

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

From Military Intervention to Local Anti-Violence Efforts

Beyond Enforcing the Peace: The Role of Troops in Reconstruction

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Introduction

Thanks to North Western University, Chelsea, Soad, and Tracy for inviting me to speak today at the conference, "Human Rights and International Peacekeeping." It is an honour to join students and activists who are doing excellent work for protection of Human Rights and striving to make a peaceful world. Your courageous actions are a driving force for all the changes taking place in our world.

Let me start by quoting article 1 of 1 of the UN Charter which declares its first purpose and also is one of the best description of peacekeeping.

"To maintain international peace and security, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."

I will start my talk by having a critical look at United Nation's three largest peacekeeping operations Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Afghanistan and examine why they are not working.

I will look at the successful peacekeeping operations in places like Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador and Liberia and see what lessons can be learned from them for incorporating in the post conflict stage.

Keeping true to the title of the conference, "Beyond Enforcing Peace," I will explore how can we move on the goalposts of traditional peacekeeping to change it to the threats and challenges looming on the horizon as we grapple with the new conflicts of the 21st century – robotic warfare, climate change crisis, water shortages and socio-economic inequalities.

I will examine alternatives to war for peacekeeping which will require more work to end tensions and violence in the pre conflict stage when the tensions are building between societies/tribes before the start of a conflict. This will avoid the unnecessary expense of deploying peacekeepers for a short or long time. As UNESCO Declaration of Culture of Peace states, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

To end violence we need to challenge structural violence of elitism, racism, sexism and nationalism. We should also eliminate gun, knife and machete crimes which are happening on a regular basis in our society. 780 million guns are in circulation world wide and 5 to 6 million are manufactured on a yearly basis. For example, for a population of 300 million, US have 300 million guns. Mass Shootings in US occur every 4 to 6 weeks, the recent one being at Newtown, Connecticut where 20 schoolchildren were killed. Our main task is, in US and elsewhere to not only work for adopting policies to outlaw or control guns, but also for ending culture of violence.

Before I look critically at the failed peacekeeping operations, it will be wise to remind ourselves that every day of the week around the clock, invaluable work is being done by UN to improve the lives of millions of people – by Refugee Council, World Health Organisation, World Food Programme, UNICEF, International Atomic Energy Agency and host of other development and environmental agencies. In 1988, a Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the United Nations peacekeeping operations for representing the manifest will of the community of nations and for decisive contribution to the resolution of conflict around the world.

Critical Look at Peacekeeping Operations – Failures and Successes

On the downside, the beginning of 2013, failure of UN diplomacy has led to the escalation of conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan. The war in Syria is going on for over two years without any effective international resolution, long running dispute for over 60 years in the Middle East between Israelis and Palestinians which shows no sign of resolution in near future and host of other issues like climate change crisis, rich-poor divide, shortage of food and water are increasingly becoming breeding grounds for conflicts.

Former Secretary General Kofi Annan famously called the UN “the only fire brigade in the world that has to acquire a fire engine after the fire has started.” Even when peacekeeping is the most appropriate protection tool, the UN must always overcome significant challenges to deploy and support each new mission.

UN is supposed to keep peace in the whole of the world with a two year tiny peacekeeping budget for 2012/2013 of \$7.3 billion. This is less than the half of the cost of the 2012 London Olympics, or about the same amount spent by US citizens on cut flowers and potted plants every year. Both Mc Donald’s and Coca Cola employ more people worldwide than the entire UN system. The United States budget for war on Afghanistan for the same year 2011 was in excess of \$110 Billion.

Successes

The UN keeps 120,000 peacekeepers in 16 operations on 4 continents. The history of the UN peacekeeping is a mixed bag. There have been many successes in Cambodia, Mozambique, Haiti and Timor-Leste including long standing peacekeeping troops in Kashmir and Cyprus.

UN interventions have helped ending civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi and Ivory Coast. The interventions in these countries came after oppression and fighting had lasted quite some time and had made many victims. Peacekeeping forces were able to deter mass attacks, though their capacity and resources were too limited to guarantee full protection of civilians. However, the interventions, combining mediation with a fair degree of enforcement, have established more than just a minimum degree of security and stability. They had a catalyzing effect on the endeavours of conflicting parties to reach sustainable peace between them.

