CHAPTER-SEVEN

RETROSPECT

It would indeed be justifiable to state that the system of War and Peace will remain in existence till the survival of human race is assured. Confronting groups will always strive hard to prove their points and find innovative ways and even borrow means to dominate others. However, if this rising tendency is not curbed it will continue to haunt the entire human race, forever. Thus, to minimize the chances of war and ongoing confrontations, man has to put in extra efforts to respect his co-brothers. For this, special effort is required to eliminate the chances of confrontations and ultimately the war. Although, man has been trying this since centuries, but still the war factor is not eliminated.

Needful to further state that sustained efforts might help the factors responsible for maintenance and restoration of peace, for which enough patience is required. In this regard, the great men world over, have suggested from time to time that if we curb our unsatisfied desires and ambitions, we can do wonders in maintaining peace and tranquility. We have seen the world dominated by so many calamites, natural and unnatural, but it’s a pity that still man has not learnt from the consequences of such exasperating and demoralized elements which have completely devastated the progress of human life. In a civilized world, where progress is thoroughly judged by the material progress made by man, we forget a very small but the most important phenomenon, ‘the lust’. This lust has to be overcome to reduce the chances of confrontations.

The Second World War is the blatant truth, which has taken thousands and thousands of lives for the fulfillment of desires of one person. The world divided into two groups and fought a vigorous war that broke all the barriers, obstacles and hindrances kept to harness peace for the entire mankind. The resultant factor proved to be more devastating because the progress that had been achieved through efforts of generation’s was brought to stand still in few years of wars and ongoing worldwide confrontations. Large scale annihilation and massacres took place that created shivers in every body and mind and those who were eye witness to that ‘Holocaust’ still live under huge pain and distrust. The bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 was indeed the culmination of this lust that empowered America to win this war at all costs.

The result was shameful because humanity surrendered before cruelty and than only the world woke up from the sleep of heartlessness and that some kind of break should be applied to check such kind of ‘Holocaust’. Thus, the idea of having an ‘International Forum’ brew up and United Nations Organisations came as a reality. Needful to further state that if we want to save this world from the repetition of such unethical acts, we will have to think twice, thrice and many times that life is for once only and it’s a precious gift of God. If we cannot create life, we have no business to eliminate it. The earlier this hard known fact is understood and digested, the better it would be for this mankind.

The UNO since its inception had decided to put some kind of restraints so that the big and the powerful could not cripple the, small and the weak. Thus, the idea of ‘Universal Peace’ was the cry of world.
The people managing the UNO tried their level best to incorporate in their Charter that all have the right to live. It is indeed gratifying to note that the UN has played an important role in world peace. This organisation is presently trying extremely hard to resolve certain international conflicts and will continue to play this role in future too. Though, some countries may view the role of the UN in a skeptical manner, others may call it ‘tyranny of the majority’. A minority of countries may even ignore Resolutions passed by the vast majority of its members. Still, the UN is our only hope for world peace. Of course, the UN has its own limitations which are imposed on it by some of its powerful members, but that should not discourage us in pursuing the objective of world peace. Many third world countries of the South do not have the weapons, resources and personnel to get involved in the international conflict without the support, encouragement and intervention of the Superpowers. For third world countries, the role of the UN in maintaining world peace is extremely central.

Since the end of the Cold War, United Nations activities in maintenance of peace and security have dramatically increased. The impact is both, quantitative and, more significantly, qualitative. In 1988, the United Nations was actively involved in preventive diplomacy or peacekeeping in eleven disputes or confrontations which in 1992 rose to thirteen. In early 1995, the number rose to thirty. Pertinent to state that with regard to the peacekeeping operations, in 1998, the United Nations had five such operations deployed, where as in 1992, the number of peacekeeping operations rose to eleven and later in 1995, the number rose to sixteen. Over the same period, the number of military personnel deployed had risen from 9570 to 62000. The number of civilian police deployed had risen from 35 to 11169. The number of countries contributing military and police personnel had also been raised from 26 to 74. The United Nations is getting increasingly drawn into internal conflicts. According to Michael Renner1, a senior researcher at the World Watch Institute in Washington, ‘resolving such conflicts has become much more treacherous undertaking than monitoring peace on the International Borders’.

