# 'Another' Peacekeeping is Possible

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Over the past 60 years, civil society, together with governments, has played an increasingly important role in *human development* (e.g., poverty alleviation) and *human rights*. Building on a foundation laid by Gandhi, Badshah Khan and their contemporaries, civil society has recently entered the field of *human security* (in its narrower meaning of safety/physical security and physical protection of threatened, vulnerable groups and individuals). Much of the creative leadership in setting new global norms in these domains has come from civil society, from visionary pragmatists, individuals with the courage of their conviction that 'another world is possible'.

The past 15 years have seen profound and rapid shifts in earlier-prevailing doctrines and perceptions, and these are beginning to reshape the organization of the post-Cold War world. New ideas about security, protection, sovereignty, the use of force, and the role of civil society have suddenly become part of the global discourse as a strong countervailing dynamic to unitary national initiatives and neo-colonialism, especially in the UN. **Human Security** is the new and inclusive concept that brings together the agendas of basic human rights, freedom from want and freedom from fear, recognizing the intrinsic indivisibility of human development, rights and safety. **Protection of Civilians** everywhere is now increasingly seen as a 'humanitarian imperative' (Kofi Annan) and figures prominently in UN Security Council debates. It provides the foundation for peace building and development. The **Responsibility to Protect** (R2P) doctrine introduces the concept of 'sovereignty as responsibility' (Deng) and, in case a government cannot or will not protect its own citizens, places limits on national sovereignty, which until recently was an undisputed organizing principle of the post-WWII order. The **Right of Peoples to Peace**, listing the many fundamental obligations of states to fulfill the peoples' sacred right to peace, is a draft declaration that may one day gain the same status the Universal Declaration of Human Rights holds today. The ongoing **Nonviolent Revolutions** in the Arab world (after the successful Yellow, Orange, Velvet and other nonviolent 'color' revolutions) prompts many to appreciate anew the power of strategic and disciplined nonviolent action. In fact, a recent study of insurgencies between 1900 and 2006 found that nonviolent campaigns were twice as likely to succeed than violent insurrections.[i] And the recent UN focus on the important (but oft-forgotten) potential contribution of **Civilian Capacities** in the aftermath of war and violent conflict— is another reminder of the new recognition that no one 'actor' (not even the powerful military) can do it alone.

This article is about new efforts to establish and scale up unarmed civilian peacekeeping, a relatively new phenomenon that has emerged in the midst of these shifts. A companion article by the same author, on peacekeeping as a commons, can be found in KOSMOS. Fall | Winter 2011.

[1] Louisa Thomas, *Give Pacifism a Chance*, NYT, 28 Aug. 11.

[2] This title refers to two mottos. *'Another Development'* introduced the paradigm of participatory, human-centered development in the 1970s, and *'Another World Is Possible'* became the rallying cry of global civil society organizations seeking greater solidarity in the early 2000s

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[4] Anthony Stevens, *The Roots of War—A Jungian Perspective* (1989), p.5-6

[5] Helen Yanacopulos and Joseph Hanlon, *Civil War, Civil Peace,* The Open University, UK, 2006, p.18

[6] Post-conflict situations are fragile; in the past, around 40 percent of them have reverted to violence within a decade. In total, these reversions account for around half of all the world's civil wars. See Paul Collier, *Wars, Guns and Votes—Democracy in Dangerous Places*, New York, 2009, p.75

[7] Thomas Weiss and Sam Daws, *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, OUP, 2007, p.11; and Dan Smith, *The Atlas of War and Peace*, EarthScan, London, 2003, p.38-39. This conservative figure excludes the war-related deaths of the first decade of the 21st century. Despite death's finality, there are great variations in statistics, in part due to differences in definition.

[8] See: *Human Security Report 2008/9*. In some cases, the Report says, the ratio of indirect to direct deaths is higher than 10:1. Indirect deaths—the hidden cost of war—is one of its two main themes.

[9] Rivera, Ray, *Suicide Bombers Escalate Assaults in Afghanistan*, NYT 28 Aug. 11

[10] See: Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler, *Reducing the Global Incidence of Civil War: A Discussion of the Available Policy Instruments*, (2004).

[11] World Bank, *World Development Report 2011*

[12] Aldous Huxley, *Ends and means: An inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for Their Realization* (1937)

[13] The *Human Security Report 2005* and *Human Security Brief 2007* report show declining world trends of global violence from the early 1990s to 2003 and beyond. More specifically, it reports major worldwide declines in the number of armed conflicts, genocides, human rights abuses, military coups and international crises, as well as in the number of battle-related deaths per armed conflict. See also: Dan Smith, *The Penguin State of the World Atlas* (8th ed.) 2008, p.58. War-related fatalities *as a percentage of the population* in earlier

centuries were always higher than those during the 21st century—despite the high absolute numbers. But now even the absolute numbers seem to be going down.