Failures

Other missions are not so successful – Rwanda, Kivu in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Darfur in Sudan and Afghanistan. The UN has failed to stand up to dictators and perpetrators of genocide. Its failure to halt the Rwandan genocide in 1994 to intervene in Srebrenica massacre in 1995 and its failure to stop the humanitarian crisis in Sri Lanka are a few examples of its impotency on the major issues of the day. One of its agencies, UN Human Rights Council’s obsession with criticising Israel and its failure to halt genocide in Sudan shows that the newly formed human rights council is not fulfilling its potential obligations.

In Afghanistan Blue L Helmets carry out their mandate alongside US troops, fighting terrorists. The result is confusion. Peace has not been kept, the war is not being won and the adversaries make no distinction in choosing their targets. Roadside bombs and killings are a daily occurrence in Afghanistan and a major challenge for peacekeeping. Hundreds of Billions of dollars are being spent on a conflict started ten years ago with little or no peace in sight.

In Darfur the Security Council decided not to do anything during the genocide itself, and to wait deploying a mission until the Sudanese regime and the Janjaweed had cleansed the area.a humanitarian crises displacing 2.8 million people. The UN’s presence has not fostered peace, which remains elusive in Darfur. Although the Sudanese government and major rebel groups signed the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur in 2011, this has not stopped fighting, which has in fact worsened since 2011. The UN also decreased troop strength in the region on July 31, 2012, despite longstanding criticism that the mission was already undermanned and underequipped. The killings of five UN peacekeepers in October may be a sign that the UN should invest more resources with the mission, especially considering the challenges they have faced. The growing dissatisfaction with the government and politics might lead to future escalation of conflict in Sudan.

UN peacekeepers in Congo have neither been able to deter warring factions in Kivu, nor to protect the local population from being raped or killed. Since the beginning of this century more than 5 million people have been killed in Congo than in all neighbouring countries together. The UN has lost credibility: the force is ineffective, and, acting alongside the Congolese army, no longer considered impartial.

2012 was an year for the Congo in which elements of the army mutinied in April, calling themselves M23. They took the eastern city of Goma in November, but withdrew during Uganda-mediated peace talks.

While the peace process is challenged by allegations that Rwanda and Uganda are supporting M23, diplomats and analysts have urged that the international community stop pointing fingers and think about realistic solutions. A regional peacekeeping force, backed by South Africa, is set to be deployed to help the government fight M23; and M23 are reported to be regrouping around Goma, provoking fears of another attack on the city.

Kivu in Democratic Republic of Congo, was the scene of rape of massacre. Gangs of mercenaries and crooks of all kind raped hundreds of thousands woman and children to terrorise people in order to gain access to prime minerals. In 2013, watch the DRC for the potential renewal of civil war. Or, optimistically, if cooler heads on all sides prevail and the member states of the Security Council can overhaul their approach to the region, perhaps a peaceful solution can be pursued. Either outcome will be a long and arduous journey.

Sexual Misconduct

Sexual misconduct by peacekeepers themselves has further damaged the UN's image. Reporters witnessed a rapid increase in prostitution in Cambodia and Mozambique after UN peacekeeping forces moved in. In the 1996 UN study *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*, former first lady of Mozambique Graça Machel documented: "In 6 out of 12 country studies on sexual exploitation of children in situations of armed conflict prepared for the present report, the arrival of peacekeeping troops has been associated with a rapid rise in child prostitution."

Gita Sahgal spoke out in 2004 with regard to the fact that prostitution and sex abuse crops up wherever humanitarian intervention efforts are set up. She observed: "The issue with the UN is that peacekeeping operations unfortunately seem to be doing the same thing that other militaries do. Even the guardians have to be guarded."

Human Security and New Peacekeeping Threats

According to some international reports nowadays there are fewer conflicts, making fewer victims than in the past. Statements about the number and nature of conflicts can be found in the Human Security Report, published periodically and widely quoted as an authoritative source of information regarding international conflict trends. According to the report, "since the Cold War ended some 20 years ago, there has been a major decline in the number of armed conflicts being waged around the world, with high intensity conflicts dropping by almost 80%". The number of state based armed conflicts and civil wars is declining. The number of intercommoned and other conflicts that do not involve government forces is fluctuating, but these conflicts rarely last longer than a year, and their death tolls are small compared to those in wars involving a government as a warring party. Moreover, according to the report, the number of victims is decreasing. The authors claim that there is no evidence to support suggestions that civilian deaths as a share of all war deaths have been increasing. Moreover, indirect death from war exacerbated disease and malnutrition is declining. The Report concludes: there is evidence that "development is an important long-term form of conflict prevention".