It has already been discussed about the sorrowful conditions of the teeth less UN on many issues. Its performance reveals that when the great powers wish to take military action, they justify it by reference to the UN Security Council Resolutions and when they wish not to take military action, the absence of such resolutions is the first argument they use2. When defining their role of the Armed Forces, Western leaders put peace keeping high on the list of tasks and refer to the ‘primacy’ or the ‘invaluable experience’ of the UN in this field. However when they seek a political solution to regional conflicts, they almost instinctively write in a UN role. To add more, it is on record that, out of five important UN operations in 1992, four operations in Angola, Cambodia, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia had failed.

1 Basu, Rumki, op.cit., p.310
2 Bharadwaj, A,N, op.cit., p.304
To make the institution really effective and to restore its fast decaying colour of cynosure, the Security Council in office has suggested certain measures to make it more purposeful and object oriented. These being, to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence erupts; to engage in peace making aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict; through peacekeeping, to work to preserve peace, however, fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers; to stand ready to assist in peace-building in its different contexts; rebuilding the institutions and infrastructure of nations torn with civil war and build bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations, formerly at war. In the larger sense, to address, the deepest causes of conflict, economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. It has further put in new agenda that in broadest sense, the responsibility for maintaining peace and security and resolving the world disputes must be shared by the General Assembly and the International Court of Justice instead of Security Council taking the same in hand. The vested interests of the big five do not permit UN to resolve the disputes and maintain peace. An opinion has been expressed by the Secretary General to make demilitarized zones as part of peacekeeping operations. Consideration should now be given to the usefulness of such zones as a form of preventive measure. Deployment for averting any pretext of attack, preventive steps must be based on timely and accurate knowledge of the facts.

In order to make it more responsive, a network of early warning systems is required to be developed concerning environment threats, the risk of nuclear accidents, natural disasters, mass movement of population, the threat of famine and the spread of diseases etc. Preventive development is the need of the hour. In areas of crisis, the UN comes in operation, mostly after conflict has occurred. The time has come to plan for circumstances warranting fully preventive deployment. The things can be ameliorated to major extent, if the General Assembly is strengthened and permanent membership extended to many more countries and the UN is made free from the US coercive influence alongwith other permanent members†.

In light of the above, we must not forget that this world is indeed very beautiful so long as we act beautifully but if we don’t respect and honour the sentiments and emotions of others, we will always indulge in such inhumane acts which are going to be danger for future. The agency like UNO, is mustering its reserves to acknowledge the meaning of peace which has to be maintained at all costs so that most valuable human lives are not lost as a result of confrontations and wars. The peacekeeping operation is a creation of the United Nations. Its value has been internationally recognized. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar had said that a UN peacekeeping force is a collective security action taken in accordance with the UN Charter†. The Security Council as the central element in the UN collective security regime has played a key role in developing UN peacekeeping practices.

†UN needs for more democratization by liberalizing the veto monopoly in view of the fast changing global situation to refrain the US to impose its will on other nations

‡ China News Agency Bulletin, September 22, 1985, p.47
In the Council’s hands, peacekeeping operations have indeed become an effective means of exercising its primary function of maintenance of world peace. The record of the Security Council in taking enforcement action is not fully disappointing. ‘They have proved to be a most useful instrument of de-escalation and conflict control and have extended the influence of the Security Council into the field in a unique way’\(^4\).

Security Council can further play an important role in conjunction with all its Members, especially the five permanent members who should take a more active attitude towards peacekeeping operations and use their influences to encourage the work. In 1981, China’s representative declared in a statement at the UN that ‘China will thereafter support future peacekeeping operations which are established in strict conformity with the purposes and principles of the UN and which are favorable to the maintenance of international peace and security and safeguarding of sovereignty and independence of States’\(^5\). In 1984, the Chinese representative further specified China’s general position in favour of strengthening peacekeeping operations\(^6\). Further, the Chinese representative pointed out that it is time now to restore and finish the work of the Committee since the Chinese Delegation was still willing to cooperate with the Committee\(^7\).