[14] As Johan Galtung points out, there are about 2000 distinct ethnic groups living within some 200 sovereign states: what if the principle of self-determination was more widely adopted?

[15] According to the UN, since 1990 the small arms trade has fueled close to fifty wars around the world, especially (though not only) in Africa. See: Moises Naim, *Illicit*, New York, 2006, p.15.

[16] Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, The United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, Nobel Lecture, January 9, 1989

[17] As stated on the UN/DPKO website, "Although the military remain the backbone of most peacekeeping operations, the many faces of peacekeeping now include administrators and economists, police officers and legal experts, de-miners and electoral observers, human rights monitors and specialists in civil affairs and governance, humanitarian workers and experts in communications and public information". But direct human protection that is largely community-based (or even focused on individuals) is much less part of the UN peacekeeping practice.

[18] See e.g. several articles from the Global Policy Institute (http://www.globalpolicy.org); also PBS video *Can the U.N. Keep the Peace* (http://video.pbs.org/video/1146753456/feature/62).

[19] See: Nonviolent Peaceforce Feasibility Study, 2001 (available at www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org)

[20] For Nonviolent Peaceforce the primacy of local actors and communities is an article of faith and its peacekeeping training curriculum devotes a good deal of time on that topic, cognitively and, especially, experientially.

[21] In addition to the well-known Peace Brigades International (which had significant presence in Guatemala, El Salvador, Colombia, Indonesia), there were: Christian Peacemaker Teams (Palestine, Iraq, USA, Canada); Witness for Peace (Nicaragua); International Brigadistas (Nicaragua); Fellowship of Reconciliation (Colombia); Sipaz (Mexico); Balkan Peace Teams; Bantay Ceasefire (Mindanao); Shanti Sena (Gujarat); Gulf Peace Team; Cry for Justice (Haiti); EMPSA (Ecumenical Monitoring Project South Africa); GIPP (Grassroots Initiative to Protect Palestinians); EAPPI (Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine/Israel); Women's International Peace Service (Palestine). Nonviolent Peaceforce, established in 2002, is the only global civil society organization that aims to take their lessons and best practices to scale.

[22] To avoid confusion, it should be clarified that when the UN/DPKO speaks of *civilian* UN peacekeepers, they refer almost always to a category of technical assistance workers who offer expertise on issues such as transitional justice, interim administration, police training, logistics, communications, etc.—*not* the kind of *direct* human protection provided by unarmed civilian peacekeepers, including the Nonviolent Peaceforce. Meanwhile, UNHCR and UNHCHR, but also UNICEF and UNWRA, each within their own protection mandates, do employ staff to provide civilian protection services (for refugees, human rights defenders, children and Palestinian civilians, respectively), but except for UNHCR, most of their field work consists of advisory services, monitoring compliance with international instruments and advocacy—not direct protection services at scale for threatened individuals and communities or especially vulnerable target groups in situations of violent conflict. Outside the UN system it is the ICRC, a unique organization that bases itself on the Geneva Conventions and has provided large-scale protection services in crises situations for many decades. Clearly, there is a need for ad hoc on-the-ground coordination of efforts, although, given the massive unmet need for protection, a quantum increase in the number of full-time protection field workers remains an urgent requirement and opportunity.

[23] See: Liam Mahony, *Proactive Presence—Field strategies for civilian protection,* Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva, 2006, p.13-35

[24] See: Michael Ignatieff, *Unarmed Warriors,* The New Yorker, March 24, 1997, p.56

[25] See: Growing the Sheltering Tree, Interagency Standing Committee, 2002

[26] Joel Brinkley, *Let's have a budget war on war budgets*, August 30, 2011, StarTribune.com: Speaking about the USA cost of the Iraq and Afghan wars, "*…a new academic study counts everything an puts the wars' full price at about $4 trillion—almost all of it deficit spending. That's nearly 30 percent of the nation's $14 trillion debt."*

[27] See: Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler*, Reducing the Global Incidence of Civil War: A Discussion of the Available Policy Instruments*, (2004). It should be noted that their reference to peacekeeping is of the armed, military variety.

[28] Kofi Annan, *Prevention of Armed Conflict*, Report of the Secretary General, UN, New York, 2002

[29] See: Paul Collier, Lisa Chauvet and Haarvard Hegre, The Security Challenge in Conflict-Prone Countries, Copenhagen Consensus 2008—Conflicts.

[30] This information comes from the Global Peace Index 2009, Institute for Economics and Peace, (see www.visionofhumanity.org). It includes the estimates derived from models made by the Economists for Peace & Security (Levy Institute, New York).

[31] Kofi Annan, Speech to the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, GPPAC, New York, 2005

[32] The 2005 decision by the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD to expand the definition of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to include, among other things, "enhancing civil society's role in the security system" and "civilian activities for peacebuilding, conflict prevention and conflict resolution" makes unarmed civilian peacekeeping activities in principle eligible for donor funding.