Conflict and Development

A conflict is not an incident; conflicts are inherent to processes of development. Development implies change, and different groups in a society - farmers, herdsmen, landless people, urban citizens, entrepreneurs, labourers, various tribes, clans, classes, ethnic groups and religious denominations, man and women, older people and the youth, traditional elites and people attracted by modernity, powerful rulers and emancipating citizens - , they all have different interests in a status quo and in change: the character and modalities of change character, the direction and consequences, and the distribution of costs and benefits of change. There is no development without conflict. Development is conflict. The question is to which extent conflicts can be managed properly during a process of structural change, and to which extent conflict escalation can be prevented, because of intertwining economic, environmental, cultural and political dimensions, their possible escalation across national frontiers, and also their escalation into violence.

Complexity of Conflicts

In principle all conflicts are complex. Defining a conflict in terms of more than 1000 battle deaths annually may serve a statistical purpose, but it is misleading. Since the end of the Cold War there were indeed fewer international wars between states. In the same period some intrastate conflicts did result in large scale confrontations on a battle field, such as in South Sudan. However, most conflicts got the character of guerrilla warfare, or moor fires, or widespread and repetitive small attacks, each of those making victims, many victims together. Conflicts also have developed into violent banditry and robbery by warlords, and in sheer crime, based on trade in arms, drugs and women. Conflicts have also resulted in dictatorship, whereby state terrorism resulted in quiet, but not in peace. The implicit conclusion of the report that, if levels of economic development rise, the risk of war falls, is unfounded. Indeed, development can be a powerful means of stemming conflicts, but not if development is limited to economic growth, first and for all benefiting ruling classes. Human security requires human development for all.

It is also quite naïve to assume that conflicts are becoming less complex, and more easily solved. Pakistan has become a war zone, due to developments in its neighbour country Afghanistan. Nigeria has been affected by increasing extremism in West Africa. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is fully complex. My conclusion is different: conflicts have become more complex, not less.

Market globalization goes hand in hand with assertive geo-political behaviour of big powers and emerging economies. Nowadays conflicts between nations seldom lead to interstate war. As they are no longer for securing ideological or political influence. They result in economic and political intervention in third parties, and support to regimes of other countries or their adversaries, providing access to resources, such as fertile land, water, energy and raw materials, in order to sustain economic growth against the background of increasing physical scarcities, larger needs and increasing competition. They are also for securing interests of transnational companies which have special ties with the countries concerned and also for guaranteeing national security.

These interventions, taking place with the help of financial, economic, political, cultural, military and intelligence means, render the distinction between domestic conflicts and international conflicts artificial. The distinction between stable, well-governed countries and fragile or even failing nation states is not sharp either. All countries share a certain degree of fragility. All can be affected by escalations of conflicts, from within and from outside. Look at the countries mentioned above. Rather than speaking about stable and fragile countries we should refer to countries which are, in various degrees, 'conflict escalation prone'. Everywhere in the world there are more or less conflict escalation prone situations. When we define development as freedom, following A.K. Sen, who sees freedom as the primary end of development as well as the principal means of development, we can only conclude that still many people lack development, because they lack freedom. One should not be surprised about frequent and widespread resistance against lack of freedom, violation of human rights, and denial of access to human security and human development.

New Conflicts

Following the liberation wars during the era of decolonization, and since the Cold War, the world is going through a series of interrelated intrastate wars, highly complex and fed from within and from outside. As Mary Kaldor concluded in her book "New and old Wars", in these New Wars it is difficult to distinguish combatants from non-combatants. In peacekeeping operations it would be difficult to distinguish well-meaning parties from 'spoilers'. Official regimes, regular army, police, para-military, militia, rebels, breakaway factions, insurgents, warlords, bandits, criminal gangs, security agencies, self defence groups and commercial private security forces, all these parties have an interest to continue violence. Civilian death, starvation, terror, torture and rape are used not to gain territorial control, but as a means to defeat people's minds to achieve and keep political control and access to resources.

The underlying basic reasons why, in the countries mentioned above, conflicts exist and escalate are economic, political, social, cultural and other grievances of population groups. Greed doesn't start a

conflict, greed follows. This makes existing conflicts even more complex and economic growth benefiting world middle classes in a situation of increasing resource scarcities will result in more competition and class conflict.

Developments after the Cold War had resulted in an increasing void between traditional peacekeeping – which in essence implied a non-military mission, carried out by military personnel – and large scale peace enforcing, and it requires new concepts of peacekeeping and peace building which a reformed UN is capable of handling.