Further, the Security Council should learn its lessons from its past experiences sum up its positive experiences in the effective organisation of the peacekeeping operations and continue to apply them as guiding principles in current and future peacekeeping operations. For instance, a peace keeping operation should require ‘a broad political consensus among membership for its mandate, not only at the creation of the operation, but in its continuing functioning’\(^8\). Under Secretary General Ellicott of United Nations had pointed out, there must be four fundamental conditions namely request of the government concerned, approval and explicit authorization by the Security Council, willingness of the proving States to provide troops and express desire of the parties concerned to co-operate with the UN force\(^9\).

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\(^4\) ‘Report of the UN Secretary General on the work of United Nation’, *Official records of the 37 session of General Assembly Supplement 1*(A/37/1).

\(^5\) Statement by Chinese permanent representative to UN on November 27, 1981, at the *Fifth Committee of General Assembly*.

\(^6\) Statement by China’s deputy representative to the UN on December 15, 1984, at the *Special Political Committee*.

\(^7\) Statement by China’s deputy representative *Wang Zue Xian* on October 19, 1987, at Special Political Committee.

\(^8\) United Nations, op. cit.,p.4.

\(^9\) Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs Brice Elcotte’s interview with Journalist (broadcasting script) See *World chronicle, February, 1984* p.3.
For each peacekeeping operation, definite tasks must be given and competence must be circumscribed. The operations must not interfere in the internal affairs of the host country. Its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity should be strictly respected. At present, peacekeeping operations are recognized as ‘a relatively new instrument with great potentialities’\(^\text{10}\). In practice, peacekeeping operations have brought about positive results on the one hand, while giving rise to problems calling for attention on the other. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar had called upon Members States, especially the members of the Security Council to ‘again study urgently the means by which our peacekeeping operations could be strengthened’\(^\text{11}\). The Security Council can do the most in this respect. Until now the Security Council established most of the peacekeeping operations after the outbreak of conflicts. It is time now for the Security Council to put more time and energy into the study of how to use peacekeeping operations to prevent conflicts. For instance, the Security Council may, at an early stage, send more good-officers, facts-finding missions, observer missions or other delegations, and use peacekeeping forces in areas where conflicts are probable, so as to ensure that peace in these areas continues to be maintained.

Professor John of the United States wrote an article dealing with the role of the Security Council in pacific settlement of international disputes. Through careful analysis of the relevant articles of the Charter, he demonstrated convincingly the existence of a legal basis for actions taken at its own initiative by the Security Council in pacific settlement of international disputes and also prevention of internal conflicts. In this view, the Security Council should discharge its responsibilities whenever situations so demand, and not just during crises. The Security Council, he believed, has the power to intervene at its own initiative in ‘disputes or situations’ with no need to wait for request from Member States or the Secretary General\(^\text{12}\).

In essence, UN peacekeeping operations are provisional measures taken by the Security Council to prevent the escalation of a conflict situation. They can stop and contain hostilities but cannot resolve the political problems underlying the conflict. They can and do, create the climate, buy the time, promote the minimum good will necessary for settlement through negotiation or other peaceful means provided in Chapter VI of the Charter. Thus, peacekeeping operations and peacemaking efforts are closely interrelated. The first promotes the second by creating conditions conducive to the negotiation. The second help the first since, when ever peacekeeping effort gives hope for a peaceful solution of the conflict; the parties will be more inclined to observe a ceasefire and to co-operate with the peacekeeping operations.

\(^{10}\) ibid

\(^{11}\) ‘Report of the UN Secretary General on the work of the UN’

