primarily in Africa and the Middle East is noteworthy and credible, there exists an urgent need to reassess the role and relevance of United Nations in the present world order.

On the occasion of UN Peacekeepers Day 2022, a seminar is being organised jointly by CUNPK and CLAWS to commemorate the event. The seminar is planned over two sessions until lunch. The theme for the Seminar is "Relevance of UNPKO in the Changing World Order" with the following sub themes:

- Evolving Response Strategy (for Peacekeeping) to Adapt to Emerging Challenges.
- Assess India's Capability to Influence Global (Crisis) Outcomes through UN Peacekeeping.

RELEVANCE OF UN PEACE OPERATIONS IN CHANGING WORLD ORDER: JOINT CUNPK – CLAWS SEMINAR FOR UN PEACEKEEPERS DAY 2022: 30 MAY 2022 (MONDAY)

Time	Theme	Speakers	
0900-0930hr	Registration and Tea		
0930hr	Arrival of the Chief Guest	Lt Gen Ravin Khosla, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, DCOAS(IS &C)	
0930-1000hr	Inaugural Session		
0930-0940hr	Opening Address	Lt Gen(Dr) Ranbir Singh, PVSM, AVSM**, YSM, SM (Retd)	
0940-0950hr	Reading out of UN Secretary General's message and observance of two minutes silence	Mr Shombi Sharp, UN Resident Coordinator in India	
0950-1000hr	Keynote Address by the Chief Guest	Lt Gen Ravin Khosla, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, DCOAS(IS &C)	
1000-1030hr	Tea		
1030-1200hr	Session 1: Evolving Response strategy for peace operations to adapt to emerging challenges		
1030-1040hr	Opening Remarks by Chair	Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, Padma Bhushan, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd), Former HOM and Force Cdr UNPROFOR	
1040-1120hr	Peacekeepers Dilemma - Ending and transforming New Conflicts (incl Q & A)	Lt Gen JS Lidder, UYSM, AVSM (Retd), Former Force Cdr & Deputy SRSG, UNMIS	
1120-1150hr	Russia-Ukraine Conflict: India's response as a global stakeholder in geopolitics and security(incl Q & A)	Ambassador Kanwal Sibal	
1150-1200hr	Concluding remarks by the Chair		

Time	Theme	Speakers	
1150-1320hr	Session 2: Assess India's capability to influence global security crisis outcomes		
1200-1210hr	Opening Remarks by Chair	Lt Gen Philip Campose, PVSM, AVSM*, VSM (Retd), Former VCOAS	
1210-1240hr	India's role in UN peace operations: Graduating from troop contribution to capacity building (incl Q & A)	` '	
1240-1310hr	Need to expand the permanent Membership of UN Security Council for equitable representation (incl Q & A)	· ·	
1310-1320hr	Concluding remarks by the Chair		
1320-1330hr	Vote of thanks	Lt Gen Michael AJ Fernandez, VSM, DG SD	
1330-1350hr	Closing Address	Lt Gen (Dr) Ranbir Singh, PVSM, AVSM**, YSM, SM (Retd)	
1350hr onwards	Lunch and Interaction		