Challenges to Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in Peacekeeping

In 1998, when general General Augusto Pinochet, the former Chilean dictator was arrested under convention against torture, it was a historic moment when International Human Rights Law came of age. However, prosecutions under Human Rights still remains a problem especially high-profile individuals if they were former heads of state.

Another prominent event highlighted the importance of Human Rights when the Sudanese president, Omar al-Bashir, was charged in 2009 with war crimes over the conflict in Darfur, becoming the first sitting head of state issued with an arrest warrant by the international criminal court (ICC). More than 200,000 people have died since 2003 in the country's western Darfur region. But Arab states and the African Union pressed for a postponement of the charges to allow Bashir a final chance to end the Darfur conflict while not under duress.

Challenges still lie ahead, despite many accomplishments in the field of human rights. Human rights, democracy and development are intertwined. Unless human rights are respected, the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of economic and social development cannot be achieved. The world is still plagued with incidents of ethnic hatred and acts of genocide. People are still victims of xenophobic attitudes, are subjected to discrimination because of religion or gender and suffer from exclusion. Around the world, millions of people are still denied food, shelter, access to medical care, education and work, and too many live in extreme poverty. Their inherent humanity and dignity are not recognized

The United Nations faces a serious dilemma when carrying out peacekeeping operations. It must weigh its responsibility to protect human rights against the practical need to act with local partners to conduct peacekeeping operations. While these are not mutually exclusive, this tension has given way to criticisms and concerns about both the efficacy of peacekeeping operations and the UN's commitment to upholding human rights.

This practical reality has sometimes made it difficult to uphold human rights while carrying out peacekeeping operations. UN peacekeepers have been accused of committing crimes such as sexual abuse, child abuse, and rape. Human rights groups have called for strict accountability and zero-tolerance in such instances, especially with regards to sexual abuse of children. In response, UN spokesman Nick Birnback said that personnel would be made aware that the UN is committed to “zero complacency when credible allegations are raised and zero impunity when we find that there has been malfeasance that's occurred.” Even so, he deemed it impossible to ensure “zero incidents” within the UN organization of up to 200,000 members worldwide.

The peacekeeping operation, named MONUC, is the largest in the world and least effective in managing the conflict in Congo. Problems occur when the UN must choose with whom to partner and which side to support during peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations. As recent events in Congo have shown, supporting one side of a conflict, even the side the international community wants to prevail, can result in the UN tacitly supporting human rights abuses. The UN is supporting the Congolese army in its fight against Rwandan Hutu rebels in an effort to support stability in the region and to prevent the rebels from seizing mineral resources in Congo's east.

We also need to be aware of the importance of what Hammarskjöld, the second Secretary General of United Nations said about the interrelationship between peace, security and human rights. He said and I quote, “We know that the question of peace and the question of human rights are closely related. Without

recognition of human rights we shall never have peace, and it is only within the framework of peace that human rights can be fully developed.” One also need to highlight and necessity of furthering the protection of human rights in the world of Mass poverty, conflict, terrorism , inequality, state violence and bad governance.

As the events in Congo illustrate, balancing the need to act as peacekeepers with the obligation to protect human rights can pull the UN in different directions. Human rights groups, local governments, and UN staff are all aware of this difficulty and all three parties have suggested various solutions. They include ceasing support for peacekeeping operations when presented with evidence of human rights abuses, conducting more careful training and oversight during peacekeeping operations, and dispatching experts to peacekeeping zones to ensure civilian protection. The goal of all three parties is for the UN to adopt these solutions as policy, enabling it to better protect human rights when carrying out peacekeeping operations.

UN, Global Politics in 21st Century and Peacekeeping

UN should not fall prey or become a convenient facade or a pawn for certain superpowers to carry forward their narrow agenda, but should live up to its reputation of being a transparent, accountable, democratic body enhancing peace and security as well as human rights and better life for humanity, a body guided by a notion of global solidarity.

A democratic and transparent UN in cooperation with civil society is well placed to deal with problems of the world. It is a unique and neutral place where governments can have a dialogue and, solve problems and work together for a better world.