\(^{12}\) Locus John ‘The Security Council’s Role in the peaceful Settlement of International Dispute’, Vol.1 the American Journal
A new difficulty that had arisen pertained to withdrawing of Forces from a mission area while confrontation between belligerents is still going on; namely, the security of peacekeepers under such conditions. Such withdrawal may well necessitate the deployment of additional forces to protect those who are to be withdrawn, leading to greater costs and dangers. The consequence of course, is that it will become more difficult to obtain troop contributions in future. In some recent operations, more specifically Somalia, there had been problems with aspects of command and control of contingents made available for United Nations operations. It cannot be over emphasized that all personnel and contingents placed at the disposal of the United Nations for an operation must be under the operational control of the Force Commander/Special Representative, acting on behalf of the Secretary General, who in turn, is acting on behalf of the Security Council. Only then can an operation be conducted with any degree of credibility and effectiveness. This not only relates to the day-to-day control of the operation, but also in regard to re-deployment within a mission area to meet operational contingencies. However, the later aspect is best dealt with discreetly, and, to the extent feasible, in consultation with and the acquiescence of, the national authorities concerned. In this context, it is of primary importance to stress that such provisions are applied strictly across the board. There cannot be any exceptions in that the more powerful countries are permitted to exercise their own discretion while the lesser ones are expected to conform.

There have been suggestions in some discussions and analyses, that peacekeeping operations could, if strengthened, undertake ‘Peace enforcement operations’ when required. It may be advisable in the light of recent experiences to ensure that, not withstanding the expenditure involved, where United Nations troops are to be deployed in the civil war type situation, they be equipped with heavy weaponry that would enable them to protect themselves more effectively than otherwise, or use some form of limited enforcement action to ensure implementation of a given mandate. Any enforcement action envisaged under Chapter VII, must clearly define who it is directed against, be desirably undertaken by a Multi-National Force authorized by the Security Council and pursued till the aggressor is totally defeated or accepts terms laid down. Half way or half hearted efforts can not work, nor can such operations be undertaken by a United Nations Force that is expected to revert to peacekeeping, since it would have lost its clock of impartiality. What is subsequently required in such cases is peace building, under United Nations auspices, by forces and agencies other than those that conducted the enforcement operation. Therefore, as we look into the future, it could be suggested that traditional peacekeeping will continue to be required, but there will be greater demands on the United Nation to undertake operations in civil war type situations. One cannot see the United Nations as a body or the Security Council, however, easily accepting large scale commitments of the type undertaken in former Yugoslavia or Somalia; there will be great reluctance to be drawn into such type of operations, for a host of reasons. Even so, it may not be out of place to reiterate, that except in the case of traditional unarmed military observer type mission, whenever United Nations troops are to be deployed as armed contingents, it may be prudent to ensure that they are over armed rather than under armed i.e. to cater for a worst case scenario.
For all the adverse criticism that the United Nations has been subjected to for what are perceived as failures or inadequacies in peacekeeping operations undertaken in former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda, it is more than likely that when the next crisis surfaces, the belligerents, and the members of the international community, will again look to the United Nations to undertake peace operations of one form or another. Also, a deep examination of the situation, conditions and criteria is a necessary requirement before UN peacekeeping forces are deployed. The Forces need to be well prepared in advance for the operation to be a success in bringing about peace. UN effective agreement between the parties to the conflict is ensured for the smooth functioning of the operation and to avoid controversies. UN peacekeeping gained a high reputation in the world by winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988, after the successful operations completed in Namibia and other regions. In the Namibian operation, the mandate went beyond the task assigned to the peacekeeping earlier and was very diverse and complex, involving task such as the administration and conduct of elections and referendums.†

The host of new operations undertaken during recent years, with more complex mandates operating under more difficult circumstances than in the past, resulted in not only in some significant successes but also in major failures. The failures captured far more attention, as the scenes of a nation continuing to tear apart make more dramatic footage than those of country trying to rebuild itself. Peacekeeping seems to have given birth to certain distinctive trends in the post Cold War era. Further, if we look at the shape of things in the past, UN intervention in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia republic began in the name of human rights, but ended up in blood-shedding, with the distinction between peacekeeping operations and enforcement action becoming increasingly blurred. This is in clear violation of the principles of peacekeeping as mentioned by Marrack Goulding.