The future of peacekeeping will depend on how we manage our planet? How wisely we share the scarce resources in an overcrowded world whose population is increasing, will go up to 9 billion by 2050. The scramble for water and energy security will lead to further violence and wars in the future not thought of before. There will be mass migrations leading to growing environmental wars. To find a way out we have to cooperate on a global scale to manage air, water and land resources for sustainable development

Multilateral diplomacy at international level is the best way forward in the world as dominance of new powers including China, India and Brazil, will continue to grow and the end of European and American influence will continue to decline. Nations should deal with global problems like climate change and terrorism first, instead of putting their own agenda which is a recipe for disaster. Europe is a prime example that shows the world that political solutions of the wider world are possible without endangering the agenda of the nation states. This is a quantum leap in solving world problems, keeping away the unnecessary violence and wars which engulfed the European continent for centuries.

It is fair to say that of all the good the UN do, the role of peacekeeping and conflict-prevention is the most difficult one. There are two main reasons for it. Firstly, powerful nations sideline the UN and attack countries like Iraq, the former Yugoslavia, without any mandate or permission from the United Nations.

Secondly, the thorny task of getting warring parties to the table, talk to each other, iron out differences, forgive the past, look at the future and start life of peace and prosperity. Most of the successful peace operations have gone through some of these processes like the Good Friday Peace agreement in Northern Ireland or the recent peace brokered in Kenya by Former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan

Peacekeeping and Reconstruction

In his essay on UN peacekeeping, published shortly before his untimely death in 1996, UN Diplomat Erskine Childers quoted United Nations second Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, who had warned against a straight jacket approach. According to Hammarskjöld the UN ‘cannot afford, or usefully have, a wardrobe sufficiently rich and varied to be able to pick out just the right suit as the situation arises. It is much better to have the cloth and go into action as a good tailor quickly when the need arises’. With ‘the cloth’ Hammarskjöld did not refer to the resources which the UN needed for peacekeeping, but to the UN

mandate. Once country members had agreed on principles and procedures of decision making, each new peace-keeping operation could be cut to specific circumstances, while the Secretary-General would act as “good tailor.”

UN peacekeeping operations are deployed on the basis of mandates from the United Nations Security Council. Over the years, the range of tasks assigned to UN peacekeeping operations has expanded significantly in response to shifting patterns of conflict and to best address threats to international peace and security.

Depending on the specific set of challenges, UN peacekeepers are often mandated to play a catalytic role in the following essentially peacebuilding activities:

- Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants;
- Mine action;
- Security sector reform and other rule of law-related activities;
- Protection and promotion of human rights;
- Electoral assistance;
- Support for the restoration and extension of State authority;
- Promotion of social and economic recovery and development.

Security Council mandates also reflect a number of cross-cutting, thematic tasks that are regularly assigned to UN peacekeeping operations on women, peace and security, children and armed conflict and protection of civilians in armed conflict.

The role of UN peacekeepers is to provide insights into governance challenges and suggest guideposts that may assist government officials, leaders and decision makers to adopt appropriate governance systems and tools as part of post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

The challenges that countries in crises and post-conflict situations face are complex, multifaceted and vary due to the variety of different historical root cause of conflict and the different political, social and geographical contexts. The strategies to address these challenges and effectively support a country on a path of recovery, development and durable peace are therefore diverse. What works in one country does not necessarily work in another. However, there are some universally shared values, principles and key elements that have been found to be sine qua non for sustainable peace. These comprise: focused and committed leadership, security, solid government structures providing basic services, building people’s trust and legitimacy, information dissemination, sound civic dialogue, mediation and community participation.

UN does a good job at conflict resolution, and regional organisations and arrangements have an important role to play as well. In some crises, a regional organisation has taken the lead. UN have a very good example here in the Balkans, in the crisis in (former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) FYROM: the lead is taken by the EU, and the UN is giving them support, but they are in the lead. UN had an example in West Africa, where (Economic Community Of West African States) ECOWAS was the first to send troops into Liberia and to Sierra Leone. The OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) tackling some issues in Europe, and the Organisation of American States active in Haiti. So UN does recognise the role of regional organisations and it cooperates with them.

Despite the continuous violence, the UN’s humanitarian and reconstruction projects in Afghanistan have helped the country emerge from years of war and underdevelopment by assisting more than 5 million Refugees to return to their homes providing food shelter and health for more than 9 Million people and building thousand of new schools for more than 6 Million children.

Despite the endemic corruption, in Haiti UN peacekeepers have reduced urban violence and crackdown on gangs . UN police and Haitian national Police are patrolling camps 24 hours a day. UNDP had employed 200,000 people In its ‘Cash for work’ programme, Which pays Hatians to remove debris, support, reconstruction, efforts and deliver aid to homeless.

Modern peace keeping operations are often very complex and place high demands on the personnel UN Deploy. High levels of training are required before deployment , and the UN works closely with Troop-contributing countries to provide the best help and advice possible .

Recommendations for Peacekeeping and Post Conflict Recovery

Let me tell you what Ban-Ki Moon Secretary General of UN had to say about peacekeeping. “The United Nations is struggling to keep its peacekeeping missions staffed and supplied as the world endures an unprecedented combination of crises, i.e. food crisis, fuel crisis and financial crisis.

Among the peacekeeping reforms I am advocating the UN should have:

- A better coordination between Security Council for peacekeeping which issues a mandate for peacekeeping, the Secretary General, Secretariat of the UN and those who actually carry out the work in the field (troops/peacekeepers)
- Clear, achievable mandates for peacekeeping and peace-building missions, matched by the adequate resources including skilled people to handle natural disasters like earthquake and floods including specialist personnel to deal with transport, communication and health care.
- UN system should be reformed in such a way that peacekeeping, peacebuilding, reconstruction and development can be integrated into a unified field programme for achieving sustainable peace.
- Regular and rigorous oversight of peacekeeping missions to ensure effectiveness on the ground.
- UN to have its own rapid reaction force, a standing group, administered by the UN which can fulfil peacekeeping functions until a full-fledged UN peacekeepers are ready to take over. The delay such as the one in Rwanda, which resulted in mass killings, could have been avoided if a rapid reaction force was in place.
- More emphasis on peace-building and conflict prevention in those countries where insecurity remains high. Peacekeepers should be trained in mediation, work for ending culture of violence and for enforcing Human Rights
- Consideration of the UN Regular and Peacekeeping Budgets to take into account the current economic climate and the need to pursue good budget discipline, and more modernised cost-share calculations to secure value for money.
- Promote the role of peace building commission to resolve disputes and restore peace and hope to nations emerging from conflict. It is presently working in six countries in Africa and should be country focused.
- Reform the Security Council to tackle the Veto and widen the membership of the Security Council to make it more representative to include major emerging economies such as India, Brazil and South Africa as new permanent members.
- Post conflict recovery should include state reconstruction, upholding rule of law, Reconciliation processes , economic reconstruction, security and cross border movements, good governance for post conflict peace and development
- The UN peacekeeping abuse allegations of trafficking, Sexual exploitation and violence against children and women should be addressed and some of the suggestions are below:-
- The peacekeepers who fathered children with local women must be found if possible through such measures as mandatory DNA tests, and made to take care of their children and the women with whom they had children.
- Legally, the home countries of abusive peacekeepers must actively prosecute the peacekeepers, and the U.N. must repatriate these peacekeepers to their home countries so that the prosecutions can start.
- U.N. peacekeepers should go through a rigorous recruitment and screening process for all civilian staff members, and an office specifically for the oversight of peacekeeper activities and interaction with the local populations must be created and well staffed. This office should be charged with, among other things, educating the local community about the proper and improper actions of peacekeepers, and how and where they should report any instances of inappropriate conduct by the peacekeepers.

The bottom line in future peace keeping is that more efforts and resources should be spent on soft power, such as dialogue, diplomacy and reconciliation to end conflicts instead of military options.

In 2009 I addressed a conference in Belfast on “The Truth And Reconciliation Commission For Britain And Ireland (TRCBI)” where I met former prisoners and hunger strikers and learned firsthand of the real

problems of keeping the peace after the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland. The findings of the TRCBI commission and my speech were published in the Irish Times.

Before I went to Belfast to address TRCBI I met with Archbishop Desmond Tutu in London. He suggested to me to see the BBC documentary "Facing the Truth" which is also on the same theme. He praised me what I was doing and said "It is our duty to help people trapped in evil regimes to free them from oppression"

A New Campaign Idea for Peacekeeping – 4D for World Peace

To highlight, promote and adopt the soft power approach for the well being of humanity, I started a campaign, 4D for World Peace. In 2012 It is a campaign for civil society groups to work not only to change government policies, but also shift standards of good conduct, economic incentives and cultural understandings . It entails targeting states, world economy , Global norms and international organisations

The 4D's are DEMILITARISATION, DISARMAMENT, DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT.