The UN becomes an instrument of the US instead of being the embodiment of the will of the international community. No doubt, that the peacekeeping mission of the UN in Bosnia-Herzegovina had remained unsuccessful, which was contested. Western countries not only lack in their contribution to the peacekeeping troops, but also seems they have become increasingly wary of the peril of peacekeeping, in disturbed areas outside their own neighborhood, they risk operations to non-white soldiers. The result is that those with the military muscle to mount effective operations lack the courage of their convictions, those with the will lack the military means. Such a tribalisation of peacekeeping undermines the solidarity of the international community and introduced the risk of creeping apartheid in peacekeeping. The hurried withdrawal of UN from Somalia was mainly due to the fact that the Western countries were unwilling to run further risk following the deaths of 18 US Army Rangers in October 1993. Also, the withdrawal of most of the UN troops from Rwanda at the height of the genocide in April 1994 was necessitated by Western (particularly US) refusal to intervene. This led to a broader pattern of Western flight from peacekeeping duties in Africa.

† Likewise, in Western Sahara, UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) took up the task of ensuring the release of political prisoners or detainees.
UN peacekeeping operations have varied in terms of numbers. The peacekeeping operations attained their peak (in terms of numbers) in the years 1991-95 as compared to the previous years. Maximum number of peacekeeping operations was commissioned in this period. There has been a reduction in the number of operations taken up in the years 1999-2000. This reduction can be attributed primarily to the fact that the leading members of the UN are not willing to support the peacekeeping operations. Their support is lacking financially, politically, militarily, or logistically.

There will always be a problem finding troops for an operation within a reasonably acceptable time frame unless some institutionalized arrangements are put in place. The old method of requesting, earmarking and moving contingents to a mission area needs total overhaul. Waiting for three months for troops to arrive in an area of operations, as was the experience with some of the contingents in former Yugoslavia, is too ridiculous to be funny. The Rwanda experience is even more depressing. The ground situation, (and the political situation, in many cases), changes from week to week, if not from day to day. Hence, there has to be some ready availability of troops with appropriate equipment; and the means to transport them to the mission area, soon after the Security Council takes a decision on deployment. Action has already been initiated to seek 'stand-by' Forces earmarked by member States for United Nations deployment when required. However, any member State can decide, even before the onset of an operation, to change its mind for political reasons, not to send troops. Problems may also arise after incidents occur on the ground, and Government decides to withdraw their troops. They can give the United Nations notice that they will withdraw their troops within a short period of time, by simply announcing that they intend to withdraw such troops. Their presence in a mission area is purely voluntary. Thus, the United Nations may in future, be compelled to curtail or terminate an operation until international community’s efforts are strong towards a durable peace.

It can well be said that although the efforts of the UN Forces have not yielded effective results in all cases, it cannot be denied that most of them did a creditable job. The success of UN peacekeeping efforts depends on the consent of the host States co-operation of the great powers, and the suppliers of forces, whether military, police or civilian. Withdrawal of consent by the host State can either lead to the termination of the operations or to a period of severe disturbances. Similarly, without the co-operation of the big powers UN peacekeeping measures are bound to fail. Unless the States contributing Forces come forward with necessary Forces and finances, UN peacekeeping cannot succeed. Thus, past experiences suggest that UN peacemaking operations should be undertaken only when they are absolutely necessary.

Needful to state that peacekeeping, a major creation of the United Nations emerged during the Cold War, as the principal tool through which UN attempted to fulfill its primary goal of maintaining peace and security. Peacekeeping has gone through phases of rapid inactivity. Today, it has adopted multi dimensional roles which stand radically transformed. It carries certain distinctive features. In the previous year, UN has relied on intervention, peace enforcement coupled with peace making for containing and managing conflict situations.
Also, various trends are emerging, like subcontracting peacekeeping, and the South Asian and African Nations standing as contributors to the peacekeeping troops. Peacekeeping today is in a flux if not crises and if it is to serve as a useful instrument in maintaining international peace and security, it needs conceptual clarity, political support and financial resources.

More specifically the current surge in United Nations peacekeeping began in October 2003, with the deployment of five major operations Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Haiti, Burundi and the Sudan and the expansion of the mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Over the past few months, the newly established mission in Timor-Leste and the increased deployment in Lebanon contributed to the record-breaking number of uniformed personnel in the field. The previous peak in the United Nations' 58 years of peacekeeping operations was in July 1993, when the United Nations had deployed 78,444 uniformed personnel almost one-third of whom were serving in the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, it has been aptly stated in the recent past that, the unprecedented growth represents a growing confidence in United Nations peacekeeping as a means to help build stability after conflict, said Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations.