This campaign aims to create global frameworks for taking actions on interconnecting global issues of disarming and demilitarising the world and the savings thus accrued to be deployed for development and democracy. Like the interconnectivity of issues, each person is sustained by the interdependent web of life. Just as soon as individuals and nations recognise that we are living in a totally interconnected world and universe, the incentive for conflict driven by selfish vested interests begins to decline. There is no 'other', because the 'other' is indeed us! There is simply too much to lose in an interconnected world in the event of a global major conflict. The 4D for World Peace campaign is inspired by my recently published book - **The Economics of Killing: How the West Fuels War and Poverty in the Developing World**. This campaign in a way is a handbook for peace activists to take actions that a better world is possible. It also provides strong symbols of hope for others throughout the world that change is possible and we can achieve peace and prosperity. World Peace is not a utopian dream. It can be realised by overcoming forces of destruction, violence, & war mongering. A film **Change the World** and a booklet **4D for World Peace** is produced for promoting the campaign.

The mission of the campaign is to take the Quantum Leap Faster, Higher, and Further to spread the message of 4D which is resolution of conflicts in a peaceful way. The campaign has many supporters the world over.

"I support Uniting for Peace for a safer world and endorse 4D for World Peace. 4D, Count me in...!"
Deepak Chopra, Best Selling Author

"Peace is not only the absence of war, it means calm and it means conditions where human beings can maintain their human integrity"

Dr. Shirin Ebadi Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran, says about 4D for World Peace campaign

Way Forward

Peacekeeping to be effective is combination of several factors which include dialogue and mediation at the pre-conflict stage, enforcement of peace during the war, giving parties breathing space to reach an agreement, and post-conflict reconstruction when the warring parties entered a peace agreement and trying to work things together for a future free of violence.

However, I will argue that the reconciliation and neutralising the tensions in the pre-conflict mode is the most important for not only finding causes for tensions and hostilities but also for resolving disputes before they become full-blown war. This is the sign of a successful peacekeeping operation. It not only saves millions of lives which are lost in a nasty war, but also saves billions of dollars (\$7 billion dollars at present spent on peacekeeping) and free much needed valuable resources (food, water, energy, etc) which are increasingly in short supply owing to global warming.

The corrupt practices of extraction of resources like diamond, copper, coltan, oil etc. on unequal basis from poor countries need to stop for equitable distribution of wealth, to kick start the true reconstruction of a

country. For lasting peace, a country needs to go on a path of development, protection of Human Rights and poverty reduction for all of its population to grow and live in harmony.

Future UN peacekeeping operations should take into consideration how trade in arms, drugs, trafficking of women, robotic warfare (drones) can be eliminated.

Conclusion

The title of the panel is, "Beyond Enforcing the Peace: The Role of Troops in Reconstruction." A true reconstruction for peace can take place if we stop tinkering or adopting temporary measures of keeping peace which is costing a colossal \$7 billion per year. The future of peacekeeping lies in finding the root causes of conflicts and building an ethical bases for society in which equal opportunities are available for all citizens, especially the bottom billion entrenched in poverty for whom peace is a dream. Peace is when citizens are free to pursue their day to day activities like going to work, sending their children to school and finding a better life without fear of being attacked or harassed. This can be done by building an ethical bases of society by ending the cycle of violence and poverty.

For achieving a peaceful world, there is a desperate need to change global spending and priorities. The global community spends more than \$1.74 trillion per year on military and weapon programmes against \$129 billion (OECD 2010 figure) on global development, less than \$10 billion on UN Peacekeeping operations, and less than \$4 billion (African Development Report 2008/2009) on peace building and conflict resolution activities. This mismatch of funding need to be challenged and changed for building sustainable peace .

“Remember, peace is our birth right, a Human Right and we should claim it”

The message is simple: Peace is an investment in our humanity’s progress for a better future. The way to peace is to overcome evil with good, falsehood with truth and hatred with love. The bottom line is we should have increasing desire to be of service to others with greater love and compassion.

Grassroots activists and change-makers, let me share a dream with you. Let us create a public outcry and demand for abolition of war and military spending for eradicating violence and building a peaceful world. When 25 million soldiers worldwide are replaced with 25 million peace-workers, the world will be a different place. It will be a bliss to be living on the cusp of a new dawn when mankind would have taken a full turn transforming our world towards a better future, ensuring the continuation and progress of our sacred civilisation and humanity leading to global peace.

Let me conclude by saying, one day when people seeking peace, like wonderful people in this room, will be in majority, barriers to peace will be lowered and future will be safe and secure. After Arab Spring, Occupy protest movement and Europe’s Indignados the youth of today have what it takes to change the world as world is ready to be moved.

Thanks for listening.

Notes

The following publications were consulted and excerpts have been taken from them during the writing of this article:

- 1) Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007
- 2) Vijay Mehta, The Economics of Killing, Pluto Press, London 2012
- 3) Henning Melber, In a Time of Peace Which is No Peace, Annual Erskine Childers Lecture, London 2011
- 4) David Hannay, Britain's Quest for a Role, I.B. Tauris, UK 2012
- 5) Vijay Mehta, Universal Peace in an Unstable World, Third International Nonviolence Leadership Training Camp, Rajasthan, India, 2010
- 6) UNA UK, New World, Winter 2012
- 7) Vijay Mehta, The UN Doctrine on the Responsibility to Protect, South Lakeland and Lancaster City UNA, Kendal, 2009
- 8) Craig Zelizer, 12 Actions for a More Peaceful 2013, PCDN, <http://goo.gl/O2Zbj>
- 9) Vijay Mehta, Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, London 2008
- 10) Wikipedia, United Nations Peacekeeping
- 11) Mary Kaldor, New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era, Stanford University Press, USA 1999
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- 13) Jan Pronk, Peacekeeping: Acting as a Good Tailor When the Need Arises, Annual Erskine Childers Lecture, London 2012
- 14) Ban Ki Moon, "Five steps to a nuclear-free world" (Guardian, UK) 23 November 2008
- 15) UN Peacekeeping, Mandates and the Legal Basis for Peacekeeping, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/pkmandates.shtml>
- 16) Vijay Mehta, How Effective is th UN in Peacekeeping and Mediating Conflict?, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 2008
- 17) Intelligence Unit, 2013: Why Does Advanced Science Suggest Peaceful Co-Existence In A Multi-Polar World?
- 18) Zach Zarnow, The UN's Struggle to Protect Human Rights during Peacekeeping Operations
- 19) Sarah Mahmood, The Challenges of UN Peacekeeping in Darfur

20) Xan Rice, The Guardian, Sudanese president Bashir charged with Darfur war crimes, 4 March 2009

21) David Connett, John Hooper and Peter Beaumont, guardian.co.uk, Pinochet arrested in London, 18 October 1998

This speech can be downloaded from www.unitingforpeace.com

Bio:

Vijay Mehta is a renowned author, international speaker and global activist for peace, development and human rights. He is the chair of Uniting for Peace (www.unitingforpeace.org) and Founding Trustee of Fortune Forum Charity (www.fortuneforum.org).

Working since 1979, Uniting for Peace is a non-profit organisation devoted to creating and promoting a global culture of peace, nonviolence and poverty reduction. The flagship campaign of Uniting for Peace is called 4D for World Peace. It is campaign to create global frameworks for taking actions on interconnecting global issues of disarming and demilitarising the world and the savings thus achieved to be deployed for development and democracy.

Fortune Forum was founded by his daughter Renu Mehta. Fortune Forum held summits (2005 and 2006) where Former US President Clinton, Former US Vice President Al Gore and Actor Michael Douglas were keynote speakers. The summits raised over a million pounds for charity and attracted a worldwide audience of 1.3 billion people (one fifth of humanity) including print and media coverage.

Vijay Mehta's books include The Economics of Killing (2012), The Fortune Forum Code: For a Sustainable Future (2006), Arms No More (2005) and The United Nations and its Future in the 21st Century (2005).

He has appeared in various TV programmes including BBC World, Press TV, Aitak-24 hour Indian news channel, and Think Peace documentary, Canada, among others. The Sunday Times, Independent, Observer and Guardian newspapers, among other journals have written about him. His life is devoted to the service of peace, humanity and our planet.

Vijay Mehta is the recipient of the Global Indian Karmaveer (Action hero) Puraskaar (Award) by iCONGO (International Confederation of NGO's). He is now a noble-laureate 2012 – 2013 of the iCONGO team of advisors and mentors (www.icongo.in). It is an award for outstanding luminaries working for peace and social justice.

Vijay Mehta's new book **"The Economics of Killing: How the West Fuels Wars and Poverty in the Developing World"** is published by Pluto Press (UK) / Palgrave Macmillan (USA) / Amazon (Worldwide). For reviews and endorsements of the book, please visit: www.theeconomicsofkilling.org

"Vijay... a long standing activist for peace, development, human rights and environment"
The Sunday Times Magazine, London 1st February, 2009

"Vijay Mehta lends intellectual credibility to the project and wrote 'The Fortune Forum Code for a Sustainable Future', a sort of manifesto that will underpin the group's future activities."
The Independent, London 26 September 2006