It would be pertinent to state that UN Peacekeeping has certainly made difference where it matters most. This would be evident from the fact that Peacekeeping missions deploy where others cannot or will not and play a vital role in providing a bridge to stability and eventually long-term peace and development. More so, there is also a clear correlation between the decreasing number of civil wars, the increase in UN peacekeeping and peace building missions. It would be evident as the number of UN peacekeeping operations have increased by more than 400% since the end of the Cold War. More so, this upsurge of international activism grew in scope and intensity through the 1990s and 2000s, wherein, the number of crises, wars and genocides had begun to decline.

Needful to state that peace is the fruit of the tree of human unity, and unity is the hallmark of humanity's coming of age. Humanity, in its long march toward maturity, has struggled to free itself from the evils of self-centeredness, aggression, injustice, tyranny, prejudice, and ignorance. The universal human yearning for love, peace, beauty and knowledge has its source in human spiritual nature. The coming of age of mankind is, above all the era of the spiritualization of the life and world of humanity. True, maturity can at last flourish, a new way of behavior and a new outlook about life can develop, and a new world order can certainly be established. Attempts to create equality of sexes, harmony of science and religion, cooperation and mutual trust between warring nations, races and religions, and finally the oneness of humanity are all spiritual undertaking that will ultimately lead to the creation of a united global peaceful society.

Peace is created in a world which is fair, just democratic, egalitarian and humane. People of the world should be able to meet their basic necessities of life as well as participate in economic, political, social and educational institutions to realize their full potential.

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People in the Third world countries are not asking for luxuries, which are available in the developed countries, but they are expecting that their people can live independently in a world of security, certainty and equality. It is fair to say that they do not have the opportunity to meet their basic needs and fulfill their aspirations of living with dignity, hope and security in the present situation.

This work is mainly the activities of Indian Peacekeeping Forces which have accomplished their tasks under the aegis of UNO in most commendable manner. This is not the first time that Indian Armed forces have earned approbations from the world but in the past also their track record shows that they never encroached upon anybody’s territory. Recently, it has also been manifested in US President George Bush’s speech which he gave in Pakistan that ‘India’s case is different from Pakistan because it has a history that goes to prove that India has never been an aggressor at any point of time’. The basic role of the Indian Army is to be prepared to ward off external and internal threats to its national interests. However, India’s commitment to UN peacekeeping endeavors enjoins our Army to train for peacekeeping operations also.

The Indian Army follows an uncompromising system of selection to pick high-profile contingents, officers and men for UN assignments. Further, various Directorates of the Army Headquarters have well established procedures to systematically equip and prepare mission personnel before being launched. We believe that sharing of peacekeeping experiences through regular interactions with other friendly foreign countries would help to enhance our abilities. In consonance with this participative thought, the Indian Army co-hosted ‘Pacific Armies Management Seminar’ in 1993 and, more recently, the ‘Third UN Peacekeeping Training Workshop’ in New Delhi. Besides, our officers frequently participate in similar events organised by other countries. This spirit of sharing experiences has enriched our six decades peacekeeping traditions experience.

The activities of Indian Peacekeeping Forces have justified the feelings and confidence reposed in them, which are the hallmark of their credentials. If world goes by India’s way, we can think of peace which may be permanent and lasting but for that you will have to Judge the things spiritually and not materialistically. Only than we can, establish the world order that is not the replica of the present scenario rather than an edifice of hopes…..and the mission goes on.

THE INDIAN TROOPS CONTINUE TO CARRY THEIR NATIONAL FLAG WITH PRIDE SO AS TO UNDERTAKE THE DAUNTING TASK OF MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY UNDER THE AEGIS OF UNO
THE BLUE HELMETS: IN EVER CHEERFUL MOODS

LONG ROADS AHEAD: THE TASK IS NOT SO SIMPLE

LAYING WREATHS ON THOSE BRAVE SOLDIERS WHO SACRIFICED THEIR TODAY FOR OUR TOMORROW